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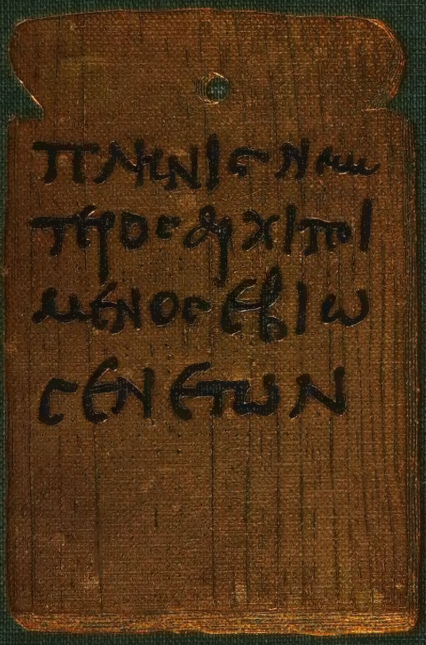

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Light from the ancient East.

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LIGHT FROM THE ANCIENT EAST

THE NEW TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATED BY RECENTLY DISCOVERED TEXTS OF THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

BY

ADOLF DEISSMANN

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ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THIS translation of my friend Deissmann's *Licht vom Osten* has been made from the second edition (curiously called "second and third") of the German work (Tübingen, 1909). The genesis of the book, which was first published in May, 1908, is described in the author's Preface; its success may be judged from the shortness of the time that elapsed before a second edition was required. Arrangements for the English translation were completed before the book was three months old, and a preliminary advertisement appeared in the *Athenaeum* as early as October 10, 1908. It is not the fault of the publishers that the English version is ready a year later than was expected. There was a miscalculation to begin with, and the work of translation proceeded more slowly than had been estimated. Well, "a man's reach should exceed his grasp, Or what's a heaven for?" The delay has brought compensations. The English reader now has the book in its revised and enlarged form, including nine illustrations that were not in the first edition (Figs. 22, 23, 25, 29, 41, 42, 43, 49, 50). These facsimiles have their value not only for the learned, who (by taking pains: see p. 362, n. 1) can spell out most of the old writing, but also for the unlearned. Everybody can gain from them, as the author says (p. 147), some idea of the inimitable individuality of each single papyrus letter. "That autograph Letter, it was once all luminous as a burning beacon, every word of it a live coal, in its time; it was once a piece of the general fire and light of Human Life, that Letter! Neither is it yet entirely extinct: well read, there

is still in it light enough to exhibit its own *self*; nay to diffuse a faint authentic twilight some distance round it. Heaped embers which in the daylight looked black, may still look *red* in the utter darkness. These Letters . . . will convince any man that the Past did exist! By degrees the combined small twilights may produce a kind of general feeble twilight, rendering the Past credible, the Ghosts of the Past in some glimpses of them visible!"[1]

The printing of the second German edition began while the author was in the East, and by his desire I saw the work through the press. His return relieved me of responsibility, but my duties as proof-reader remained unaltered, so that for several months the whole of my leisure time was devoted to this work. My translation came to a standstill, but I acquired particular acquaintance with the original.

"Light from the East" would have been the title of the book, literally translated, but as that had already been appropriated for the Rev. C. J. Ball's work on the archaeology of the Old Testament (1899), a distinguishing adjective had to be inserted. Geographically the title refers to the Levant or, to use the author's own word, "Anatolia." As used in this book, Anatolia does not mean Asia Minor alone, still less a definite Turkish province in its western portion. The term includes, as the reader will quickly discover, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, in fact the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean lands, with the islands.

The whole of this English version has been read in proof by the author, and I have had the great advantage of consulting him in writing on a very large number of points, of various importance, at every stage of the printing. The amount of correspondence involved has been considerable, but such trouble always brings its own reward. In certain details this book is more correct than the latest German edition. For example, the author has deleted a false reference to

[1] Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Introduction, Ch. V.

Moschion for the word *περισσεία* (p. 80). Instances of the author's special additions are: p. 55, n. 4 (the whole); p. 332, n. 4 (last sentence); p. 333, n. 2 (the whole); p. 341, n. 1 (last sentence). I have suppressed on my own responsibility a mistaken allusion to English crossed cheques on p. 337. One slight omission is unintentional, and may be here rectified: at p. 278, n. 2, the words "at Didyma" ought to be inserted after "next day" in the third line. All errors detected in the German have of course been corrected (*e.g.*, p. 332, n. 2, Buresch's reading, given as *Παιδίσχη*, is in fact *Παδίσχη*; p. 367, n. 3, line 5, now rightly reads *Trajan* instead of *Hadrian*). In some few places the German has undergone silent adaptation for English readers. The changes are quite unimportant, and generally obvious (*e.g.*, the measurements in feet and inches instead of the metric system, the sums of money expressed in English currency, and the reference to Bradshaw and the Post Office Directory). The allusion to the liturgy of the Church of England on p. 361 is perhaps less easily recognisable as an instance of the same kind.

In other cases, where simple adaptation was impossible, I have added an explanatory footnote. These and all other additions for which the author must not be held responsible are marked (Tr.). Where possible I have supplied references to English translations of the works cited, but I am aware that more might be accomplished in this direction. Schürer's *Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, for example, is accessible in English.

I should have liked very much to find an English parallel to the example at p. 220, n. 1, of a writer's saying that his letter has grown into an epistle, but my search hitherto has been unsuccessful. The fact is that the words *letter* and *epistle* have been so long used synonymously in English (at first seriously, and now half humorously) that it requires a little effort to adapt oneself to Deissmann's technical use of these terms (pp. 147, n. 1; 220 ff.). The English parallel I

seek will be found in some nineteenth-century writer, I think, if it is discovered at all, for *epistle* is used as the exact equivalent of *letter* from the time of James Howell (author of the *Epistolae Ho-Elianae*, 1645) down to Robert Burns.

If at times the notes which I have added evince a liberal conception of relevancy, it must be pleaded that to a person like myself, representing the general reader rather than the theologian, there were many temptations to indulge the annotating habit. How delightful it was, for instance, at p. 23 to recognise in Dr. C. René Gregory the man who in 1883 made Ruskin[1] "feel like Sardanapalus and Ahasuerus and the Caliph Haroun Alraschid and George the 4th and the Count of Monte Cristo—and Dives and Crœsus and Gorgius Midas," the man whose hard work and good writing are praised in *Fors Clavigera* (Letter 94), and who correctly dated Ruskin's MS. of the Septuagint[2] 1463 instead of tenth century as the owner had thought it to be. The mysterious Nysa in Arabia Felix (p. 134 f.) has found its way, in another connexion, into English poetry, for Wordsworth's description of

> "the chosen spot
> In Nysa's isle, the embellished grot,
> Whither, by care of Libyan Jove
> (High servant of paternal Love),
> Young Bacchus was conveyed,"[3]

was suggested by a later passage in Diodorus. Surprising, after the lapse of centuries, was the parallelism between the language of Antonis Longus—"that I may do obeisance to [*or* kiss] thy hand" (p. 169)—and the courtly phraseology in England in the time of Charles I. Sir John Suckling, for instance, wrote in a letter to a nobleman (*c.* 1632), "If these few lines shall have the happiness to kiss your hand, they can assure you . . ." A still closer parallel occurs in the letter of the poet Dryden to

[1] *Letters*, Library Edition, II. 465.

[2] Library Edition of Ruskin's Works, XXXIV. 701.

[3] From the poem called "The Brownie's Cell," beginning "To barren heath," etc. Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, iv. 275–279.

his cousin Honor (23 May, 1655): "That I may one day again have the happiness to kiss your fair hand; but that is a message I would not so willingly do by letter as by word of mouth." Dryden again seems to come near anticipating some points of this book (pp. 224–234) when he writes[1] thus of the early churches and the apostles' care for them:

> "For all their wants they wisely did provide,
> And preaching by epistles was supplied:
> So great physicians cannot all attend,
> But some they visit, and to some they send.
> Yet all those letters were not writ to all,
> Nor first intended, but occasional,
> Their absent sermons."

In other particulars, apart from the notes, I have constantly tried to make the English reader's version of this book more useful, if possible, than the original, thus doing my best to support the publishers in their manifest resolve to improve upon the German edition as regards externals. When it came, therefore, to what Thomas Fuller called "the bag and baggage of a book," the Indices, I had no hesitation in preparing them on the same elaborate scale as the author himself adopted. The Indices may still be regarded as of the author's own design, but some changes have been made. References are now given as exactly as possible, not by the page only, but also by the number of the footnote, and this number is often to be taken as a finger-post to a certain part of the text as well as to the remark at the foot of the page. I first made this improvement in the second German edition, where it was even more necessary on account of the large size of the page. In Index II. I have now, in accordance with English usage, included the names of immortals, which in the German edition must be sought for in the Subject Index. For the rest the Subject Index preserves the idiosyncrasies of the original. Reference is facilitated by placing a good many compound entries under two letters of

[1] *The Hind and the Panther* (1687), II. 334–340.

the alphabet. Thus "Arm of God," which is indexed only under A in the German, can now be found either in this form or in the form "God, Arm of." The German Index, though so extremely minute, was sometimes more terrifying than helpful. On looking up such a word as Alexandria, Berlin, Jesus, or Paul, one was confronted with a column of figures, half an inch to three inches in length, representing perhaps more than fifty references, but with not a single clue to the maze. In the English Index something has been done to improve this.

In the translations of the Greek texts I was naturally guided by the German, but I did not feel called upon to follow it literally. Even the translations of papyrus letters by Grenfell and Hunt, which are of course made directly from the Greek, and which in some cases have already attained popular celebrity, did not seem to be the right thing for me to use, though I have carefully considered them. There is a modern ring about them [1] which separates them off from the diction of the English Bible, and so would have weakened the comparison which it is a main object of this book to make between the sacred and profane memorials of Hellenistic Greek. I therefore have tried to render the Greek literally in language as far as possible resembling that of the Authorised Version and the Revised Version. If the word before me occurs in the Greek Bible my principle is to adopt by preference one of the renderings of King James's translators. It is hoped that in this way the kinship of these texts with the style and language of the Bible may be made more conspicuous, and that even a reader who neglects the Greek may be struck by the frequent Biblical echoes. The result may leave something to be desired as regards clearness, but is it right in translating an ancient letter to give it a perspicuity which the original does not possess? And that ancient letters are not always perspicuous any person acquainted only with English may see for himself if he will trouble to

[1] Cf. the author's protest about a similar matter, p. 10, n. 2 below.

look at even a modernised edition of the fifteenth-century Paston Letters.

This subject is, I think, sufficiently important to be illustrated by a comparison. Take these two renderings of a "Saying" in the second Logia fragment from Oxyrhynchus :—

Jesus saith : Let him that seeketh . . . not cease . . . until he findeth, and when he findeth he shall be amazed, and having been amazed he shall reign, and having reigned he shall rest.	Jesus saith : Let not him who seeks . . . cease until he finds, and when he finds he shall be astonished ; astonished he shall reach the kingdom, and having reached the kingdom he shall rest.

The first is as printed at p. 437 below, the second is by Grenfell and Hunt. The forms *seeketh*, *findeth*, *him that* are preferred to *seeks*, *finds*, *him who* as being more archaic and Biblical. The Greek word θαμβέω is translated *amaze* in Mark i. 27, x. 32, *astonish* in Mark x. 24, Acts ix. 6 ; the R.V. uses *amaze* in each place, except in Acts ix. 6, where the word disappears from the text. So also βασιλεύω is translated *reign* in Matt. ii. 22, Rom. v. 14, 17, 21, vi. 12, 1 Cor. iv. 8 (A.V. and R.V.). Note that *and* has dropped out before the second *astonished*. It is unnecessary to give further details, but I suppose there is not one of the translated texts but contains at least one instance of specially chosen wording on these principles.

I have promised the author to give here my reasons for declining to follow his practice of trying to indicate in the translations those portions which represent a restored original. That practice is unnecessary and inexact. Lacunae and restorations must of course be indicated as accurately as possible in the printed Greek text. The scholar interested in these things naturally looks at the Greek and finds there what he wants. Those who are not scholars, those in fact for whom the translations are provided in the first place, take no interest in such minutiae. They can see in a general way from the facsimile, or from the printed Greek text,

that the original is much or little mutilated, and they expect the translation to inform them of the final results of criticism applied to the text. Now take an example. Had I followed the author's practice I should have written at p. 169 :—

. . . if the g[o]ds will. Salute
Capit[o mu]ch and [my] brother and sis-
[t]er and Se[reni]lla and [my] friend[s].
I sent the[e by] Euctemon a little [pi]cture of me.
Moreov[e]r [my] name is Antonis Ma-
ximus. Fare thee well, I pray.
Centuri[a] Athenonica.
There saluteth thee Serenus the son of Agathus [Da]emon, [and
. . . .]s the son of [. . .]
r and Turbo the son of Gallonius and . [. . . .] . . . . [. . . .] . . . [. . .]
[. . . .] . [. . .] . [ ]

With all this trouble I should have succeeded in giving only an imitation, not a representation of the actual condition of the papyrus. A certain number of facts are correctly conveyed: 18 words are defective in the Greek, and 18 words are distinguished by brackets in the English; 35 letters have been restored in the Greek, and 35 letters are bracketed in about the same relative positions in the English lines; 10 of the English words correspond exactly with the Greek in meaning and in position in the line, and thus 22 of the restored letters may be said to be successfully denoted in the English. In the 8 remaining words (involving 13 letters) the right position in the line is attained only by bracketing letters in the wrong word. Thus an altogether wrong impression is created in the reader who pays no attention to the Greek. He may think, for instance, that the words *my* (three times) and *by* have been supplied wholly by conjecture. *By* really is bracketed solely because it occurs at that place in the line where in the original the Greek word for *picture* stands minus its first two letters. This important word, *picture*, which perhaps does deserve to be marked as conjectural in an English rendering of the letter, gets its brackets merely by accident—because in the English

order of words it occupies the place of the word translated "of me." The German word-order is more elastic, and German employs more inflections than English, so that it is easier on the whole to carry out this imitative process in German than in English, but even then great care is necessary to make the imitation successful. It so happens that in the above passage the German is in some respects less accurate than the English in its use of brackets. The German has only 17 words with brackets (there should be 18); 40 letters are bracketed (there should be only 35); 14 words (with 28 letters) may be pronounced successfully imitated. Of the 4 unsuccessful cases two may be due to oversight, and two seem caused by thinking more of the words and the sense than of the single letters.

By discarding this artificial system of brackets the translations gain in simplicity for non-specialist readers, and it becomes possible in case of need (*e.g.* in Letter 16, p. 196 f.) to use brackets to denote words that have to be supplied in order to complete the sense in English.

As a rule I have not retained in the translations the original division into lines, which Deissmann endeavours faithfully to preserve. There would be practical use in this, if it could be done, but even with the flexible word-order of German only an approximation can be obtained. In English the approximation would have been less satisfactory, and as the pieces are mostly short it will usually be possible to refer from the translation to the original or *vice versâ* without much trouble, even though the lines of the translation are now run on. At any rate the reader is no worse off than when using Grenfell and Hunt's translations. Those editors also neglect the division into lines; they distinguish none of the minutiae of restoration, and do not even print their English side by side with the Greek. In one text of exceptional length quoted in this book (p. 254 ff.) the division into lines has been maintained, roughly of course, in order to facilitate reference to the Greek.

A word must be said concerning the abbreviations. There

are really remarkably few of them in the book. "I.G." occurs at p. 13, n. 1, but is explained at p. 11, n. 1. A small numeral above the line after the name of a book (thus: *Sylloge*[2]) indicates the edition. A special monstrosity of this kind occurs at p. 336, n. 2, where *Kommentar*, 8/9[8.7] denotes the eighth edition of vol. 8, and the seventh edition of vol. 9, which are bound up together. At p. 216, n. 3, the symbol ‖ means "parallel with." The other abbreviations, I hope, will explain themselves.

In the German edition the diacritical marks employed in the Greek texts receive as a rule no explanation. I think, however, there may be many readers able to appreciate such things who are nevertheless not quite certain of their precise signification. The following list is based on Grenfell and Hunt's introductory note to the Amherst Papyri:—

Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, *e.g.* pp. 130 f., 136 f., 149 ff., 168.

Round brackets ( ) indicate the extension of an abbreviation, the resolution of a ligature or symbol, *e.g.* pp. 152 f., 158, 160 f.

Angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ indicate that the letters enclosed in them were omitted (*i.e.* not written) in the original, *e.g.* pp. 149, 154, 162, 191. (In the translation on p. 254 they indicate a word which, though actually written in the Greek, should be omitted.)

Double square brackets [[ ]] indicate that the letters enclosed in them were deleted in the original. See p. 151, n. 4.

Dots within brackets indicate the approximate number of letters missing, *e.g.* pp. 123, 137, 168.

Dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters, *e.g.* pp. 123, 168.

Dots under letters indicate a probable but not certain reading, *e.g.* pp. 123, 151, 162, 174, 176, 191.

Dashes under letters indicate an almost certain reading,

e.g. pp. 162, 168, 172 f., 176, 191. In the text given on p. 415 f. the dots and dashes are now for the first time used in conformity with the usual practice, observed elsewhere throughout the book. In both German editions, unfortunately, though no attention was called to the fact, the functions of dot and dash were by an oversight reversed in this text.

A dash above a letter indicates a contraction, *e.g.* p. 204, lines 14 (ἁμαρτίῃ̄ = ἁμαρτίην), 24, 28, p. 415 f. Sometimes it means that the letter is used as a numeral, *e.g.* pp. 164, 186, 188. The mysterious ϛ̄ on p. 176, line 23, is perhaps a numeral (= 5).

An oblique stroke / indicates (p. 102, n. 2) the point where a new line begins in the original.

At the end of November last Mr. H. I. Bell, of the British Museum (Department of MSS.), kindly gave me information, in answer to an inquiry, which would have enabled me to make improvements on p. 47, but by a misunderstanding pp. 33–176 were printed off without being submitted to me in revise. "Christian town of Menas" (p. 47, n. 2) is misleading, since Menas was a saint, and it was only in course of time that something like a town grew up around the sanctuary connected with his tomb, which was a resort of pilgrims. The Third Report referred to has been published (*Dritter Bericht über die Ausgrabung der Menas-Heiligtümer in der Mareotiswüste*, vorgelegt von C. M. Kaufmann, Cairo, 1908), and contains some account of the ostraca, with photographs. They were published by E. Drerup, "Griechische Ostraka von den Menas-Heiligtümern," Römische Quartalschrift, 1908, pp. 240–247. Drerup is inclined to place the ostraca in the sixth rather than the fifth century, but Mr. Bell thinks they cannot well be later than the *early* sixth century.

In the last chapter, where the author speaks of the future problems of Greek lexicography, I ought to have mentioned

in a note that a "Lexicon of Patristic Greek" is now in preparation in England. The idea originated with the Central Society of Sacred Study, and its Warden, Dr. Swete, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Since the death of Dr. H. A. Redpath (September, 1908) the Rev. Herbert Moore, Vicar of Acton, Nantwich, has acted as receiver of the materials collected by voluntary readers from the Greek Fathers down to A.D. 500. If sufficient helpers[1] come forward the period may be extended to A.D. 750.

Dr. Milligan's *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, referred to in the note on p. 21 as in preparation, appeared at the end of February, 1910.

Nothing remains now but the pleasant duty of thanking several kind helpers. The author himself is the person whom I have troubled most, and to whom I am most indebted. My grateful acknowledgments are also due to Mr. H. I. Bell, for the information mentioned above; to my friend the Rev. W. H. Hayman, Rector of Leckford, Hants, under whose hospitable roof some of the first proofs were corrected, for his opinion in certain Hebrew matters; to my friend Mr. F. W. Henkel, B.A., F.R.A.S., for making a preliminary translation of the Appendices; to my colleague Professor Gradenwitz for help with the word προαποδότης (p. 327, n. 4); and to Miss C. E. Strachan, B.A., my sister, who read the proofs as far as p. 184, and afterwards looked up all sorts of little points for me at the British Museum. The proof-reading, I may say, was made as easy and pleasant a task as possible by the printers, Messrs. Hazell, Watson & Viney, of Aylesbury, and their reader, Mr. W. H. Bridges, who sent out the proofs in really beautiful condition. I was the better able to appreciate this because in the smudgy proofs which I was obliged to read for the second German edition one was often

[1] There are already more than 100 of them, Mr. Moore tells me, at work on the great bulk of the writings before A.D. 500, equivalent to 85 volumes of Migne. 11 more volumes of Migne would include the later treatises down to St. John of Damascus.

in doubt whether the accents were there or not, the distinction between full-stop and comma was often unrecognisable, and the sheets sometimes came back from correction looking worse than they did before. To Mr. Bridges I am indebted for much more than the technical excellence of the proofs. His queries were always valuable, and as an instance of his interest in the book I may mention that he called my attention to the letter in the *Times* mentioned at p. 280, n. 1, which I also discovered for myself independently a few hours before his information arrived. I shall never know exactly how much of the excellence in the proofs was due to his vigilant eye and how much to the good workmanship of the compositors. About thirty of them were employed on the book, it seems, and their English names were pleasant to read on the MS. that came back to me in a foreign town, and my thoughts often ran gratefully to those men of Aylesbury.

The colophon is taken from a Greek MS. of the year 939 A.D. I noted it in Montfaucon's *Palaeographia Graeca* a good many years ago, when I was only a scribe; but now I am a ξένος as well, and I think the time has come to use it.

L. R. M. S.

HEIDELBERG, *April*, 1910.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

I WAS in the midst of preparations for a second Anatolian journey when I heard from Dr. Paul Siebeck, about Christmas, 1908, that the first edition was nearly exhausted. I was able, however, before my departure, to revise the book, making improvements and additions to fit it for its new public appearance. Many readers will welcome the considerable increase in the number of illustrations. I am indebted to many friends and colleagues who have corrected me and added to my knowledge by letter or in reviews. Numerous instances of this indebtedness will be found in the notes. . . .

My second journey, begun on 24 February and safely ended on 6 May, 1909, was undertaken with financial assistance from the Prussian Ministry of Education. I travelled with my friends Carl Schmidt, Wilhelm Weber, and one younger companion. Our route led us *viâ* Constantinople to Asia Minor (Eski Shehr, Angora, Konieh and environs, Afium-Kara-Hissar, [Ala-shehr *Philadelphia*, Sardis,] Smyrna, Ephesus, Laodicea, Hierapolis, Mersina, Pompeiopolis, Tarsus), Syria (Alexandretta, Antioch on the Orontes, Beyrout, Baalbec, Damascus), Galilee (Tiberias, Tell Hum *Capernaum* and

environs, Nazareth), Haifa with Carmel, Samaria, Judaea (Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Jericho, Dead Sea, Jordan, Jaffa), and Lower Egypt (Port Said, Cairo and environs, Alexandria). This long itinerary will gain in distinctness if I say, speaking in terms of the New Testament, that I was privileged to see the homes of St. Paul and the Saviour Himself, and the principal roads traversed by them, so far as these scenes of New Testament story were not yet known to me from my first journey.

Looking back on the second journey, which took me also for a brief space into the homeland of the papyri and ostraca of which use is made in this book, I consider it an advantage that I did not see Palestine until after I had seen Asia Minor and Syria. The great uniformity of the culture of the Mediterranean lands was thus brought home to me more clearly, and I think also that I was thus better prepared to realise the peculiar characteristics of Palestine. I consider it equally important that Jerusalem should be entered from the north, by the high-road from Galilee. That is the historical road to the Holy City, the pilgrims' way. Thus Jesus as a boy of twelve, thus St. Paul as a young man, and thus the Crusaders advanced to conquer the city, and this ought still to be the only approach to Jerusalem.

Only thus was it that Jerusalem became to me in many respects the climax of the whole expedition. The mass of pathetic facts and problems connected with a unique past, the motley commotion in the

social and religious present, where, however, vigorous types of ancient piety have kept alive to this day—in all this the multitude of single observations accumulated on the journey united to form one great general impression of the essential character and value of the religious East, which is a unity amidst all the confusion of tongues and all the play of colours in the costumes.

Of course it has not been possible for me yet to work up these observations. For that I must have time. But when I think of all that I have learnt (I trust) for the better understanding of the gospels, the letters of St. Paul, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation of St. John, I cannot but express my gratitude to the Ministry of Education for enabling me to undertake this journey. I wish that right many of my fellow-students might be given the same opportunity of beholding with their own eyes the scenes of gospel and Primitive Christian history. The New Testament is the most important monument of the East that we possess; those who study it have therefore a claim upon the East.

ADOLF DEISSMANN.

BERLIN-WILMERSDORF, 9 *June*, 1909.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

"LIGHT from the East"—it is a curious title for the book, but before you censure it just look for a moment at the Eastern sunshine. On the castled height of Pergamum observe the wondrous light bathing the marble of Hellenistic temples at noon-day. At Hagios Elias in Thera look with hushed rapture upon the golden shimmer of the same light over the endless expanse of the Mediterranean, and then in the *vino santo* of the hospitable monks divine the glow of that same sun. Mark what tones this light has at command even within stone walls, when at Ephesus a patch of deep blue sky gleams through the roof of a ruinous mosque upon an ancient column now mated to a fig-tree. Nay, let but a single beam of the Eastern sun peep through a chink of the door into the darkness of a poor Panagia chapel: a dawning begins, a sparkling and quickening; the one beam seems to wax twofold, tenfold; day breaks, you take in the pious meaning of the wall frescoes and the inscribed words, and the miserable poverty that built the shrine is forgotten.

Make that sunbeam your own and take it with

you to the scene of your labours on the other side of the Alps. If you have ancient texts to decipher, the sunbeam will bring stone and potsherd to speech. If you have sculptures of the Mediterranean world to scrutinise, the sunbeam will put life into them for you—men, horses, giants, and all. And if you have been found worthy to study the sacred Scriptures, the sunbeam will reanimate the apostles and evangelists, will bring out with greater distinctness the august figure of the Redeemer from the East, Him whom the Church is bound to reverence and to obey.

And then, if you speak of the East, you cannot help yourself: made happy by its marvels, thankful for its gifts, you *must* speak of the *light* of the East.

After fifteen years spent in studying the Greek Bible and other secular documents of the Hellenistic East, it was a matter of extreme moment to me to be privileged in the spring months of 1906 to take part in an expedition, assisted by a grant from the Baden Ministry of Education, for study purposes to Vienna, Buda Pesth, Bucharest, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Greece with the principal islands, and Southern Italy. The tour was organised and conducted in masterly fashion by Friedrich von Duhn. In the great museums and at the centres where international excavations are in progress we had not only him to instruct us, but the foremost authorities in archaeology and epigraphy—Austrians, Hungarians, Roumanians, Turks, our own German countrymen,

Greeks, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Italians—rendered us the greatest assistance in our studies. We were indebted most particularly to Wilhelm Dörpfeld and my old schoolfellow Theodor Wiegand. For me personally the whole expedition was hallowed with peculiar, unforgettable solemnity owing to a deeply affecting family bereavement, the sudden news of which reached me at Smyrna. Thus it dwells in my memory now as a great event to which I owe both widening and deepening of experience.

On my arrival home I began to write a book, combining my impressions of the tour with observations I had already made in the course of my studies. The foundation was provided by a course of lectures [1] which I gave at the Hochstift, Frankfort on the Main, in 1905, and which appeared afterwards in English, first in serial [2] and then in book form.[3] I was also able to make use of smaller articles of mine, most of which appeared in *Die Christliche Welt*, some being reprinted with my permission in the eighth volume of Ernst Lohmann's journal, *Sonnen-Aufgang: Mitteilungen aus dem Orient* (1906).

The linguistic details in Chapter II. of the present book are to some extent supplemented in my Cambridge lectures,[4] one of which is devoted to Septuagint philology. Of the new and great tasks

[1] An abstract of the course, entitled "Das Neue Testament und die Schriftdenkmäler der römischen Kaiserzeit," was printed in the *Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts zu Frankfurt am Main*, 1905, pp. 79–95

[2] The Expository Times, October 1906 to April 1907.

[3] *New Light on the New Testament*, Edinburgh, 1907.

[4] *The Philology of the Greek Bible*, London, 1908.

which the new texts set before the Septuagint scholar I have spoken but occasionally in the present book; but nearly all the observations that I have brought together on the New Testament could be carried further back and applied in like manner to the Greek Old Testament.

At the desire of my publisher, Dr. Paul Siebeck, who displayed great and intelligent interest in the whole field of my researches, I have written the main text of the book (as distinct from the foot-notes) in a manner to be understood in all essentials by the general reader without specialist knowledge. For the same reason the Greek and Latin texts have been furnished with translations—a good means, by the way, of enabling the author to check his impressions. Dr. Siebeck complied most willingly with my suggestion that a large number of the more important texts should be shown in facsimile. In obtaining the necessary photographs, rubbings, etc., I was assisted by several scholars and publishers at home and abroad, and with especial liberality by the Directors of the Royal Museums (Berlin), the Imperial Postal Museum (Berlin), the Epigraphical Commission of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Lord Amherst of Hackney, the Heidelberg University Library, the Egypt Exploration Fund (London), the British Museum, and the Imperial Austrian Archaeological Institute. For all this aid I return respectful thanks.

From the beginning I was accompanied in my work by the practical sympathy of my friend Ulrich

Wilcken, who was also one of those who helped by reading the proofs. The extent of my indebtedness to this pioneer worker in classical antiquities cannot be gauged from the mere quotations in the book itself. . . .

Little did I dream in October last (1907), when the book began to be printed, that its completion would mark my farewell to the University of Heidelberg. Even after my summons to another sphere of work I should have preferred to be able to publish it in my capacity as a Heidelberg Professor, for it is a Heidelberg book. But that summons caused the printing to be delayed some weeks. If I am thus unable to write Heidelberg after my name on the title-page, I must at least in this place acknowledge what help and stimulus, what true fellowship and friendship Heidelberg has brought me. I regard it as a most kindly dispensation of Providence that for more than ten years I have been privileged to live, work, and learn in this ancient University—and for just those ten years in which, while one's own aims become gradually clearer, one is still independent and receptive enough to be moulded by the most various kinds of men and institutions.

ADOLF DEISSMANN.

CASTAGNOLA, LAKE OF LUGANO,
19 *March*, 1908.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM—DISCOVERY AND NATURE OF THE NEW TEXTS

1. THE gospel was first preached beneath an Anatolian sky. Jesus and Paul were sons of the East. The "Amen" of our daily prayers, the "Hosanna" and "Hallelujah" of our anthems, names such as "Christ" and "Evangelist" remind us constantly of the beginnings of our religious communion. Like other words distinctive of our faith, they are of Semitic and Greek origin. They take us back not only to the soil of Galilee and Judaea but to the international highways of the Greek or rather Graecised Orient: Jesus preaches in His Aramaic mother tongue, Paul in the cosmopolitan Greek of the Roman Empire.

So too the book which preserves an echo of the message of Jesus and His apostles: the New Testament is a gift from the East. We are accustomed to read it under a Northern sky, and though it is by origin an Eastern book, it is so essentially a book of humanity that we comprehend its spirit even in the countries of the West and North. But details here and there, and the historical setting, would be better understood by a son of the East, especially a contemporary of the evangelists and apostles, than by us. Even to-day the traveller who follows the footsteps of the apostle Paul from

Corinth past the ruins of Ephesus to Antioch and Jerusalem, finds much revealed to him in the sunshine of the Levant which he would not necessarily have seen at Heidelberg or Cambridge.

In our acts of worship we have, thank God, nothing to do with the historical setting of the sacred text. The great outlines of the shining golden letters are clearly visible even in the semi-darkness of the shrine, and here our business is with things holy, not historical.

But theology, as an historical science, has a vital interest in the discovery of the historical setting, the historical background.

The ancient world, in the widest sense of that term, forms the historical background to Primitive Christianity. It is that great civilised world fringing the Mediterranean which at the period of the new religious departure displayed a more than outward compactness so far as the Hellenisation and Romanisation[1] of the East and the Orientalisation of the West had worked together for unity.

Any attempt to reconstruct this mighty background to the transformation scene in the world's religion will base itself principally on the literatures of that age,—and on earlier literatures in so far as they were forces vital enough to have influenced men's minds in the Imperial period. There are two groups of literary memorials deserving of special attention: firstly, the remains of Jewish tradition contained in the Mishna, the Talmuds, and kindred texts; secondly, the Graeco-Roman authors of the Imperial age.

Of neither of these groups, however, shall I speak

[1] On this hitherto little-studied problem cf. Ludwig Hahn, *Rom und Romanismus im griechisch-römischen Osten*, Leipzig, 1907.

here, although I am not unaware of the great importance of this body of literary evidence. It were indeed a task well worthy of a scholar to devote his life to producing a new edition of Johann Jakob Wetstein's New Testament.[1] That splendid book is now a century and a half old, and its copious collection of parallels from Jewish and Graeco-Roman literature could be supplemented from our present stores of scientific antiquarian lore: it was one of the dreams of my student days. But on the whole ancient Jewish literature at the present time is being explored by so many theologians, both Jewish and Christian,—the Christian with fewer prejudices than formerly, and the Jewish more methodically,—and on the whole the Graeco-Roman literature of the Imperial period has attracted so many industrious workers, that we are already familiar with a wide extent of the *literary* background of Primitive Christianity. Indeed, the literary memorials are valued so highly that in some quarters it is consciously or unconsciously believed that the literature of the Imperial period will enable us to restore the historical background of Primitive Christianity in its entirety.

Those who think so forget that the literature, even if we now possessed the whole of it, is after all only a fragment of the ancient world, though an important fragment. They forget that a reconstruction of the

[1] *Novum Testamentum Graecum cum lectionibus variantibus et commentario pleniore opera Jo. Jac. Wetstenii*, Amstelaedami, 1751–2, 2 vols. folio. Dedicated to Frederick, Prince of Wales, son of George II. Contains prolegomena, apparatus criticus, and commentary. *E.g.* Matt. ix. 12, "they that be whole need not a physician," is illustrated by quotations from Ovid, Diogenes Laertes, Pausanias, Stobaeus, Dio Chrysostom, Artemidorus, Plato, Quintilian, Seneca, and Plutarch. There are appendices on the use of variants and on interpretation (especially of the Apocalypse); a list of authors quoted; a Greek index verborum; and, to crown the feast, the Syriac text of the Epistles of Clement is given. (TR.)

ancient world is bound to be imperfect if founded solely on the literary texts, and that comparisons between Primitive Christianity and this world restored in fragments made up of fragments might easily prove erroneous. Even so brilliant and learned a scholar as Eduard Norden,[1] in criticising Primitive Christianity in its linguistic and literary aspects, insisted upon contrasts between St. Paul and the ancient world which in reality are mere contrasts between artless non-literary prose and the artistic prose of literature. Such contrasts are quite unconnected with the opposition in which Primitive Christianity stood to the ancient world.

As an attempt to fill in some gaps in the historical background of Primitive Christianity, and as an antidote to extreme views concerning the value of the literary memorials, the following pages are offered to the reader. I propose to show the importance of the *non-literary* written memorials of the Roman Empire in the period which led up to and witnessed the rise and early development of Christianity, the period, let us say, from Alexander to Diocletian or Constantine. They consist of innumerable texts on stone, metal, wax, papyrus, wood, or earthenware, now made accessible to us by archaeological discovery and research. The discoveries belong chiefly to the nineteenth century, which we might almost describe as the century of epigraphical archaeology[2]; but their

[1] *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1898. See the review of this book in the Theol. Rundschau 5 (1902) p. 66 ff.

[2] General readers as well as specialists will appreciate the review of the century's work (restricted, however, to the archaeology of art) in Adolf Michaelis, *Die archäologischen Entdeckungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1906; 2nd ed. 1908, under the title *Ein Jahrhundert kunstarchäologischer Entdeckungen*. [Now accessible to English readers in translation, *A Century of Archaeological Discoveries*, London (J. Murray), 1908. TR.]

importance for the historical understanding of Primitive Christianity is still far from being generally recognised, and it will be much longer before they are fully exhausted.

How different it has been with the cuneiform inscriptions of the East and *their* application to Old Testament study! Men who knew much about the Bible, but nothing of cuneiform, entered into competition with noisy and gifted cuneiform scholars, to whom the Bible had not revealed its mysteries, and an immense literature informed the world of the gradual rise of the edifice behind the scaffolding amid the dust and din of the Babylonian building-plot. It was spoken of in the wardrooms of our men-of-war and in the crowded debating halls of the trade unions.

It cannot be said that New Testament scholarship has hitherto profited on the same scale by the new discoveries. The relics of antiquity found in Mediterranean lands are able to throw light on the New Testament, but their value is not so obvious as that of the cuneiform inscriptions for the Old Testament, and can certainly not be made clear to every layman in a few minutes. No tablets have yet been found to enable us to date exactly the years of office of the Procurators Felix and Festus or of the Proconsul Gallio, which would settle an important problem of early Christian history, and Christian inscriptions and papyri of the very earliest period are at present altogether wanting. And yet the discoveries made by our diggers of archaeological treasure in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt are of very great importance indeed for the light they throw on the earliest stages of Christianity.

It is not merely that the systematic study of the

new texts increases the amount of authentic first-hand evidence relating to the Imperial period. The point is that the literary memorials are supplemented by an entirely new group, with quite a new bearing on history.

In the literary memorials, what we have is practically the evidence of the upper, cultivated class about itself. The lower class is seldom allowed to speak, and where it does come to the front—in the comedies, for instance—it stands before us for the most part in the light thrown upon it from above. The old Jewish literature, it is true, has preserved along with its superabundance of learned dogma much that belongs to the people—the Rabbinic texts are a mine of information to the folklorist—yet it may be said of the Graeco-Roman literature of the Imperial age that it is on the whole the reflection of the dominant class, possessed of power and culture ; and this upper class has been almost always taken as identical with the whole ancient world of the Imperial age. Compared with Primitive Christianity, advancing like the under-current of a lava stream with irresistible force from its source in the East, this upper stratum appears cold, exhausted, lifeless. Senility, the feature common to upper classes everywhere, was held to be the characteristic of the whole age which witnessed the new departure in religion, and thus we have the origin of the gloomy picture that people are still fond of drawing as soon as they attempt to sketch for us the background of Christianity in its early days.

This fatal generalisation involves of course a great mistake. The upper class has been simply confused with the whole body of society, or, to employ another expression, Primitive Christianity has been compared with an incommensurable quantity. By its social

structure Primitive Christianity points unequivocally to the lower and middle class.[1] Its connexions with the upper class are very scanty at the outset. Jesus of Nazareth was a carpenter, Paul of Tarsus a weaver of tent-cloth, and St. Paul's words [2] about the origin of his churches in the lower classes of the great towns form one of the most important testimonies, historically speaking, that Primitive Christianity gives of itself. Primitive Christianity is another instance of the truth taught us with each return of springtime, that the sap rises upward from below. Primitive Christianity stood to the upper class in natural opposition, not so much because it was Christianity, but because it was a movement of the lower classes. The only comparison possible, therefore, is that between the Christians and the corresponding class among the pagans.

Until recently the men of this class were almost entirely lost to the historian. Now, however, thanks to the discovery of their own authentic records, they have suddenly risen again from the rubbish mounds of the ancient cities, little market towns, and villages. They plead so insistently to be heard that there is

[1] This sentence, of which the whole of this book is an illustration, forms the subject of an address by me at the nineteenth Evangelical and Social Congress, held at Dessau, on "Primitive Christianity and the Lower Classes," printed together with the lively discussion that followed in the Proceedings of the Congress, Göttingen, 1908; and in a second (separate) edition, Göttingen, 1908. An English translation appeared in The Expositor, February, March, and April 1909.—I am well aware that it is difficult in many cases to prove the division into classes, the boundaries between the "upper class" and the "lower" classes being often shifting. The speakers in the discussion at Dessau had much to say of importance on this head, and several reviewers of this book have discussed the point. I would refer particularly to Paul Wendland's review in the Deutsche Literaturzeitung 29 (1908) col. 3146 f. The problem of class-division has deeply engaged my attention.

[2] 1 Cor. i. 26–31. With this compare the humble inscription from the synagogue at Corinth (Figure 1, p. 14 below), perhaps the very synagogue in which St. Paul first preached at Corinth.

nothing for it but to yield them calm and dispassionate audience. The chief and most general value of the non-literary written memorials of the Roman Empire, I think, is this: They help us to correct the picture of the ancient world which we have formed by viewing it, hitherto, exclusively from above. They place us in the midst of that class in which we have to think of the apostle Paul and the early Christians gathering recruits. This statement, however, must not be pressed. Of course among the inscriptions and papyri of that time there are many that do not come from the lower class but owe their origin to Caesars, generals, statesmen, municipalities, and rich people.[1] But side by side with these texts lies evidence of the middle and lower classes, in countless depositions made by themselves, and in most cases recognisable at once as such by their contents or the peculiarity of their language. These are records of the people's speech, records of the insignificant affairs of insignificant persons. Peasants and artisans, soldiers and slaves and mothers speak to us of their cares and labours. The unknown and the forgotten, for whom there was no room in the pages of the annals, troop into the lofty halls of our museums, and in the libraries, folio on folio, are ranged the precious editions of the new texts.

In several ways these texts yield a respectable harvest to the student of the New Testament. I am not thinking now of the additions to our store of New Testament and other early Christian MSS. by the discovery of early Christian papyrus fragments, although in this direct way the value of the new

[1] Even these, however, especially the municipal documents of the Imperial period, are, at least linguistically, representative not of the higher but of an average culture.

documents is considerable. I am thinking rather of the indirect value which the non-Christian, non-literary texts possess for the student of Primitive Christianity. This is of three kinds:

(1) They teach us to put a right estimate *philologically* upon the New Testament and, with it, Primitive Christianity.

(2) They point to the right *literary* appreciation of the New Testament.

(3) They give us important information on points in the history of *religion* and *culture*, helping us to understand both the contact and the contrast between Primitive Christianity and the ancient world.

For the purposes of this work I have tacitly excluded one group of memorials. I shall in the main deal only with Greek and Latin texts and neglect those in other languages. I could not claim to speak as a specialist with regard to all of them, and moreover the sheer bulk of the Greek and Latin texts makes it necessary to fix bounds somewhere. I desire, however, to call special attention to at least one group, of the utmost importance particularly in the history of religion. The Semitic inscriptions, found in such numbers in the province of Syria and the border-lands to the East and North, enable us to reconstruct at least fragments of almost unknown heathen cults that were practised in the original home of Christianity.[1]

2. It will be our business to discuss the new texts in the light of linguistic, literary, and religious history; but before we address ourselves to this

[1] A most promising beginning in turning the inscriptions and sculpture to account in the history of religion has been made by René Dussaud, *Notes de Mythologie Syrienne*, Paris, 1903 and 1905. Cf. Count Wolf Baudissin, Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 31 (1906) col. 294 ff.

triple task it is necessary that the *texts* themselves should be briefly described.[1]

We divide them according to the material on which they are written into three main groups. This method of division is mechanical, but is recommended by the simple fact that the texts are generally published in separate editions according to the material they are written on. We shall speak in turn of:

(*a*) Inscriptions on stone, metal, etc.,
(*b*) Texts on papyrus,
(*c*) Texts on potsherds.

(*a*) The bulk of the INSCRIPTIONS[2] are on stone, but to these must be added inscriptions cast and engraved in bronze or scratched on tablets of lead or gold, a few wax tablets, the scribblings (*graffiti*) found on walls, and the texts on coins and medals. These inscriptions, of which there are hundreds of thousands, are discovered on the site of the ancient civilised settlements of the Graeco-Roman world, in its fullest extent from the Rhine to the upper course of the Nile, and from the Euphrates to Britain. Inscriptions have been noted and studied since the days of the Renaissance,[3] and in the eighteenth century there was one scholar, Johann Walch,[4] who

[1] Of course no attempt is made here at exhaustiveness of statement.

[2] To the layman needing a first introduction to Greek epigraphy, Walther Janell, *Ausgewählte Inschriften griechisch und deutsch*, Berlin, 1906, may be recommended. It is only to be regretted that the translations often modernise the originals far more than is necessary.

[3] For the early history of Greek epigraphy see S. Chabert, Revue Archéologique, quatr. série, t. 5 (1905) p. 274 ff.

[4] Joh. Ernst Imm. Walch, *Observationes in Matthaeum ex graecis inscriptionibus*, Jena, 1779. This book is undoubtedly one of the best examples of the many valuable "Observations" which that age produced, and from which almost the whole of the philological matter in our New Testament commentaries and lexicons is derived.

pressed Greek inscriptions into the service of New Testament exegesis. But the nineteenth century is the first that really deserves to be called the age of epigraphy.

Two names stand forth before all others as personifying epigraphical studies: August Böckh will always be associated with the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, and Theodor Mommsen with the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. The great collection of Greek inscriptions has long ceased to be up to date, and is gradually being replaced by newer publications,[1] but it was this first great attempt to collect all the material that alone enabled Greek epigraphy to develop so brilliantly as it has done. Great societies as well as independent archaeologists have added to the total number of inscriptions known by carrying on systematic excavations, typical examples being the work of the Germans at Olympia and of the French at Delphi. New Testament scholars will follow with interested eyes the discoveries made in recent years by the English and Austrians on the site of ancient Ephesus,[2] by British

[1] The first new Corpus was the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*. The volumes have been numbered on a uniform plan so as to fit in with later Corpora of Greek inscriptions in Europe still in course of publication (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in the Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 25 June 1903). The comprehensive title of the new Corpora is *Inscriptiones Graecae* editae consilio et auctoritate Academiae Regiae Borussicae (abbreviated I. G.). An admirable guide to these publications is Baron F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Stand der griechischen Inschriftencorpora*, Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte [Klio] 4 (1904) p. 252 ff.

[2] J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, London, 1877; *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, edited by Sir C. T. Newton: Part III. *Priene, Iasos and Ephesos*, by E. L. Hicks, Oxford, 1890. The provisional reports of the Austrians in the Beiblatt der Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archaeologischen Institutes in Wien, 1898 ff., are now being brought together and supplemented in the monumental *Forschungen in Ephesos veröffentlicht vom Österreichischen Archaeologischen Institute*, the first volume of which appeared at Vienna, 1906, with prominent contributions from Otto Benndorf, and under his auspices.

investigators in Asia Minor in general,[1] by the Germans at Pergamum,[2] Magnesia on the Maeander,[3] Priene,[4] Miletus,[5] and other places in Asia Minor,[6] in

[1] I will only mention here, since it appeals particularly to theological students, the great work done by Sir William M. Ramsay and his pupils, the latest presentation of which will be found in a book entitled *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Aberdeen, 1906, published in celebration of the Quatercentenary of the University of Aberdeen, and valuable as a contribution to early Church History.

[2] Königliche Museen zu Berlin, *Altertümer von Pergamon* herausgegeben im Auftrage des Königlich Preussischen Ministers der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medicinal-Angelegenheiten, Vol. VIII.: *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* unter Mitwirkung von Ernst Fabricius und Carl Schuchhardt herausgegeben von Max Fränkel, 1. *Bis zum Ende der Königszeit*, Berlin, 1890; 2. *Römische Zeit.—Inschriften auf Thon*, Berlin, 1895.—Recent finds are generally published in the Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung (Athenische Mitteilungen). Besides the great German work on Pergamum there has appeared: *Pergame, Restauration et Description des Monuments de l'Acropole.* Restauration par Emmanuel Pontremoli. Texte par Maxime Collignon, Paris, 1900.

[3] Königliche Museen zu Berlin, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* herausgegeben von Otto Kern, Berlin, 1890.

[4] Königliche Museen zu Berlin, *Priene Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren* 1895–1898 von Theodor Wiegand und Hans Schrader unter Mitwirkung von G. Kummer, W. Wilberg, H. Winnefeld, R. Zahn, Berlin, 1904.—*Inschriften von Priene* unter Mitwirkung von C. Fredrich, H. von Prott, H. Schrader, Th. Wiegand und H. Winnefeld herausgegeben von F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen, Berlin, 1906.

[5] Of the great work on Miletus two instalments have so far appeared (*Milet Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre* 1899, Heft 1, *Karte der Milesischen Halbinsel*, 1 : 50,000, mit erläuterndem Text von Paul Wilski, Berlin, 1906. Heft 2, *Das Rathaus von Milet* von Hubert Knackfuss mit Beiträgen von Carl Fredrich, Theodor Wiegand, Hermann Winnefeld, Berlin, 1908). Cf. also the provisional reports by R. Kekule von Stradonitz (I.) and Theodor Wiegand (II.–V.) in the Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1900, 1901, 1904, 1905, 1906, and by Theodor Wiegand in the Archäologischer Anzeiger, 1901, 1902, 1904, and 1906. Report No. VI. (on Miletus and Didyma) by Wiegand appeared at Berlin in 1908, in the appendix to the Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften vom Jahre 1908.

[6] I would mention specially: Karl Buresch, *Aus Lydien epigraphisch-geographische Reisefrüchte* herausg. von Otto Ribbeck, Leipzig, 1898; *Altertümer von Hierapolis* herausgegeben von Carl Humann, Conrad Cichorius, Walther Judeich, Franz Winter, Berlin, 1898 (Jahrbuch des Kais. Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts IV. Ergänzungsheft); the inscriptions, pp. 67–180, are dealt with by Walther Judeich. Other epigraphical material in plenty will be found in the serial publications in the Athenischen Mitteilungen and the various special journals.

Thera,[1] Cos,[2] and other islands, and in Syria and Arabia,[3] by the French at Didyma[4] and in Delos,[5] by the Americans in Asia Minor[6] and at Corinth.[7]

[1] Cf. the great work on Thera by Baron F. Hiller von Gaertringen, Berlin, 1899 ff., and the same scholar's edition of the inscriptions from Thera in I.G. Vol. XII. fasc. III., Berlin, 1898.

[2] Rudolf Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, Leipzig, 1899. The foundation was laid by W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, Oxford, 1891.

[3] Karl Humann and Otto Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien . . .* (text with atlas), Berlin, 1890; Rudolf Ernst Brünnow and Alfred von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia . . .*, 3 vols., Strassburg, 1904, 1905, 1909.

[4] E. Pontremoli and B. Haussoullier, *Didymes Fouilles de* 1895 *et* 1896, Paris, 1904. For the inscriptions see the provisional publications in the Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. The first account of the new German excavations was given by Theodor Wiegand in his VIth provisional Report, see above, p. 12, n. 5.

[5] Cf. chiefly the provisional publications in the Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. The inscriptions of Delos (with those of Myconos and Rheneia) will be published by the Paris Academy as Vol. XI. of the Berlin *Inscriptiones Graecae* (and those of Delphi as Vol. VIII.). Two important inscriptions from the island-cemetery of the Delians, which throw light on the history of the Septuagint and the Jewish Diaspora, are discussed in my essay on "Die Rachegebete von Rheneia," Philologus 61 (1902) pp. 253–265, reprinted as an appendix (No. I.) to the present work.

[6] Cf. especially Vols. 2 and 3 of the Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Boston, 1888, with reports of two epigraphical expeditions in Asia Minor by J. R. Sitlington Sterrett.

[7] Cf. provisionally the inscriptions published by B. Powell in the American Journal of Archaeology, 2nd series, Vol. 7 (1903) No. 1; also Erich Wilisch, Zehn Jahre amerikanischer Ausgrabung in Korinth, Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. 11 (1908) Bd. 21, Heft 6. Among the inscriptions there is one (No. 40), no doubt the remains of an inscription for a door, which is of interest in connexion with Acts xviii. 4: [συνα]γωγὴ Ἑβρ[αίων], "Synagogue of the Hebrews." I reproduce it here from a rubbing taken by me at the Corinth Museum, 12 May 1906 (Figure 1). The inscription is 18½ inches long; the letters are from 2¼ to 3½ inches high. The writing reminds one somewhat of the Jewish inscription in the theatre at Miletus, published in Appendix IV. of the present work. Baron Hiller von Gaertringen very kindly gave me his opinion (in letters dated Berlin, 14 January and 26 February, 1907) that the mason copied exactly the written characters that were set before him; as extreme limits within which the inscription must have been made the dates 100 B.C. and 200 A.D. might, with some reservation, be assumed.—It is therefore a possibility seriously to be reckoned with that we have here the inscription to the door of the Corinthian synagogue mentioned in Acts xviii. 4, in which St. Paul first preached! The miserable appearance of the inscription, which is without ornament of any kind, is typical of the social position of the

There are moreover plenty of native Greek archaeologists whose excellent work vies with that of their foreign visitors.

We await with most lively expectations the Greek volumes of the new Corpus of the inscriptions of Asia Minor, *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, now preparing at Vienna after important preliminary expeditions by the Austrian archaeologists[1] in search of new material. A large portion of the background of St. Paul's missions and the life of the primitive Christian churches will here be made accessible to us. Biblical philologists are provided with a mine of information in Wilhelm Dittenberger's splendid *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*,[2] a comprehensive work distinguished by the accuracy of its texts and the

people whom St. Paul had before him in that synagogue, many of whom certainly were included among the Corinthian Christians that he afterwards described in 1 Cor. i. 26–31.—The Corinthian inscription bears also on the interpretation of the expression *συναγωγὴ Αἰβρέων* which is found in an inscription at Rome (Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes* III.[3] p. 46; Schiele, The American Journal of Theology, 1905, p. 290 ff.). I do not think that Ἑβραῖοι means Hebrew-speaking Jews.—Further reports of the American excavations at Corinth are given in the American Journal of Archaeology, 2nd Series, Vol. 8 (1904) p. 433 ff., 9 (1905) p. 44 ff., 10 (1906) p. 17 ff.

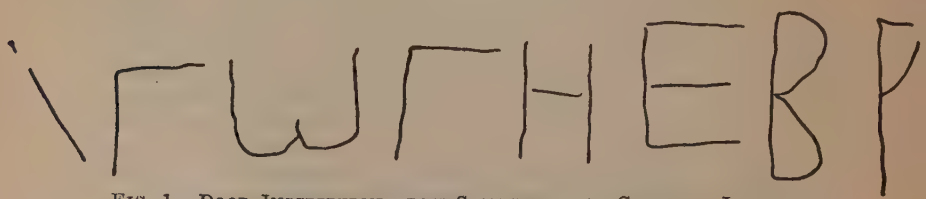

FIG. 1.—DOOR INSCRIPTION FROM SYNAGOGUE AT CORINTH, IMPERIAL PERIOD. NOW IN CORINTH MUSEUM

[1] *Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien*, Vol. I. *Reisen in Lykien und Karien* . . . von Otto Benndorf und George Niemann, Wien, 1884; Vol. II. *Reisen in Lykien Milyas und Kibyratis* . . . von Eugen Petersen und Felix von Luschan, Wien, 1889; *Opramoas Inschriften vom Heroon zu Rhodiapolis* . . . neu bearbeitet von Rudolf Heberdey, Wien, 1897; *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* unter Mitwirkung von G. Niemann und E. Petersen herausgegeben von Karl Grafen Lanckoroński, Vol. I. *Pamphylien*, Wien, 1890; Vol. II. *Pisidien*, Wien, 1892.

[2] 2 vols., Leipzig, 1903 and 1905.

soundness of its commentary. Works like this and the same author's *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*,[1] and the collections of E. L. Hicks,[2] E. S. Roberts [and E. A. Gardner],[3] Charles Michel,[4] R. Cagnat,[5] and others, are admirably adapted for use by theologians as introductions to the special studies of the masters of Greek epigraphy.[6]

I have already mentioned the study of St. Matthew by Walch, who, so far as I know, was the first to employ Greek inscriptions in the elucidation of the New Testament. Since then[7] his followers in this path have been chiefly British[8] scholars, *e.g.* Bishop Lightfoot and Edwin Hatch in many of their writings; E. L. Hicks,[9] who has been already mentioned as one of the editors of the inscriptions of Cos and of the British Museum inscriptions; and most particularly Sir William Ramsay—who has himself done great things for the epigraphy of Asia Minor—in a long series of well-known works. In Germany in recent years E. Schürer is pre-eminent as having,

[1] 3 vols., 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1898–1901.

[2] *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1882. New and revised edition by E. L. Hicks and G. F. Hill, Oxford, 1901.

[3] *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, Cambridge, 1887 and 1905.

[4] *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, Bruxelles, 1900.

[5] *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, Paris, 1901 ff.

[6] Indispensable is Wilhelm Larfeld's *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, planned on a great scale: Vol. I., Einleitungs- und Hilfsdisziplinen. Die nichtattischen Inschriften, Leipzig, 1907; Vol. II., Die attischen Inschriften, Leipzig, 1902. His sketch of Greek epigraphy in Iwan von Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*, I², München, 1892, must also not be neglected.

[7] A complete bibliography is not aimed at.

[8] Richard Adelbert Lipsius, the son who edited Karl Heinrich Adelbert Lipsius' *Grammatische Untersuchungen über die biblische Gräcität*, Leipzig, 1863, tells us (Preface, p. viii) that his father contemplated a large Grammar of the Greek Bible, in which he would have availed himself of the discoveries of modern epigraphy. He has in fact done so to some extent in the "Untersuchungen."

[9] "On some Political Terms employed in the New Testament," The Classical Review, Vol. I. (1887) pp. 4 ff., 42 ff. I first heard of these excellent articles through Sir W. M. Ramsay in 1898.

in his great classical work on the history of the Jewish people and elsewhere, made the happiest and most profitable use of the inscriptions, while their importance has not escaped the learning of Theodor Zahn, Georg Heinrici,[1] Adolf Harnack, and others. Paul Wilhelm Schmiedel, in his excellent adaptation of Winer's Grammar,[2] has drawn most freely on the inscriptions in dealing with the accidence. They have been turned to account for the philology of the Septuagint by Heinrich Anz,[3] but most particularly by the author of the first Septuagint Grammar, Robert Helbing[4]; also by Jean Psichari[5] and Richard Meister.[6] Heinrich Reinhold,[7] following Anz, compared the inscriptions with the Greek of the Apostolic Fathers and the New Testament Apocrypha. In my "Bible Studies"[8] an attempt was made to show what they will yield for the purposes of early Christian lexicography, and the like has been done by H. A. A.

[1] In his studies on the organisation of the Corinthian churches the inscriptions were made use of.

[2] Göttingen, 1894 ff.; cf. Theol. Rundschau, 1 (1897–98) p. 465 ff.

[3] Subsidia ad cognoscendum Graecorum sermonem vulgarem e Pentateuchi versione Alexandrina repetita, Dissertationes Philologicae Halenses Vol. 12, Halis Sax., 1894, pp. 259–387; cf. Theol. Rundschau, 1 (1897–8) p. 468 ff.

[4] *Grammatik der Septuaginta*, Laut- und Wortlehre, Göttingen, 1907. Cf. the important corrections by Jacob Wackernagel, Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 33 (1908) col. 635 ff. [The first instalment of *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, by H. St. J. Thackeray, appeared at Cambridge, 1909. Tr.]

[5] *Essai sur le Grec de la Septante.* Extrait de la Revue des Études juives, Avril 1908, Paris, 1908.

[6] *Prolegomena zu einer Grammatik der Septuaginta*, Wiener Studien 29 (1907) 228–59.

[7] De graecitate Patrum Apostolicorum librorumque apocryphorum Novi Testamenti quaestiones grammaticae, Diss. Phil. Hal. Vol. 14, Pars 1, Halis Sax. 1898, pp. 1–115; cf. Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, 1902, col. 89 ff.

[8] *Bibelstudien*: Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften, zur Geschichte der Sprache, des Schrifttums und der Religion des hellenistischen Judentums und des Urchristentums, Marburg, 1895. English translation (together with the "Neue Bibelstudien") by A. Grieve, under the title "Bible Studies," Edinburgh, 1901; 2nd ed. 1903.

Kennedy.[1] In "New Bible Studies"[2] I examined particularly the inscriptions of Pergamon and part of the inscriptions from the islands of the Aegean, while Gottfried Thieme[3] worked at the inscriptions of Magnesia on the Maeander. Epigraphy yields a rich harvest in Theodor Nägeli's study of the language of St. Paul,[4] in the Grammar of New Testament Greek by Friedrich Blass,[5] and still richer in that by James Hope Moulton.[6] New Testament lexicographers have made but occasional use of the inscriptions, and Hermann Cremer, when he does so, is at times absolutely misleading in consequence of his peculiar dogmatic attitude on the subject. The additions which were made, chiefly by Adolf Schlatter, to Cremer's last edition of his *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek*[7] afford illustrations, in some important points, of the knowledge which the lexicographer in particular may gain from the inscriptions. Honourable mention is due to

[1] *Sources of New Testament Greek*, Edinburgh, 1895; cf. Gött. gel. Anzeigen, 1896, p. 761 ff.

[2] *Neue Bibelstudien*: sprachgeschichtliche Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften, zur Erklärung des N. T., Marburg, 1897.

[3] *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander und das Neue Testament*: eine sprachgeschichtliche Studie [Dissert. Heidelberg, 1905], Göttingen, 1906; cf. Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 31 (1906) col. 231.

[4] *Der Wortschatz des Apostels Paulus*: Beitrag zur sprachgeschichtlichen Erforschung des N. T., Göttingen, 1905; cf. Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 31 (1906) col. 228 ff.

[5] *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, Göttingen, 1896, 2nd ed. 1902; cf. Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1898, p. 120 ff., and Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift 24 (1904) col. 212 ff. [Blass's Grammar was translated into English by H. St. J. Thackeray, London, 1898, 2nd ed. 1905. Tr.]

[6] *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Edinburgh, 1906, 2nd ed. the same year, 3rd ed. 1908; cf. Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 31 (1906) col. 238 f., 32 (1907) col. 38 f. Moulton's inaugural lecture in the University of Manchester, "The Science of Language and the Study of the New Testament," Manchester, 1906, also deserves notice.

[7] *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität*, 9th ed., Gotha, 1902, p. 1119 f. [The English translation of Cremer is now in its 4th ed. Tr.]

Hans Lietzmann and Johannes Weiss for the attention they have bestowed on the inscriptions, Lietzmann in his Commentaries on Romans and First Corinthians[1] (excellent on the philological side), and Weiss in his substantial articles in Herzog and Hauck's *Realencyclopädie*.[2] Copious use of new material has also been made by George Milligan in his Commentary on the Epistles to the Thessalonians,[3] and by William H. P. Hatch.[4]

We are further indebted for most valuable enlightenment to the philologists pure and simple who have extracted grammatical and lexical material from the inscriptions, or have compiled from the new texts complete grammars of the universal Greek current from the death of Alexander onwards into the Imperial age. Such are the special investigations of K. Meisterhans,[5] Eduard Schweizer,[6] Wilhelm Schulze,[7] Ernst Nachmanson,[8] Jacob Wackernagel,[9]

[1] *Handb. zum N. T.* (III.), Tübingen, 1906 f.

[2] *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd ed.; see especially the excellent article on "Kleinasien."

[3] London, 1908.

[4] Some Illustrations of New Testament Usage from Greek Inscriptions of Asia Minor, Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. 27, Part 2, 1908, pp. 134–46. Of special importance is the discovery of ἀγάπη, "love," in a pagan inscription of the Imperial period from Tefeny in Pisidia (Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2, 57). If the word ἀγά[πη]ν is here rightly restored, we now have a proof of the profane origin of the word, which I have long suspected (*Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 27; *Bible Studies*, p. 199).

[5] *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, dritte verm. und verb. Aufl. von Eduard Schwyzer, Berlin, 1900.

[6] *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften*, Berlin, 1898; and (published under the name of Schwyzer, which he assumed) Die Vulgärsprache der attischen Fluchtafeln, Neue Jahrbücher für das klass. Altertum, 5 (1900) p. 244 ff.

[7] *Graeca Latina*, Göttingen (Einladung zur akadem. Preisverkündigung), 1901.

[8] *Laute und Formen der magnetischen Inschriften*, Uppsala, 1903.

[9] *Hellenistica*, Göttingen (Einladung zur akadem. Preisverkündigung), 1907.

and in a special degree the great works of G. N. Hatzidakis,[1] Karl Dieterich,[2] and Albert Thumb,[3] which are full of references to usages in the language of the Greek Old and New Testaments.

Of the Christian inscriptions[4] and their direct value to the scientific study of early Christianity I have not to speak; but I wish at least to say that in one direction they promise a greater harvest than many people might expect, viz. with respect to the history of the text of Scripture and its use. Already with the materials at present known to us quite a large work could be written on the text of Scripture as illustrated by Biblical quotations in ancient Christian (and Jewish) inscriptions.[5] It is to be hoped that the Corpus of Greek Christian inscriptions now planned in France will not only

[1] *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* (Bibliothek indogerm. Grammatiken, V.), Leipzig, 1892.

[2] *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum* 10. *Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Byzantinisches Archiv, Heft 1), Leipzig, 1898.

[3] *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, Strassburg, 1901; cf. Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 26 (1901) col. 684 ff.

[4] The most distinguished workers on this subject in recent years are Sir William M. Ramsay, Franz Cumont, Gustave Lefebvre, etc.

[5] Single points have been treated by E. Böhl, *Theol. Stud. und Kritiken*, 1881, pp. 692–713, and E. Nestle, *ibid.*, 1881, p. 692, and 1883, p. 153 f.; by myself, Ein epigraphisches Denkmal des alexandrinischen A. T. (Die Bleitafel von Hadrumetum), *Bibelstudien*, p. 21 ff. [*Bible Studies*, p. 269], *Die Rachegebete von Rheneia* (p. 13, n. 5, above), and Verkannte Bibelzitate in syrischen und mesopotamischen Inschriften, Philologus, 1905, p. 475 ff., reprinted in the Appendix (No. VI) to this book; by Baron F. Hiller von Gaertringen, Über eine jüngst auf Rhodos gefundene Bleirolle, enthaltend den 80. Psalm, Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Ak. der Wissensch. zu Berlin, 1898, p. 582 ff., cf. U. Wilcken, Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 1, p. 430 f.; and by P. Perdrizet, Bull. de Corr. hellén. 20 (1896) p. 394 ff., who comments on a marble slab from Cyprus inscribed with the 15th Psalm, and refers to other texts of Scripture preserved in inscriptions from Northern Syria, the Hauran, and Southern Russia. Cf. also Ludwig Blau, Das altjüdische Zauberwesen (Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest, 1897–8), Budapest, 1898, p. 95; and particularly Richard Wünsch, Antike Fluchtafeln (Lietzmann's Kleine Texte für theologische Vorlesungen und Übungen, 20), Bonn, 1907; and Alfred Rahlfs, Septuaginta-Studien II., Göttingen, 1907, p. 14 ff.

put an end to the shameful neglect[1] with which epigraphists have treated these memorials, but will also help towards the completion of this task.

There is one circumstance which sometimes makes the inscriptions less productive than might have been expected, especially those that are more or less of the official kind. The style has often been polished up, and then they are formal, artificial, cold as the marble that bears them, and stiff as the characters incised upon the unyielding stone.[2] As a whole the inscriptions are not so fresh and natural as the papyri, and this second group, of which we are now to speak, is therefore, linguistically[3] at any rate, the most important.

(*b*) The Papyri. One of the most important writing materials used by the ancients was the papyrus sheet.[4] It takes its name from the papyrus

[1] Sometimes they are not even recognised... *E.g.* the inscription from Tehfah (Taphis) in Nubia, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 8888, facsimiled at the end of the volume and considered unintelligible by the editor, is a fairly large fragment of the Septuagint, from Exodus xv. and Deuteronomy xxxii. It is all the more creditable of Adolph Wilhelm, therefore, to have detected in a pagan inscription of the 2nd century A.D. from Euboea echoes of the Septuagint Deuteronomy xxviii. 22, 28 (Εφημερις Αρχαιολογικη, 1892, col. 173 ff.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 891). This inscription is one of the oldest of the records which have been influenced by the Greek Bible. The assumption that it was composed by a proselyte is neither necessary nor probable; it is more natural to assume that the composer simply adopted a formula of cursing which had been influenced by the Septuagint.

[2] Cf. *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 7 f.; *Bible Studies*, p. 179; Thieme, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander und das Neue Testament*, p. 4 f.

[3] Lexically, however, the yield of the inscriptions is undoubtedly very important.

[4] In the following pages I have made use of my article on "Papyri" in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, III. col. 3556 ff., and the article on "Papyrus und Papyri" (founded on the other) in Herzog and Hauck's *Realencyclopädie für Theologie und Kirche*, [3]XIV. p. 667 ff. Cf. also an article intended for theological readers by F. G. Kenyon on "Papyri" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Suppl. Vol. p. 352 ff. Other excellent works that would serve as introductions to papyrology are: Ulrich Wilcken, *Die griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, Berlin, 1897; Der heutige Stand der Papyrusforschung, Neue

plant (*Cyperus papyrus* L., *Papyrus antiquorum* Willd.; see Fig. 2). At the present day the plant is found growing in the Sudan,[1] in Palestine[2] (Lake Hûleh—"the waters of Merom"—and the Lake of Tiberias), in Sicily (especially near Syracuse), and also in Italy on the shores of Lake Trasimeno.[3] It is probably cultivated in most botanical gardens,

Jahrbb. für das klass. Altertum, etc., 1901, p. 677 ff.; Ludwig Mitteis, *Aus den griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, Leipzig, 1900; Karl Schmidt (Elberfeld), Aus der griechischen Papyrusforschung, Das humanist. Gymnasium, 17 (1906) p. 33 ff.; O. Gradenwitz, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, I., Leipzig, 1900 (especially for legal scholars). Bibliographies have been published by C. Häberlin, Paul Viereck [three great reports so far in the Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Vols. 98 (1898), 102 (1899), 131 (1906)], Carl Wessely, Seymour de Ricci, Pierre Jouguet, etc. The best place to look for information is now Nicolas Hohlwein's *La Papyrologie Grecque:* Bibliographie raisonnée (Ouvrages publiés avant le 1er janvier, 1905), Louvain, 1905, a careful book enumerating no less than 819 items. Cf. also as brief guides Hohlwein's essays, Les Papyrus Grecs d'Égypte (extrait du Bibliographe moderne, 1906), Besançon, 1907, and Les Papyrus Grecs et l'Egypte, Province Romaine (extrait de la Revue Générale, Octobre 1908), Bruxelles, 1908; also George Milligan, Some Recent Papyrological Publications, The Journal of Theological Studies, April 1908, p. 465 ff.; and J. H. Moulton, From Egyptian Rubbish-Heaps, The London Quarterly Review, April 1908, p. 212 ff. The central organ for the new science of papyrology is the Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete, founded and edited by Ulrich Wilcken, Leipzig, 1900 ff., of which four volumes have already been completed. Cf. also the Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, founded by Carl Wessely, Leipzig, 1901 ff. A very attractive book written for a very general public is that by Adolf Erman and Fritz Krebs, *Aus den Papyrus der Königlichen Museen* (one of the illustrated handbooks issued by the authorities of the Berlin Museums), Berlin, 1899. A papyrus-chrestomathy corresponding to Dittenberger's *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* is being prepared by L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken (Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 3, p. 338). Milligan is also preparing "Selections from the Papyri" for the Cambridge Press.

[1] B. de Montfaucon, Dissertation sur la plante appellée Papyrus, Mémoires de l'Acad. royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Vol. VI., Paris, 1729 p. 592 ff.; Franz Woenig, *Die Pflanzen im alten Ägypten*, ihre Heimat, Geschichte, Kultur, Leipzig, 1886, p. 74 ff.; L. Borchardt, *Die aegyptische Pflanzensäule*, Berlin, 1897, p. 25.

[2] K. Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*,[6] Leipzig, 1904, pp. 221, 223 (= *Palestine and Syria*,[4] Leipzig, 1906, pp. 254, 252).

[3] J. Hoskyns-Abrahall, The Papyrus in Europe, The Academy, March 19, 1887, No. 776 (E. Nestle, *Einführung in das Griechische N.T.*,[2] Göttingen, 1899, p. 40; [3]1909, p. 48; English translation, *Textual Criticism of the Greek Testament* (Theological Translation Library, Vol. XIII.), by Edie and Menzies, London, 1901, p. 42, n. 3. Tr.]).

e.g. at Berlin,[1] Bonn-Poppelsdorf,[2] Breslau,[3] Heidelberg.[4] The plant may be purchased from the firm of J. C. Schmidt, Erfurt, who wrote to me[5] as follows: "*Cyperus papyrus* has proved its suitability as a rapid-growing decorative plant for large sheets of water, aquariums, etc. In the open air it thrives here only in summer, and only in a warm, sheltered position. It is propagated from seed or from leaf-shoots; the latter are cut down to about half their length and put in water." A. Wiedemann[6] gives the following description of the plant: "A marsh plant, growing in shallow water; root creeping, nearly as thick as a man's arm, with numerous root-fibres running downwards; several smooth, straight, triangular stalks, 10 to 18 feet high, containing a moist pith (whence the Hebrew name, from *gāmā'*, 'to drink,' 'to sip up,' and the phrase *bibula papyrus* in Lucan IV. 136), and surmounted by an involucre with brush-like plumes."

The use of papyrus as a writing material goes back to extreme antiquity. The oldest written papyrus known to be in existence is, according to Kenyon,[7] an account-sheet belonging to the reign of the Egyptian king Assa, which is conjecturally dated *circa* 2600 B.C.[8] From these remote times until well on in the Mohammedan occupation of Egypt papyrus remains the standard writing material of that marvellous country, so that the history of

[1] As I was informed by the Director, by letter, 20 October, 1902.
[2] Ditto, 17 October, 1902.
[3] Ditto, 21 October, 1902.
[4] Personal information from the Director.
[5] 18 October, 1902.
[6] Guthe, *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch*, p. 501.
[7] *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, Oxford, 1899, p. 14.
[8] I now follow the chronology of Eduard Meyer. [Assa was a king of the 5th dynasty, and is often dated *circa* 3360 B.C. TR.]

FIG. 2.—The Papyrus Plant. From H. Guthe, *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch.*

[p. 22

its use in antiquity can be proved to extend over a period of about 3,500 years. Brittle and perishable as it appears on a superficial view, it is in reality as indestructible as the Pyramids and the obelisks. The splendid resistant qualities of the papyrus on which they wrote have helped not a little to make the ancient Egyptians live again in the present age.

The preparation of this material has been often wrongly described. It is not correct to say, as Gregory[1] does, that it was made from the "bast" of the plant. The process of manufacture was described for us by Pliny the Elder,[2] and to make his account still more intelligible existing papyri have been examined by specialists. Kenyon[3] accordingly puts the matter thus:—The pith of the stem was cut into thin strips, which were laid side by side perpendicularly, in length and number sufficient to form a sheet. Upon these another layer of strips was laid horizontally. The two layers were then gummed together with some adhesive material, of which Nile water was one of the ingredients. The resulting sheet was pressed, sun-dried, and made smooth by polishing, after which it was ready for use.

The manufacture of papyrus sheets goes on in

[1] *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, I., Leipzig, 1900, p. 7. Gregory informs me (postcard, Leipzig-Stötteritz, 29 June, 1908) that he has been perfectly acquainted with the method of making papyrus for more than thirty years, and that the word "bast" was a mere slip of the pen. [The process is accurately described in C. R. Gregory's *Canon and Text of the New Testament* (International Theological Library), Edinburgh, 1907, p. 301. TR.]

[2] *Nat. Hist.* 13, 11-13. Cf. Theodor Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, Berlin, 1882, p. 223 ff.; Karl Dziatzko, *Untersuchungen über ausgewählte Kapitel des antiken Buchwesens*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 49 ff. Pliny's statements have been given popular currency in Georg Ebers's romance *Kaiser Hadrian*. Cf. also an article by Ebers, on "The Writing Material of Antiquity," in the Cosmopolitan Magazine, New York, November 1893 (Nestle,[2] p. 40; [[3]p. 48; Eng. trans. p. 42, n. 3]).

[3] *Palaeography*, p. 15.

much the same way even at the present day. In the autumn of 1902 my friend Professor Adalbert Merx[1] met a lady in Sicily who had learnt the art from her father and apparently still practised it occasionally. It was probably the same lady that was referred to in the following account of "Modern Syracusan Papyri" in a German newspaper[2]:—

"No visitor to Sicily who goes to Syracuse ever fails to take a walk along the shore, in the shade of a trim-kept avenue of pretty trees, to the Fountain of Arethusa. Here, transformed into a bubbling spring, the daughter of Nereus and Doris continues her deathless existence, and one likes to make her acquaintance in her watery element. But there is another attraction for the traveller besides the nymph, viz. the papyrus plants growing by the spring. The papyrus flourishes not only here, but also in great abundance in the valley of the Anapo near Syracuse. At the end of the 18th[?][3] century the plant which has done such service to learning was introduced at Syracuse from Alexandria and even employed industrially. In the course of centuries, however, it seems that the plantations in the Anapo valley ran waste, until at last a learned society at Naples requested the Italian Government to take proper steps for the preservation of the plant. The Government thereupon instituted an inquiry and commissioned the Syracuse Chamber of Commerce to report on the subject. From a translation of this report in the *Papierzeitung* it appears that a citizen of Syracuse, Francesco Saverio Landolina, began in the 18th century to manufacture papyrus exactly according to the directions given by the Roman scientist Pliny in the 13th Book of his Natural History. After Landolina's death the brothers Politi continued the manufacture, and were followed by their sons, and to-day there are only two persons in Syracuse,

[1] [The distinguished Orientalist (*b.* 1838), who died suddenly at Heidelberg, while he was attending the funeral of a colleague, August 1909. TR.]

[2] Frankfurter Zeitung, 12 April, 1906, No. 101, 2nd morning edition. The article is signed "W. F."

[3] Presumably an error for "10th."

viz. Madame de Haro and Professor G. Naro, descendants of the Politi family, who know and practise the art of making papyrus. They receive annually, with the consent of the Ministry for Education, 400 bundles of the plant, which they work up themselves, without assistance. They use for their work a wooden mallet made according to Pliny's directions. The product is by no means so fine, close-grained, and white as the ancient papyri. The 200 sheets produced every year measure $9\frac{4}{5} \times 7\frac{4}{5}$ inches each. Two bundles of the plant are required to make one of these sheets. The papyrus sheets are sold exclusively to tourists. Those with pictures of Syracusan architecture painted on them are the most popular. A German resident at Syracuse sticks these pictures on postcards and sells them to strangers. A sheet of papyrus costs from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 *lire*, and those with pictures are dearer."

It is interesting to note that a project has been put forward more than once lately to revive the manufacture of papyrus and make it a Government monopoly with a view to its employment as a material for banknotes that should defy imitation.

The size of the single sheet of papyrus was not constant in ancient times, and there ought never to have been any doubt of this fact. Kenyon[1] has collected some measurements. For most non-literary documents (letters, accounts, receipts, etc.) a single sheet was sufficient; for longer texts, especially literary ones, the necessary sheets were stuck together and made into a roll.[2] Rolls have been found measuring as much as 20 and even 45 yards. The regular *format* for ancient works of literature was the papyrus roll. There is a large fragment of a

[1] *Palaeography*, p. 16 f.

[2] Rolls were sometimes manufactured by the makers of papyrus, twenty sheets being generally stuck together for the purpose. See L. Borchardt, Zeitschr. f. die ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, 27 (1889) p. 120, and U. Wilcken, Hermes, 28 (1893) p. 166 f.

papyrus roll among the Leipzig fragments of the Psalter.[1] It was usual to write on that side of the sheet on which the fibres ran horizontally (*recto*); the other side (*verso*) was used only exceptionally.[2] When a sheet of papyrus bears writing on both sides, in different hands, it may generally be assumed that the writing on the *recto* is the earlier of the two. Only in exceptional cases were the sheets of a papyrus roll written on both sides; Nestle[3] refers to Revelation v. 1, where some authorities read "a book written within and without" or "on the front and on the back." In the later centuries of antiquity we find also the papyrus book or codex, which finally triumphs over the roll. It is not true that the transition from roll to book was the result of the introduction of parchment. To give only a few instances, the British Museum possesses a fragment of a papyrus codex of the *Iliad*, probably of the 3rd century A.D.[4] Among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri there is a leaf from a codex of the gospels, containing Matthew i. 1–9, 12, 14–20, of the 3rd century, besides other fragments of Biblical codices. The University Library at Heidelberg possesses twenty-seven leaves from an old codex of the Septuagint. And the celebrated fragment of the "Logia" from Oxyrhynchus also once formed part of a codex.

When we consider the important part played by

[1] Edited by G. Heinrici, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des N. T.*, IV., Leipzig, 1903.

[2] U. Wilcken, Recto oder Verso, Hermes (22) 1887, p. 487 ff.

[3] *Einführung*,[2] p. 41. [The English translation, 1901, p. 43, n. 2, says the passage "can no longer be cited in support of this practice, seeing we must take καὶ ὄπισθεν with κατεσφραγισμένον." In the third German edition, however, 1909, p. 48, n. 1, Nestle still cites the passage, merely remarking that the other way of construing it is perhaps more correct. TR.]

[4] Kenyon, *Palaeography*, p. 25.

papyrus in the life of the ancient world, it is by no means surprising to find it mentioned in Scripture. The papyrus plant is spoken of in Job viii. 11 and Isaiah xxxv. 7; in the former passage the translators of the Septuagint use the word *papyros*, and again in Job xl. 16 (21) and Isaiah xix. 6. The "ark of bulrushes" in which Moses was laid (Exodus ii. 3) was a small papyrus boat,[1] like the "vessels of bulrushes" in Isaiah xviii. 2.[2] The writer of the Second Epistle of St. John mentions papyrus as a writing material, for the *chartes* referred to in verse 12 was doubtless a sheet of papyrus. So too the "books" that Timothy was requested to bring with him to St. Paul (2 Tim. iv. 13) were no doubt made of papyrus, for they are expressly distinguished from "the parchments."

We may now turn to the recent discoveries of papyri and see what their value has been to scholarship in general.

The first recorded purchase of papyri by European visitors to Egypt was in 1778. In that year a nameless dealer in antiquities bought from some peasants a papyrus roll of documents from the year 191–192 A.D., and looked on while they set fire to fifty or so more simply to enjoy the aromatic smoke that was produced.[3] Since that date an enormous quantity of inscribed papyri in all possible languages, of ages varying from a thousand to nearly five thousand years, have been recovered from the magic soil of the ancient seats of civilisation in the Nile Valley. From about 1820 to 1840 the

[1] Here Aquila translates *παπυρεών*.

[2] See an ancient Egyptian picture in Guthe's *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch*, p. 502; and cf. S. Witkowski, Eos 14 (1908) p. 13.

[3] Wilcken, *Die griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, p. 10; which see also for what follows.

museums of Europe acquired quite a respectable number of papyri from Memphis and Letopolis in Middle Egypt, and from This, Panopolis, Thebes, Hermonthis, Elephantine, and Syene in Upper Egypt. Not many scholars took any notice of them at first, and only a very few read and profited by them.

The next decisive event, apart from isolated finds, was the discovery of papyri in the province of El-Fayûm (Middle Egypt) in 1877. To the north of the capital, Medinet el-Fayûm, lay a number of mounds of rubbish and debris, marking the site of the ancient "City of Crocodiles," afterwards called "The City of the Arsinoïtes," and these now yielded up hundreds and thousands of precious sheets and scraps. Since then there has been a rapid succession of big finds, which have not ceased even yet: we are still in a period of important discoveries. In the external history of the discoveries the most noteworthy feature is that so many of the papyri have been dug up with the spade from Egyptian rubbish-heaps.[1] Antiquaries had set the example by excavating in search of the foundations of ancient temples or fragments of prehistoric pottery, and now the excavators seek papyri. The excavations carried out by Drs. Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt rank with the most celebrated archaeological excavations of modern times both in the delicacy of their operations and in the value of their results. The fact that so many of the papyri are found among the dust-heaps of ancient cities is a valuable indication of their general significance. The multitude of papyri from the Fayûm, from Oxyrhynchus-

[1] Including several that were written outside Egypt, cf. Archiv f. Papyrusforschung, 2, 138.

Behnesa, etc., do not, as was at first supposed, represent the remains of certain great archives. They have survived as part of the contents of ancient refuse-heaps and rubbish-shoots. There the men of old cast out their bundles of discarded documents, from offices public and private, their worn-out books and parts of books; and there these things reposed, tranquilly abiding their undreamt-of fate.

The papyri are almost invariably non-literary in character. For instance, they include legal documents of all possible kinds: leases, bills and receipts, marriage-contracts, bills of divorce, wills, decrees issued by authority, denunciations, suings for the punishment of wrong-doers, minutes of judicial proceedings, tax-papers in great numbers. Then there are letters and notes, schoolboys' exercise-books, magical texts, horoscopes, diaries, etc. As regards their contents these non-literary documents are as many-sided as life itself. Those in Greek, several thousand in number, cover a period of roughly a thousand years. The oldest go back to the early Ptolemaic period, *i.e.* the 3rd century B.C.[1]; the most recent bring us well into the Byzantine period. All the chequered history of Hellenised and Romanised Egypt in that thousand years passes before our eyes on those tattered sheets.

The Greek documents are supplemented by large

[1] Recently there has even been discovered a Greek literary papyrus of the 4th century B.C., viz. "The Persians," by the poet Timotheus, which has been edited by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Leipzig, 1903. According to F. Blass (Götting. gel. Anzeigen, 1903, p. 655), Grenfell is disposed to date the MS. between 330 and 280 B.C. More than this: the Frankfurter Zeitung for 16 March, 1907 (No. 75, evening edition) reported that Rubensohn had found at Elephantine a bundle of papyri, among which was one dated with the regnal year of Alexander Aegus, the son of Alexander the Great. That would make it the oldest Greek papyrus document yet discovered.—It is now No. 1 in the special publication *Elephantine-Papyri* bearbeitet von O. Rubensohn, Berlin, 1907.

numbers of others in Aramaic,[1] Demotic, Coptic,[2] Arabic,[3] Latin, Hebrew,[4] and Persian. Of the most ancient hieroglyphic papyri we here say nothing, but there should be no possibility of disagreement as to the value of those we have mentioned for the scientific study of antiquity in the widest sense. They mean nothing less than the reconstitution of a large portion of the life lived by the ancients. They tell their story of the past with a freshness, warmth, and sincerity such as we can boast of in no ancient writer

[1] Extremely important are the *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan*, edited by A. H. Sayce with the assistance of A. E. Cowley and with appendices by W. Spiegelberg and Seymour de Ricci, London, 1906. They consist of ten large original documents written in Aramaic by Jews of Upper Egypt in the time of the Persian kings Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and Darius, 471 or 470 to 411 B.C. Their eminent importance has been set forth in its linguistic, religious, and legal aspects by Th. Nöldeke, Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie, 20, p. 130 ff.; Mark Lidzbarski, Deutsche Lit.-Ztg. 27 (1906) col. 3205 ff.; E. Schürer, Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 32 (1907) col. 1 ff.; U. Wilcken, Archiv f. Papyrusforschung, 4, p. 228 ff.; Friedrich Schulthess, Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1907, p. 181 ff.; and many others. There is a handy edition by W. Staerk in Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*, Nos. 22, 23, Bonn, 1907.—To these have now been added new Aramaic documents from Elephantine, cf. Eduard Sachau, Drei aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine, aus den Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften 1907, Berlin, 1907; and W. Staerk, Aramaeische Urkunden zur Geschichte des Judentums im vi. und v. Jahrhundert vor Chr. sprachlich und sachlich erklärt, in Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*, No. 32, Bonn, 1908. At a meeting of the Berlin Academy, 26 November, 1908, Sachau spoke of a Jewish papyrus from Elephantine containing a long list of names.

[2] I merely refer to the large collections of Coptic letters and documents preserved at London, Vienna, Berlin, Strassburg, Heidelberg, etc. One of the most important of the literary papyri is the Heidelberg MS. of the Acta Pauli, discovered, pieced together with infinite pains and ingenuity, and then edited by Carl Schmidt (of Berlin), *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung* II., Leipzig, 1904 (a volume of text and a volume of plates), with a supplementary volume, "Zusätze," Leipzig, 1905.

[3] The Arabic papyri, especially those of the first century of Islam, have been simply epoch-making as regards Islamic studies. Cf. C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt* I. (*Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung* III.), Heidelberg, 1906, p. 1 ff., and Becker's other publications.

[4] The best known is the Nash Papyrus, a copy of the Decalogue and a part of the Sh'ma [*i.e.* Deut. vi. 4 ff.] with a peculiar form of text, of the first or second century A.D. Cf. Norbert Peters, *Die älteste Abschrift der zehn Gebote, der Papyrus Nash, untersucht*, Freiburg i. B., 1905; and in connexion with this, C. Steuernagel, Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 31 (1906) col. 489 f.

and in but very few of the ancient inscriptions. The record handed down by the ancient authors is always, even in the best of cases, indirect, and has always been somehow or other touched up or toned down. The inscriptions are often cold and lifeless.[1] The papyrus sheet is far more living. We see the handwriting, the irregular characters, we see men. We gaze into the inmost recesses of individual lives.

Despite their unassuming simplicity the papyri are destined to put new blood in the veins of learning. Legal history in the first place, but afterwards the general history of culture, and notably the history of language will derive benefit therefrom. And here, paradoxical as it will seem to many, let me say that the non-literary papyri are of greater value to the historical inquirer than are the literary. We rejoice by all means when ancient books, or fragments of them, are recovered from the soil of Egypt, especially when they are lost literary treasures. But scientifically speaking the real treasure hidden in the field of Egypt is not so much of ancient art and literature as there lies buried, but all the ancient life, actual and tangible, that is waiting to be given to the world once more. It is regrettable, therefore, to see the merest scrap of an ancient book treated as if it were something sacred—immediately published with notes and facsimile, even if it be a fragment of some forgotten scribbler who deserved his fate—while on the other hand the non-literary items are often not even printed in full. Yet it may well happen that a solitary lease of no intrinsic interest contains the long-looked-for link completing the chain of development from some early Hellenistic form down to its representative in some dialect of modern Greek.

[1] Cf. p. 20, above.

Something which an editor, with his eye bent on a special subject of interest to himself, perhaps suppressed as "unimportant," may mean a priceless discovery to another.

It cannot be my task here to recite the long list of papyrus publications, great and small; I refer to the bibliographies mentioned above. Every year, however, increases the number of new editions. The name by which a papyrus is known may refer either to the place where it is now preserved (*e.g.* Berlin Documents; London, Paris, Geneva, Strassburg, Leipzig, Heidelberg, etc. Papyri), the person to whom it belongs (*e.g.* the Archduke Rainer's Papyri, the Amherst Papyri, Reinach Papyri, etc.), or to the place where it was found (*e.g.* Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Tebtunis Papyri, Hibeh Papyri, etc.). From the scientific point of view it would certainly be best to name the papyri after the place where found, and this will always be practicable where a great number of papyri have been found in the same place and kept in one collection. At any rate, when quoting[1] a particular papyrus one should never omit to state where and when it was written. The special excellence of these texts is due in no small degree to the fact that so many of them are dated to the very year and day of the month, and that it is nearly always certain where they came from. At some time in the indefinite future a Corpus (or perhaps several Corpora) Papyrorum may be called for. It would be impossible at present to undertake such a collection, for the discoveries show no signs of coming to a standstill.

[1] Ulrich Wilcken (Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 1, pp. 25 ff., 122 f., 544 f.; 2, pp. 117, 385; 3, pp. 113, 300) has introduced a uniform system of abbreviations for indicating the various editions. There is a complete list of these abbreviations in Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Leipzig, 1906, p. vii ff.

The prevailing tendency being to overestimate the importance of whatever is literary, it is no wonder that theologians have congratulated themselves most of all on the recovery of parts of the Bible and early Christian books. We have, truly enough, every reason to be thankful that sources and textual authorities are still forthcoming from such venerably early periods of our faith. I have given elsewhere[1] a list of the most important Greek fragments recovered down to 1908, including altogether about fifty fragments, large and small. The more recent publications enable us to add largely to the list. I will mention a few particulars.[2] Since 1903 Grenfell and Hunt[3] have published a second fragment of "Logia," and a fragment of a new

[1] In the article already mentioned which I contributed to the *Realencyclopädie*,[3] XIV. p. 671 f. My *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung* I., which were there quoted while still in the press, appeared in 1905 (not 1904 as was expected). Cf. also the article on "Papyri" by Kenyon.

[2] Cf. also Adolf Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* II., Leipzig, 1904, p. 179 ff., and the serial reports by Carl Schmidt (of Berlin) in the Archiv für Papyrusforschung. A creditable collection of the oldest literary and non-literary Christian texts on papyri was contributed to the Patrologia Orientalis, IV. 2, by Charles Wessely, "Les plus anciens monuments du Christianisme écrits sur papyrus textes grecs édités, traduits et commentés," Paris [1907]. Cf. also A. Bludau, Biblische Zeitschrift, 4 (1906) p. 25 ff.; Hermann Müller, *ibid.* 6 (1908) p. 25 ff.; and Caspar René Gregory, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 45–7.

[3] The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part IV. No. 654; cf. my article "Zur Text-Rekonstruktion der neuesten Jesusworte aus Oxyrhynchos," Supplement No. 162 to the Allgemeine Zeitung (Munich) 18 July, 1904, translated as an Appendix (No. II) to the present book; E. Preuschen, *Antilegomena*,[2] Gieszen, 1905, pp. 23 ff., 119 ff.; E. Klostermann, *Apocrypha* III., Bonn, 1904, p. 17 ff.; J. H. A. Michelsen, Theologisch Tijdschrift, 1905, p. 160 f.—I may be allowed one remark concerning the first "Logia" fragment of 1897. The last clause ("colon") of Logion No. 4, *σχίσον τὸ ξύλον κἀγὼ ἐκεῖ εἰμι*, "split the wood and I am there," which has been so much discussed, has a remarkable parallel (not yet pointed out, I believe) in the Gospel of Thomas, ch. x. The boy Jesus heals a wood-cutter whose axe had fallen and severely injured his foot, and dismisses him with the words, *ἀνάστα νῦν· σχίζε τὰ ξύλα καὶ μνημόνευέ μου*, "Arise now: split the pieces of wood and remember Me." This parallel suggests that the Logion is a word of consolation for those engaged in dangerous work.

gospel,[1] which was followed by yet another fragment of a gospel, of considerable size.[2] Another fragment which the two distinguished explorers also consider to be a portion of a gospel,[3] is perhaps rather to be looked on as part of a commentary or a sermon.[4] The Second Part of the Amherst Papyri contains a large fragment of "The Shepherd of Hermas" and several Septuagint fragments, one of which has only been identified since the book appeared.[5] The Fourth Part of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri gave us, besides the texts mentioned above, a good-sized fragment of the Septuagint Genesis,[6] and a still larger piece of the Epistle to the Hebrews,[7] which was found written on the back of an Epitome of Livy. The Sixth

[1] The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part IV. No. 655. Also published separately by Grenfell and Hunt with the second "Logia" fragment: *New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel*, London, 1904. See also Preuschen, *Antilegomena*,[2] p. 26; Klostermann, *Apocrypha* III. p. 20. Michelsen, *op. cit.* p. 161 ff., successfully restores a portion of this hitherto unidentified fragment.

[2] Cf. the announcement in the Times, May 14, 1906. Grenfell and Hunt very kindly showed me the original at Oxford (Oct. 1906). It is a parchment fragment from Oxyrhynchus, now published in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part V. No. 840; and separately, *Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel from Oxyrhynchus*, London, 1908. The fragment has already called forth a copious literature. Cf. Henry Barclay Swete, *Zwei neue Evangelienfragmente*, Bonn, 1908 (Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*, No. 31), where the so-called Freer Logion is also printed—a supposed conclusion, hitherto unknown, of St. Mark's Gospel, which has also given rise to a whole literature. Besides the works of H. A. Sanders, A. Harnack, and C. R. Gregory, mentioned by Swete, cf. among others Hugo Koch, Biblische Zeitschrift 6 (1908) p. 266 ff.

[3] *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Vol. X. (Nos. 10,001–10,869 Greek Papyri), Oxford, 1903, No. 10,735; Preuschen, *Antilegomena*,[2] p. 114 f.

[4] Cf. my article, "Das angebliche Evangelien-Fragment von Kairo," Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, 7, p. 387, translated as an Appendix (No. III) to this book.

[5] Namely the fragment after No. 191, p. 201. It contains LXX Isaiah lviii. 11–14. See the Supplement to the Allgemeine Zeitung (Munich), No. 251, 31 October, 1901.

[6] No. 656; now cited as U_4 by the editors of the great Cambridge Septuagint (Alan England Brooke and Norman McLean).

[7] No. 657.

Part also presented us with new fragments.[1] There are other Biblical fragments on papyrus, some of them very old, of which I received information by letter when they were still unpublished,[2] *e.g.* a large 4th-century MS. of Genesis obtained by Carl Schmidt (of Berlin). Adolf Harnack has announced[3] the discovery of a fragment of Ignatius by the same Carl Schmidt. Several ancient Christian fragments in the Strassburg collection of papyri have been published by O. Plasberg.[4] Anton Swoboda thinks he has discovered in one of the papyri of the "Fayûm Towns" volume some fragments of a Gnostic (Naassenic) psalm about Christ's descent into hell.[5]

Of great importance too are the Coptic fragments of Biblical, Gnostic, and other early Christian writings, among which I have already mentioned the Heidelberg "Acta Pauli."[6] They are very

[1] Fragments of the LXX Psalter (No. 845), LXX Amos (No. 846), St. John's Gospel (No. 847), Revelation (No. 848), the Acts of Peter (No. 849), the Acts of John (No. 850); and a fragment not yet identified (No. 851).

[2] See now the Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 33 (1908) col. 360.

[3] Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 31 (1906) col. 596 f.

[4] Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 2, p. 217 ff.: a piece with proverbs, not yet identified, and probably quite new, to the interpretation of which the editor made excellent contributions; a fragment of 2 Samuel xv. and xvi., Septuagint; a parchment fragment of the fifth century A.D. with remains of a Greek translation of Genesis xxv. 19–22 and xxvi. 3, 4. This last piece, which has already been used in the great Cambridge Septuagint, where it is quoted as Δ_3, is in my opinion very important indeed. It presents a text remarkably at variance with the LXX but approximating to the Hebrew, and its variants are remarkable for the occurrence four times over of *σπορά*, a reading not hitherto recorded, instead of *σπέρμα* (xxvi. 3, 4). We may conclude with great probability that this is a direct protest against St. Paul's celebrated insistence on the singular *σπέρμα* (Gal. iii. 16), and that the papyrus is therefore the survival of a post-Christian, hitherto unknown Jewish revision of the LXX or new translation. Graecus Venetus, a late and probably Jewish writer (ed. O Gebhardt, Lipsiae, 1875), has *σπόρος* in most of the Messianic passages of Genesis; in xxvi. 3, 4 he has *σπόρος* three times and *σπέρμα* once.

[5] Cf. his provisional account, Wiener Studien 27 (1905) Part 2.

[6] Page 30, n. 2, above.

numerous,[1] and have lately been reinforced by two extensive fragments of translations of the first Epistle of Clement, now at Berlin [2] and Strassburg,[3] and by a beautifully preserved MS. of the Proverbs of Solomon.[4] Graeco-Sahidic fragments of the Psalms, of considerable extent, have been published by Carl Wessely [5] from the collection of papyri belonging to the Archduke Rainer. An entirely new field has been opened up by the discovery, also due to Carl Schmidt (Berlin), of the first fragments of Christian literature in the language of ancient Nubia.[6]

The non-literary papyri also contain much that is of direct value in the study of Biblical and Christian antiquities. First must be mentioned the Aramaic and Greek documents which from the 5th century B.C. until long after the establishment of the Empire were written by Jewish inhabitants of all parts of Egypt. These furnish statistics of that cosmopolitan Judaism[7]

[1] I had no intention of enumerating all the earlier publications. Budge's publication, the omission of which was noticed by J. Leipoldt (Theologisches Literaturblatt, 29, 1908, p. 561) was not unknown to me; that of Rahlfs refers, I believe, to a parchment MS.

[2] Karl [=Carl] Schmidt, Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin) 1907, p. 154 ff., and his edition, *Der erste Clemensbrief in altkoptischer Übersetzung* (Texte und Untersuchungen, Dritte Reihe, Zweiter Band, Heft 1), Leipzig, 1908.

[3] Sitzungsberichte, 1907, p. 158 f.

[4] Now at Berlin, *ibid.* p. 155.

[5] Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Vol. 155, first article, Wien, 1907.

[6] Heinrich Schäfer und Karl [=Carl] Schmidt, Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin) 1906, p. 774 ff., and 1907, p. 602 ff. They are parchment fragments from Upper Egypt, but were no doubt found together with papyri. It is nearly always so with Egyptian parchment fragments. In 1907 Rustaffael obtained new writings in Nubian from Edfu, cf. Deutsche Lit.-Ztg. 28 (1907) col. 2012.

[7] The Jewish papyri mentioned in my first list (No. 14) in the *Realencyclopädie*[3] have been the subject of several investigations since I wrote about them in the Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 23 (1898) col. 602 ff. I would refer especially to E. von Dobschütz, Jews and Antisemites in Ancient Alexandria, The American Journal of Theology, 1904, p. 728 ff.; F. Stähelin, *Der Antisemitismus des Altertums*, Basel, 1905; Aug. Bludau, *Juden und Judenverfolgungen im alten*

which was such a help to the Christian mission. Next come the papyri which enable us to fix the chronology of the Egyptian Praefect Munatius Felix, and thereby the chronology of an important treatise by Justin Martyr, or which make it possible to determine the site of hitherto uncertain Egyptian places mentioned in early Christian texts. The discoveries have presented us with a few precious original documents of the time of the Christian persecutions. We have five *libelli* issued to Christian *libellatici* (or, as U. Wilcken suggested to me in a letter of 1 March, 1902, to falsely suspected pagans[1]) at the time of the Decian persecution,[2] and then there is the letter of the Christian presbyter Psenosiris in the Great Oasis to the presbyter Apollo on behalf of a banished Christian woman.[3] Highly remarkable is a Christian original

Alexandria, Münster i. W., 1906; U. Wilcken, Zum alexandrinischen Antisemitismus (Vol. XXVII. of the Abhandlungen der Philol.-Hist. Klasse der Kgl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, No. XXIII.), Leipzig, 1909.

[1] Cf. also Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 3, p. 311. [*Libelli* were official certificates of the satisfactory performance of pagan sacrifices by the certificate-holders. TR.]

[2] No. 1 published by F. Krebs, Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss. (Berlin) 1893, pp. 1007–1014; No. 2 published by K. Wessely, Anzeiger der Kaiserl. Ak. d. W. zu Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse, XXXI. 1894, pp. 3–9; for No. 3 cf. Seymour de Ricci, Bulletin Papyrologique, Revue des Études Grecques, 1901, p. 203, and U. Wilcken, Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 1, p. 174; No. 4 published by Grenfell and Hunt, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, No. 658; No. 5 published by Wessely in the Patrologia Orientalis, IV. 2, pp. 113–115. Cf. also G. Milligan, The Expository Times, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Jan. 1909). A. Bludau's article in Der Katholik, 88, 9, I know at present only from the Deutsche Lit.-Ztg. 29 (1908) col. 2453.—A remarkable analogy to these Libelli is furnished by the certificates of confession and profession given to Lutherans in the 17th century, cf. Theol. Rundschau, 11 (1908) p. 430.

[3] Papyrus 713 in the British Museum, edited with commentary in my little book, *Ein Original-Dokument aus der Diocletianischen Christenverfolgung*, Tübingen und Leipzig, 1902; translated into English under the title *The Epistle of Psenosiris*, London, 1902 (Cheap Edition, 1907). Cf. also P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, Una lettera del tempo della persecuzione Diocleziana Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana, 8 (1902) pp. 15–25. The late Albrecht Dieterich proposed, in the Götting. gel. Anz. 1903, pp. 550–555, an interpretation of an important passage of the letter differing greatly from my own, and to

letter[1] sent from Rome to the Fayûm at some time during the last thirty years of the 3rd century, which is probably the oldest original Christian letter at present known. There follows a long series of Christian letters, from the 4th century onwards, which have now been published some time, but deserve, I think, more notice than they have yet received. They are manifestos from those circles of Christendom concerning which there are scarcely any other sources of information available. The extensive correspondence of Abinnaeus should be specially mentioned in this connexion.[2] Even the legal documents of the Byzantine period, *e.g.* the church inventories, which are not yet all published, contain many details of interest. Certain points, such as the palaeographical history of the so-called monogram of Christ, ☧, receive fresh illumination from the papyri.[3] In an

this I replied in a monthly periodical, Die Studierstube, 1 (1903) pp. 532–540. The whole problem received detailed treatment once more from August Merk, S.J., in the Zeitschr. für kathol. Theologie, 29 (1905) pp. 724–737, due attention being given to the copious literature that had appeared in the interval. Cf. Otto Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, II., Freiburg i. B., 1903, p. 218 f., and Adolf Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristl. Lit.* II. p. 180, both of whom treat of the letter as part of Christian "literature," which strictly speaking is not correct; Pierre Jouguet, Revue des Études Anciennes, 7 (1905) p. 254 f.; U. Wilcken, Archiv f. Papyrusforschung, 2 p. 166, 3 p. 125, 4 p. 204 f.; F. Buecheler, Rhein. Museum, New Series 61 (1906) p. 627; C. Wessely in the Patrologia Orientalis, IV. 2, pp. 125–135; Paul Viereck, Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 131 (1906) p. 124 ff. Text and facsimile of the letter will be found in Chapter III. below (p. 201 ff.).

[1] The Amherst Papyri, I. No. 3a, p. 28 ff. (facsimile II. plate 25); cf. Adolf Harnack, Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Ak. der Wissensch. zu Berlin, 1900, p. 987 ff. In Chapter III. (p. 192 ff.) I give a facsimile of the letter with an attempt to restore and interpret it.

[2] Further particulars in my edition of the ancient Christian letter of Justinus to Papnuthius, *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung* I. pp. 94–104, and in Chapter III. (p. 205 ff.) below.

[3] The theological importance of some of the papyrus publications is pointed out in the Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 1896, col. 609 ff.; 1898, col. 628 ff.; 1901, col. 69 ff.; 1903, col. 592 ff.; 1906, col. 547 f.; Supplement to the Allg. Zeitung (Munich) 1900, No. 250, and 1901, No. 251.

article entitled "Pagan and Christian in Egypt,"[1] Ulrich Wilcken published a number of new things, two of which deserve special mention: an amulet with an interesting text of the Lord's Prayer,[2] and a petition of Appion, bishop of Syene, to the Emperors Theodosius II. and Valentinian III.[3] This article, by the way, is a model example of the sort of commentary that is called for by such texts. The last publication to be mentioned here is that by Lietzmann[4] of a curious text which still presents many unsolved riddles.

It will be admitted that our knowledge of Christian antiquity has been very considerably enriched by these literary and non-literary Christian papyri from Egypt. Our subject, however, is chiefly concerned with the non-Christian texts and the great indirect value that they possess for Bible students. The following chapters will pursue that subject in detail. In these introductory observations, however, we may remark that, at a time when Greek papyri were still among the rare curiosities of a few museums, Heinrich Wilhelm Josias Thiersch realised their value for Septuagint philology.[5] Even before him Friedrich Wilhelm Sturz[6] had made use of the Charta Borgiana[7] (the first papyrus ever brought to Europe, in 1778) in studying the Alexandrian Old Testament,

[1] Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 1, p. 396 ff.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 431 ff.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 398 ff. and 4, p. 172. Wilcken's placing of this petition in the reign of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. is confirmed by the praescript of the letter addressed by these Emperors to John of Antioch, Migne, Patrologia Graeca, 65, col. 880: there too Theodosius is placed first.

[4] Papyrus Jenensis, No. 1, Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, 50 (New Series 15) 1907, p. 149 ff.

[5] *De Pentatevchi versione Alexandrina libri tres*, Erlangae, 1841.

[6] *De Dialecto Macedonica et Alexandrina liber*, Lipsiae, 1808.

[7] *Charta Papyracea Graece scripta Musei Borgiani Velitris* . . . edita a Nicolao Schow, Romae, 1788.

and had cited it, for instance, to explain the word ἀπάτωρ, "without father," in Hebrews vii. 3.[1]

Of late years the papyri have been used by almost all the Biblical scholars whom I named above when speaking of the inscriptions. Apart from the grammatical studies which he afterwards incorporated in his "Grammar," James Hope Moulton has made valuable lexical contributions,[2] which have lately been continued in collaboration with George Milligan.[3] The papyri have been successfully appealed to in linguistic problems by J. de Zwaan in his article[4] on Mark xiv. 41, and in his Dutch edition of Burton's *Syntax of New Testament Moods and Tenses*,[5] and Wilhelm Heitmüller[6] did the same before him. By means of the papyri J. Rendel Harris[7] has advanced the exegesis of the New Testament Epistles, and H. Hauschildt[8] the history of the title "presbyteros." Hermann Müller[9] and Alfred Wikenhauser[10] have also made a beginning with such studies. Hans Lietzmann made industrious use of the papyri in his Commentaries, already mentioned, and made the Greek papyri available for theological class-work by

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 146 f.

[2] Notes from the Papyri, The Expositor, Aprii 1901, February 1903, December 1903.

[3] Lexical Notes from the Papyri, The Expositor, January 1908 ff.

[4] The Text and Exegesis of Mark xiv. 41, and the Papyri, The Expositor, December 1905.

[5] *Syntaxis der Wijzen en Tijden in het Grieksche Nieuwe Testament*, Haarlem, 1906. The inscriptions are also used here and in Heitmüller.

[6] "*Im Namen Jesu*": eine sprach- und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum N. T., speziell zur altchristlichen Taufe, Göttingen, 1903; cf. Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 29 (1904) col. 199 ff.

[7] A Study in Letter Writing, The Expositor, September 1898; Epaphroditus, Scribe and Courier, *ibid.* December 1898; The Problem of the Address in the Second Epistle of John, *ibid.* March 1901.

[8] Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 4 (1903) p. 235 ff.; cf. Max L. Strack, *ibid.* p. 213 ff., and before that my *Bibelstudien*, p. 153 f., and *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 60 ff. [= *Bible Studies*, pp. 154, 233].

[9] Zum Pastor Hermae, Theologische Quartalschrift, 1908, p. 89 ff.

[10] Ποταμοφόρητος Apk. 12, 15 u.a., Biblische Zeitschrift, 6 (1908) p. 171.

publishing his little book of texts.[1] Willoughby C. Allen did not neglect the papyri in his Commentary on St. Matthew.[2]

As a matter of course, the Greek philologists above mentioned in connexion with the inscriptions often compare the Septuagint and the New Testament with the evidence of the papyri whenever they happen to discuss the international Greek of the Imperial and earlier age. The most important achievements with regard specially to papyrology are those of Edwin Mayser[3] and Wilhelm Crönert.[4] Mayser's work has now found a Biblical counterpart in R. Helbing's Septuagint Grammar.

(*c*) The OSTRACA, constituting the third main group[5] of texts, are closely allied to the papyri. We approach with them an entirely modern science, a science which so far has relied on two men only for its main support. One of them, Ulrich Wilcken, laid the foundations with his brilliant work on *Greek Ostraca from Egypt and Nubia*[6]; the other, W. E. Crum, by the publica-

[1] *Griechische Papyri*, No. 14 of the Kleine Texte für theologische Vorlesungen und Übungen, Bonn, 1905. [2] Edinburgh, 1907.

[3] *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri* aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften; Laut- und Wortlehre, Leipzig, 1906 (cf. Stanislaus Witkowski, Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung, 30 [1909] col. 347 ff.). The Syntax is to follow later. Small preliminary studies had preceded Mayser's. Other papers by Witkowski, Völker, Kuhring, etc., will be found noted in Hohlwein's Bibliography and in my summaries in the Theol. Rundschau, 1 (1897–8) p. 463 ff., 5 (1902) p. 58 ff., and 9 (1906) p. 210 ff.

[4] *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* cum titulorum Aegypti papyrorum codicum denique testimoniis comparatam proposuit Guilelmus Crönert, Lipsiae, 1903.

[5] What is said of the inscriptions on stone, the papyri, and the ostraca, applies also *mutatis mutandis* to the remaining smaller groups (wooden tablets, wax tablets, etc.).

[6] *Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien:* ein Beitrag zur antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte, in two Books, Leipzig, 1899. Remarks additional to the same by Paul Viereck, Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 1, p. 450 ff. The scanty previous literature is noted by Wilcken, I. p. 56 f.

tion of his great collection of Christian ostraca,[1] has added fresh material. Addressed primarily to Coptologists, Crum's book is nevertheless of importance to Greek scholars and theologians.

The question "What are ostraca?" is easily answered. They are pieces of broken pottery, on which something has been written. "Why were they so neglected in the past?" is a more difficult question.[2] I am reminded of a sentence in one of Pastor von Bodelschwingh's annual reports of a scrap-collecting organisation for the support of the Bethel charities near Bielefeld.[3] "Nothing is absolutely worthless," he says, "except bits of broken earthenware and the fag-ends of cigars," and the opinion seems to have been shared by the peasants of Egypt, at least so far as bits of pottery were concerned. They rummaged among ancient ruins, and whenever they came across such pitiable objects as bits of earthenware vessels, they threw them away at once. Many a European with a scholar's training must have been quite convinced that ancient potsherds were valueless, even when there was writing visible on

[1] *Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum, and others.* Special extra publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1902. For the important theological aspects of the book see especially the review by Erwin Preuschen, Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 1906, p. 641 ff. A further publication to be considered is H. R. Hall, *Coptic and Greek Texts of the Christian Period from Ostraca, Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, London, 1905. Further information in the Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 4, p. 247 ff.

[2] In what follows I am making use of my notice of Wilcken's *Ostraka* in the Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 26 (1901) col. 65 ff. Many details will be found there which are not mentioned here.

[3] Neunter Jahresbericht der Brockensammlung der Anstalt Bethel bei Bielefeld. [Friedrich von Bodelschwingh, *b.* 1831, is a kind of German Dr. Barnardo. He is a member of the Prussian Diet, and received in 1884 an honorary degree from the University of Halle and in December 1908 another from the University of Münster in recognition of his great social work. TR.]

them[1]; otherwise one cannot understand why they were to all intents and purposes ignored by research for so long a time, comparatively. After all, what can there be more pitiful than an earthen potsherd? The prophet in his emphatic irony could think of no image more apt to describe man's nothingness than that of a potsherd among potsherds.[2]

In the time of the ancients potsherds were not thrown away as useless for ever. From the rubbish-heaps they not unfrequently made their way once more to the humble homes of the proletariat, there to be used as writing material. Few of us, however, realised this fact until Wilcken published his book on the subject. Of course in our schooldays we had heard of the judgment of Clisthenes, but in such a way that most of us, if asked, would have said that ostracism was the Athenian statesman's own invention, and that he caused small tablets of earthenware to be made specially for the people to record their votes. As a matter of fact, four of the ostraca employed have been discovered at Athens,[3] and two at least of them are obviously pieces of broken vessels. Wilcken goes on to show most convincingly that the habit of writing on ostraca must have been in force at Athens in the sixth century B.C. at latest, and that the potsherd was highly popular as writing material throughout the ancient Mediterranean world. With regard to the Hellenistic period we know that it was so, firstly from the evidence of various authors, and secondly

[1] As late as 1819 an architect named Gau found "an innumerable quantity" of inscribed ostraca at Dakkeh in Nubia. He made drawings of several, kept two, and threw the rest away as needless ballast! Cf. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I. p. 20.

[2] Isaiah xlv. 9: "Woe unto him that striveth with his Maker! a potsherd among the potsherds of the earth!" (R.V.)

[3] Wilcken, *Ostraka*, I. pp. 4 f. and 820.

from thousands of potsherds that were written on then and which have been preserved, with the writing still upon them, in the burning, rainless soil of Egypt. Like the papyri, which the same agency has preserved to us in such numbers, the ostraca are a mirror of the changes of nationality that occurred in the Nile Valley. All sorts of alphabets are represented—the Hieratic and Demotic scripts of the old Egyptian, besides Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Coptic, and Arabic.

Of all the various kinds there can be little doubt that the Greek are at present the most numerous. They range from the time of the first Ptolemies down to the beginning of the Arab occupation, *i.e.* over a period of roughly a thousand years. The texts with which they are inscribed are of the most miscellaneous kind—letters, contracts, bills, directions as to payments, decrees, and even extracts from classical authors. On the whole we may say that the texts met with on ostraca are the same in contents as those of the papyri—which we have already seen to be so astonishingly abundant—the only difference being that the ostraca on account of their size generally have shorter texts than the papyri. The great majority of the ostraca we possess are certainly tax-receipts.

In the second book of his *Greek Ostraca* Wilcken published 1,624 specimens of these modest records of the past. No less than 1,355 of these had never been published before: they were hunted out with infinite pains by Wilcken in the museums of Berlin, London, Paris, Rome, Turin, Leyden, etc., and in private collections.[1] The task of decipherment was

[1] The number of ostraca in European museums and libraries has since increased by thousands—U. Wilcken, Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 4, p. 146. En-

one of extreme difficulty ; the writing on the ostraca is cursive, often running into grotesque eccentricities, with a whole host of abbreviations and special signs. But the masterly skill which Wilcken had shown as one of the decipherers of the Berlin papyri was again most brilliantly displayed. The result is that these humble texts are now ready to the scholar's hand, not indeed in a form that presents no problems and enigmas, but at least so edited as to be studied without effort.

We are further indebted to Wilcken for a good deal of the historical discussion of all this new material. His Book I. constitutes a commentary on the grand scale, not in the sense that each single one of the ostraca receives separate interpretation (brief notes are given to many of them in Book II.), but in the form of a systematised discussion of the whole enormous miscellany. First comes a detailed introduction on the ostraca as writing material, including the origin and fortunes of the ostraca. The formulae employed in receipts are next examined, and the author then plunges into the minutiae of the Egyptian system of taxes and duties in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Next come economic observations, and researches on topography, metrology, chronology, and palaeography. Papyri, inscriptions, and ancient authors are constantly quoted in illustration and comparison. The book was dedicated to Theodor Mommsen, and no offering more worthy of the great master's acceptance could

tirely new collections, such as the one at Heidelberg, have been formed. Egyptian dealers (and many European collectors) still attach no great value to ostraca : twenty times as much is often asked for a papyrus text of the same length. For a small outlay it is easy to acquire an extensive collection of ostraca. That is one good result of the immemorial prejudice which, it would almost seem, the centuries have bequeathed to us. the idea that a potsherd is more plebeian than a bit of papyrus.

have been produced. It is in every respect a monument of learning.

To theologians the ostraca are of no small value. They add many new touches to our knowledge of the life of ancient times. They throw light on large tracts of the civilisation upon which the Greek Old Testament, many of the books of the Apocrypha, the works of Philo and of the Egyptian Christians were based. They show us the men of the age of fulfilment[1] in their workaday clothes, and they afford reliable evidence concerning the language spoken in the Hellenised Mediterranean world at the time when the apostolic mission became to "the Greeks" a Greek. In these facts lies the great value of the ostraca (as of the non-literary papyri) to the student of Greek Judaism and of the first centuries of Christianity. Detailed proof of this assertion will be offered in the following chapters.

Even more decidedly than the papyri, the ostraca are documents belonging to the lower orders of the people. The potsherd was in fact the cheapest writing material there was, obtainable by every one gratis from the nearest rubbish-heap. For this reason it was so admirably adapted for recording the vote of the Demos in cases of ostracism. The ostracon was beneath the dignity of the well-to-do. As a proof of the poverty of Cleanthes the Stoic it is related that he could not afford papyrus and therefore wrote on ostraca or on leather.[2] In the same way we find the writers of Coptic potsherd letters even in Christian times apologising now and then to their corre-

[1] ["When the fulness of the time was come," Gal. iv. 4. TR.]

[2] Diog. Laert. vii. 173–4. A similar story is told of Apollonius Dyscolus, Wilcken, I. p. 6.

spondents for having made use of an ostracon in temporary lack of papyrus.[1] We, however, have cause to rejoice at the breach of etiquette. The ostraca take us right to the heart of the class to which the primitive Christians were most nearly related, and in which the new faith struck root in the great world.

Direct information relating to the very oldest Christianity has not yet been yielded to us by the ostraca. The Coptic potsherds, however, with their abundance of letters, fragments of letters, and similar texts, are of quite unique value for the light they throw on the religious and social history of Christian Egypt; and they have lately been reinforced by Greek ostraca of the 5th century A.D.[2] On the other hand, the space available for writing being so small, we can hardly expect to recover on ostraca any large remains of early Christian literary texts.

The ostraca will restore to us no lost fathers of the Church and no lost heretical writers. They have yielded hitherto only short quotations from classical

[1] Cf. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca*, p. 49. For example No. 129, p. 55: "Excuse me that I cannot find papyrus as I am in the country."

[2] My knowledge of these is at present confined to a notice in the Frankfurter Zeitung, 12 July, 1907, 2nd morning edition: "It is reported from Alexandria that the excavations in the ancient Christian town of Menas have brought to light amongst other things a series of valuable ostraca. These are in all probability the oldest Greek writings of the kind from the Christian period. Dr. H. J. Bell of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum examined with Dr. Kenyon a number of well-preserved specimens, and his results will be published in the forthcoming Third Report of the excavations. Among these documents are instructions for the payment of vine-dressers, wine-pressers (men who trod the grapes with their feet), laundrymen, and other workmen, for services rendered for the national sanctuary. Payment is made in money, in kind, or in food, and disabled workmen are also provided for. Comparisons with papyrus documents lead to the conclusion that the specimens hitherto deciphered belong to the 5th century. The same date is indicated by the stratum in which they were found. More than 200 ostraca have been recovered so far."

authors, and those probably schoolroom exercises. The writers of ostraca were as a rule quite innocent of literary interests. After the scanty fragments discussed by Egger[1] there seemed but little hope of recovering even Biblical quotations,[2] until R. Reitzenstein published from a Strassburg ostracon of about the 6th century a hymn to the Virgin[3] which showed decided marks of the influence of Luke i. Since then Crum, in his *Coptic Ostraca*, has given us ostraca with Greek quotations from the Bible, while Pierre Jouguet and Gustave Lefebvre have published a late ostracon from Thebes with a rude drawing of "Saint Peter the Evangelist" and a few lines of Greek that have not yet been identified.[4] Besides this Lefebvre has made known to us quite a series of gospel quotations in his *Fragments Grecs des Évangiles sur Ostraka*.[5] This publication alone

[1] Observations sur quelques fragments de poterie antique, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, t. XXI. 1, Paris, 1857, p. 377 ff.

[2] The "fragment of earthenware" from Megara with the text of the Lord's Prayer, published by R. Knopf, Athenische Mitteilungen, 1900, p. 313 ff., and Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft, 2 (1901) p. 228 ff., is not a fragment of a broken vessel, not a true ostracon, but a tablet no doubt made specially to receive the inscription. The writing was scratched on the soft clay and then made permanent by burning. I inspected the tablet on 28 April, 1906, at Athens, and a plaster cast of it is in my possession.

[3] *Zwei religionsgeschichtliche Fragen nach ungedruckten griechischen Texten der Strassburger Bibliothek*, Strassburg, 1901. Cf. the remarks by Anrich in the Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 27 (1902) col. 304 f., and by U. Wilcken in the Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 2, p. 140.

[4] Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 28 (1904) p. 205 f., 29 (1905) p. 104. In any case the "evangelist Peter" is remarkable—no doubt a reminiscence of the Gospel of Peter.

[5] Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, t. IV., Le Caire, 1904; the separate reprint which lies before me consists of 15 pages quarto, with 3 plates of facsimiles. I here make use of an article on "Evangelienfragmente auf ägyptischen Tonscherben" which I contributed to Die Christliche Welt, 20 (1906) col. 19 ff. Cf. further A. Bludau, Griechische Evangelienfragmente auf Ostraka, Biblische Zeitschrift, 1906, p. 386 ff. Caspar René Gregory, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, p. 43, denotes these ostraca by the number 0153 in his list, and the above-mentioned Lord's Prayer from Megara by the number 0152 (p. 42 f.).

enables us to fill an empty page in the history of the New Testament. It gives us the text of 20 Greek ostraca, large and small, inscribed with portions of our gospels. They were purchased many years ago in Upper Egypt by Bouriant, and are now a treasured possession of the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology. The exact place and circumstances of their discovery could not be ascertained, but their authenticity is beyond question. Their age can be conjectured from the style of the handwriting, and it appears that they were written probably in the 7th century, in the time of the Arab conquest.

They afford interesting materials for palaeography and the history of the text[1] of the gospels which it is to be hoped will not be neglected by scholars. They contain in the handwriting of three different persons the text of Matt. xxvii. 31–32; Mark v. 40–41, ix. 17, 18, 22, xv. 21; Luke xii. 13–15,[2] 15–16, xxii. 40–45, 45–49, 49–53, 53–54, 55–59, 59–60, 61, 61–64, 65–69, 70–71; John i. 1–9, 14–17, xviii. 19–25, xix. 15–17.

Thanks to the editor's kindness I am able to give

[1] Every ancient Bible-fragment that was certainly written in Egypt helps us to answer the question, "What text of the Bible was current in Egypt?" Lefebvre examined the character of the text provisionally, and Bludau has added further details. The chief result is to establish the relationship of this text with the BNL etc. group, *i.e.* with the group of authorities claimed by W. Bousset for the text of Hesychius. This is a new proof of the correctness of Bousset's hypothesis, on which cf. my *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung* I. p. 84, and Bousset's report on H. von Soden's reconstruction of the text of Hesychius, Theol. Lit.-Ztg. (1907) col. 71 ff.

[2] On the back of this ostracon (no. 5) there is the name *Luke* and two lines which the editor could not account for. I print them in minuscules:—

στιλβοντ[
οι[. .]ναφε[

This is certainly a fragment of Mark ix. 3:—

στιλβοντ[α λευκα λιαν]
οι[α γ]ναφε[υς etc.]

here a (reduced) facsimile of ostracon no. 16, containing Luke xxii. 70–71 (Figure 3).

The text runs thus :—

	ειπαν δε παντες	And they all said, Art Thou
	συ ουν ει ο υς του θυ	then the Son of God? And
	ο δε προς αυτους	He said unto them, Ye say that
	εφη υμεις[1] λεγετε	I am. And they said, What
5	οτι εγω ειμι οι δε	further need have we witness
	ειπαν τι ετι χρειαν	*(sic)*? for we ourselves have
	εχομεν μαρτυριαν	heard from . . . mouth.
	αυτοι γαρ ηκουσαμε[2]	
	απο του στοματος	

Of the two characters in the left-hand margin (read ι·ὸ by Lefebvre) the ι is certainly a numeral (= 10) denoting that this ostracon is the tenth in a consecutive series. The preceding ostraca with Luke xxii. 40–69 do in fact bear the numbers 1–9. The ὸ however, which occurs with different pointing on most of the other members of this group, has not yet been explained. I conjecture that it is the number of a chapter according to an old ecclesiastical division. In the copy of the gospel from which the ostraca were made Luke xxii. 40 ff. would then belong to the 70th chapter of Luke, whereas in the usual ancient division into chapters[3] it belongs to chapter 78.

It will be seen at once that among the 20 specimens the gospel of St. Luke is the most amply represented. Two ostraca contain the consecutive text of Luke xii. 13–16, and ten ostraca actually contain the complete text of Luke xxii. 40–71, *i.e.*

[1] [The dots above υ and η (line 8) are characteristic of the writing of the time. Tr.]

[2] [= ηκουσαμεν. Tr.]

[3] Hermann Freiherr von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt* I., Berlin, 1902, p. 411.

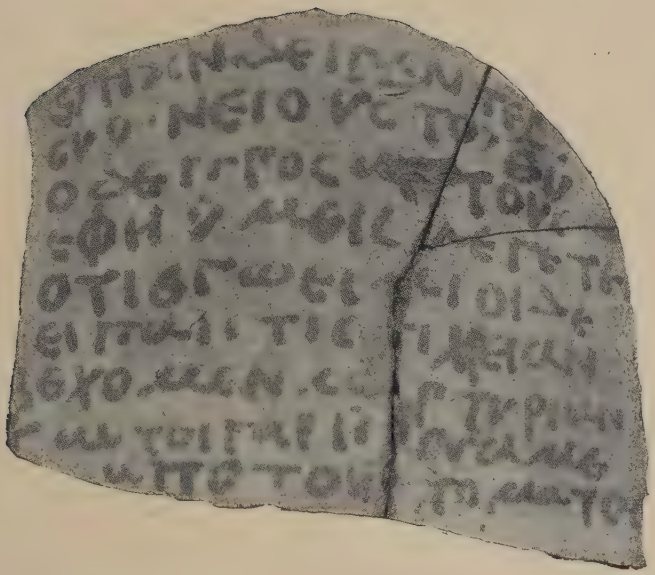

FIG. 3.—Ostracon from Upper Egypt, inscribed with Luke xxii. 70 f., 7th cent. A.D. Now in the Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, Cairo. By permission of Gustave Lefebvre, of Assiout.

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a large portion of the account of the Passion. The fact that these ten ostraca belong together is marked externally by the numerals 1–10 which, as mentioned above, the writer affixed to them. The fragments from St. John probably also belong to one and the same series. This observation is important in two ways. On the one hand it points to the fact that probably all these gospel ostraca represent a single find. This is confirmed by the occurrence of Mark ix. 3 on the back of one of the fragments of St. Luke, as already pointed out. That passage occurs in the account of the Transfiguration, which immediately precedes the section from which ostracon no. 3 (Mark ix. 17, 18, 22) is taken. On the other hand we now have an indication of the nature of the whole collection, for light is thrown on the question, "For what purpose were they inscribed with texts from the gospels?"

If the ostracon inscribed with Mark ix. 17 ff. were the only one that had come down to us it would be easy to suppose that the text was to be used as a curative amulet, in this case as an amulet against demoniacal possession. In the Heidelberg University Library, for instance, there are several Biblical amulets of this kind on parchment and papyrus. The editor of the ostraca tells us in fact that Perdrizet suggested the amulet hypothesis[1] to him. But the series of ten consecutive ostraca and the other series of which we may conjecture demand another explanation than this. It is inconceivable that anybody should have carried ten ostraca about with him as an amulet, for the simple reason that

[1] There is an article on gospel amulets by E. Nestle in the Zeitschr. für die neutest. Wissenschaft, 6 (1906) p. 96. Cf. further Gerhard Kropatscheck De amuletorum apud antiquos usu, Diss. Gryphiae, 1907, p. 28 ff.

they would have been far too heavy. I have myself tried the experiment, though with no thought of amulets in my mind, for I have often carried ten or a dozen ostraca from my collection in my pockets to show to the audience at a lecture. It was in many respects a pleasing burden, but not in the least comfortable.

Lefebvre's own theory was that the ostraca were written to form a cheap gospel lectionary, a book (if we may use the expression) for private or public reading consisting of extracts (Pericopae) from the gospels or perhaps even a continuous text. This theory we must accept unless, as now seems to me more probable, the ostraca were copied out by poor candidates for deacon's orders at the command of their bishop.[1] Whoever has realised the character of ostraca in general will not be slow to perceive the real import of this new find. Ostraca were as a rule the writing material used by the poor[2]; a potsherd was to be had for nothing, even in the most straitened household, when some person or persons unknown had been unkind enough to break the oil-cruse or the kneading-pan. The person who wrote gospel texts on ostraca was a poor person: a would-be deacon, or perhaps a monk, a schoolboy, or a simple woman—some soul forgotten among the myriads that perish.

So we might add this superscription to Lefebvre's fascinating work: "The gospels in the hands of the common people, the gospel among the poor of Egypt at the time when the deluge of Islam was approaching." In the very selfsame division of

[1] Cf. the notes to the last letter but one quoted in Chapter III. below (p. 212 f).

[2] Cf. the references at p. 46 f. above.

FIG. 4.—Site of the Excavations in Delos. From a photograph by Miss M. C. de Graffenried.

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society which made them what they are, the most democratic texts of all antiquity, we encounter once again the gospels. Six centuries have passed, during which they have been copied on papyrus, on parchment, yea even on purple vellum with letters of gold, and thinkers and potentates, rich men and renowned have read them. After their long journeying through the world the gospels are at home once more: on worthless castaway potsherds a poor man writes the imperishable words that are the heritage of the poor.

Our brief general description of the newly discovered texts is ended. New Testament in hand, let us now betake ourselves to the sites of excavations in the South and East and endeavour to decipher the stone inscriptions from the period which witnessed the great religious change.[1] Or, if we must remain at home, let us at least open the Sacred Book and compare it with the folio volumes of inscriptions, papyri, and ostraca. The New Testament is an exile here in the West, and we do well to restore it to its home in Anatolia. It is right to set it once more in the company of the unlearned, after it has made so long a stay amid the surroundings of modern culture. We have had hundreds of University chairs for the exact, scientific interpretation of the little Book—let us now listen while the homeland of the New Testament yields up its own authentic witness to the inquiring scholar.

[1] An illustration offered itself unsought in a pretty little snapshot taken by Miss M. C. de Graffenried, of Washington (Fig. 4). M. Holleaux, the director of the French excavations, is seen explaining to us one of the two Heliodorus inscriptions at Delos, 19 May, 1906. [M. Holleaux is pointing with his stick. The stooping figure to his right is Professor Deissmann. The tall figure seen against the fluted column is Professor von Duhn, of Heidelberg. TR.] This is the Heliodorus of the second book of Maccabees and Raffael's *Stanza d'Eliodoro* (cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 171 ff.; *Bible Studies*, p. 303).

CHAPTER II

THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATED FROM THE NEW TEXTS

1. As we study the New Testament on the lines indicated at the close of the preceding chapter, the first great impression we receive is that the language to which we are accustomed in the New Testament is on the whole just the kind of Greek that simple, unlearned folk of the Roman Imperial period were in the habit of using. The non-literary written memorials of that age at length have opened our eyes to the true linguistic position of the New Testament. That is the first and most easily demonstrated of the services rendered us by the new texts.[1]

Fifteen years ago, when it began to be asserted with some confidence that the isolation of "New Testament" Greek as a separate entity was impossible from the scientific point of view, since it was practically identical with the popular international

[1] Earlier works of mine dealing with the subject of the following pages are: *Bibelstudien*; *Neue Bibelstudien*; an address on "Die sprachliche Erforschung der griechischen Bibel," Giessen, 1898; the article on "Hellenistisches Griechisch" in Herzog and Hauck, *Realencyclopädie*,[3] VII. 627 ff.; reviews of literature in the Theologische Rundschau, 1 (1897–98) p. 463 ff., 5 (1902) p. 58 ff., 9 (1906) p. 210 ff.; and my Cambridge lectures on "The Philology of the Greek Bible," published in The Expositor, October 1907 to January 1908, and afterwards in book form, London, 1908.

Greek of the period, theologians[1] and philologists received the statement with more or less active dissent. One eminent Greek scholar[2] of the philological school said it was the language of a naturalist rather than a theologian, and those familiar with the polemical literature of that date will know what the reproach of naturalism then meant in Germany.[3] Since then, however, the specialists have changed their minds on this not unimportant point. New Testament philology is at present undergoing thorough reconstruction; and probably all the workers concerned in it both on the Continent and in English-speaking countries[4] are by this time agreed that the starting-point for the philological investigation of the New Testament must be the language of the non-literary papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions. The theory scored a complete victory in Albert Thumb's valuable book on the Greek Language in the Hellenistic age[5]; Stanislaus Witkowski acknowledged his adherence in the critical review which he gave (1904) of recent literature dealing with the Κοινή.[6] In a number of different articles,[7] but more especially in his recent

[1] The question was gone into most in detail by Julius Boehmer, *Das biblische "Im Namen,"* Giessen, 1898, and Zwei wichtige Kapitel aus der biblischen Hermeneutik, Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, 5 (1901) Heft 6, Gütersloh, 1902, p. 50 ff.; and cf. his remarks in Die Studierstube, 1 (1903) p. 340 ff., 2 (1904) p. 324 ff., 6 (1908) p. 587 f.

[2] [F. Blass, reviewing Deissmann's *Bibelstudien* in the Theologische Literaturzeitung, 20 (1895) col. 487. Tr.]

[3] [Conservative theologians accused their liberal colleagues of proceeding on "naturalistic" lines in disregard or in defiance of Divine Revelation. Tr.]

[4] Cf., for instance, the latest contribution: S. Angus, Modern Methods in New Testament Philology, Harvard Theological Review, 2 (Oct. 1909) p. 446.

[5] Cf. p. 19 above; also the Theol. Rundschau, 5 (1902) p. 85 ff., and Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 2, pp. 410 ff., 455 ff.

[6] Bericht über die Literatur zur Koine aus den Jahren 1898–1902 (Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Vol. 120 (1904 I.) pp. 153–256, especially p. 200 ff.

[7] Cf. pp. 17, 40, above. [Moulton wrote on "New Testament Greek in the Light of Modern Discovery" in *Essays on Some Biblical Questions of the Day*, edited by H. B. Swete, London, 1909. Tr.]

Grammar of the New Testament, James Hope Moulton worked out the most important of the details that result from the application of the theory; while Theodor Nägeli,[1] working by the same method, exhibited very effectively the vocabulary of St. Paul. Lastly, not to mention others, three philologists of repute have signified their acceptance of the theory and its results: firstly Jakob Wackernagel, in his article on the Greek language contributed to *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*[2]; secondly Ludwig Radermacher,[3] who is himself engaged on a new Grammar of the New Testament for Germans; thirdly D. C. Hesseling,[4] who at the same time gave us the comforting assurance that no dogma of the Church is threatened by the new method. There are also instances of Catholic theologians both of the Western[5] and of the Eastern[6] Church who have signified their approval.

What are the points concerned in judging of the language of the New Testament?

We may start from what is probably the average educated person's knowledge of the subject. He would say that "the original language" of the New Testament was Greek. This statement, however, is really very vague.

[1] Cf. p. 17 above.

[2] *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* (edited by Paul Hinneberg), Part I. section viii. Berlin and Leipzig, 1905, p. 303 f.; ²1907, p. 308 f.

[3] In the specimen pages of his "Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch" printed in the prospectus of Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 1906.

[4] *De betekenis van het Nieuwgrieks voor de geschiedenis der Griekse taal en der Griekse letterkunde*, Leiden, 1907, p. 17.

[5] *E.g.* Josef Sickenberger, Zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Erforschung des Neuen Testamentes, in the Literary Supplement to the Kölnische Volkszeitung, 29 Nov. 1906, p. 370.

[6] Cf. S. J. Sobolewsky, *Orthodoxe Theologische Encyklopädie* herausg. von N. N. Glubokowsky, Vol. 9, St. Petersburg, 1908, col. 603–754, a summary especially valuable for its references to the literature of the subject.

It is true, certainly, that it is a Greek New Testament which presents itself to the scholar for study, but within the New Testament there are portions of which "the original language" was not Greek, but Semitic. Jesus of Nazareth, the Man whose personality was the decisive impulse, did not speak Greek when He went about His public work. He spoke the local idiom of His native Galilee, the language which, in the night of betrayal, betrayed His disciple Peter to be a Galilean. This language was Aramaic, a dialect akin to Hebrew but not identical with it; and, to be quite exact, it was Galilean Aramaic that our Lord spoke. In that dialect the gospel was first preached. The ordinary reader of the Bible even now hears the last echo of the original when he comes upon such words as *mammon*, *talitha cumi*, *abba*, or such names as *Barabbas*, *Martha*, etc., which are all of them Aramaic. Moreover, the oldest record of the words that Jesus spake, the record of His apostle Matthew, was no doubt written in Aramaic for the Palestinian Christians who spoke that language. That most primitive version of our Lord's words has perished, unfortunately, so far as the Aramaic original is concerned. What would we give if we could recover but one papyrus book with a few leaves containing genuine Aramaic sayings of Jesus! For those few leaves we would, I think, part smilingly with the theological output of a whole century.

But it is of little use to speak further of this "if." It is more sensible to inquire *why* the words of Jesus are no longer extant in their original Aramaic. The answer is that Christianity, in becoming a world religion, gradually forgot its oldest records—records that had originated far away from the world and were unintelligible to the world—and so they were

lost. The Christian missionaries with an Aramaic book of gospels in their hands would have been powerless to make propaganda in what was in fact a Greek or rather Hellenised world. An Aramaic gospel-book would have condemned Christianity to remain a Palestinian sect. Ere it could become a world religion it had to learn the language of the world, and that is why the gospels put on the habit of the world; for that reason St. Paul and others spoke and wrote the international language, and the New Testament took final form as a Greek book. The handful of earlier Aramaic copies vanished before the multitude of Greek manuscripts of the gospels, which from the second century onwards became more and more widely diffused. Their fate was the same as that of our spelling-books and copy-books. How many of the men who go down from the university with boxes full of Latin and Greek books and lecture notes will find still in existence at home the thumbed and ragged pages from which they first learnt the A B C?

In the Roman Imperial period the language of the great world was Greek, which numbered more speakers then than the Latin with its millions. The great military expeditions of Alexander the Great had combined with the more peaceful victories of commerce, art, literature, and science, to produce, just at the great turning-point in religious history, a more or less complete Hellenisation of those portions of the Mediterranean area which had been from time immemorial the home of civilisation. In the south of Europe, in Asia Minor,[1] Egypt, and along the

[1] Karl Holl, Das Fortleben der Volkssprachen in nachchristlicher Zeit, Hermes, 43 (1908) p. 240, must however not be forgotten for its important evidence as to Asia Minor.

northern shores of Africa, the culture and even the language was Greek, right down to the lower orders, of urban society especially. Even among the residents of Rome there were plenty who spoke Greek. We know, for instance, that the Roman Jews of the period, a numerous body, spoke Greek almost exclusively.

In this Hellenised world, however, men no longer spoke local dialects of Greek. The world had become unified, and men spoke no more the ancient Doric, or Æolic, Ionic, or Attic, but a *single* Greek international language, one *common* tongue. The precise origin of this international Greek, which it is usual to refer to as the Κοινή ("common" language), has not been made out,[1] nor need it detain us here. The fact remains that in the period which gave birth to Christianity there *was* an international Greek language.

It was not indeed a uniform entity. Two main divisions are recognisable, though the boundary between them is anything but fixed. Like every living language this international Greek possessed one form marked by greater freedom, and another marked by greater restraint. The one we call colloquial, the other literary.

The colloquial language in its turn went off into various shades of distinction, according to the refinement of the speaker. It was natural, moreover, for the literary language to display varieties of coloration. One influence was at that time powerfully affecting it, namely a romantic enthusiasm for the

[1] Good statements of the questions at present in dispute have been given most recently by D. C. Hesseling, *De Koine en de oude dialekten van Griekenland*, Amsterdam, 1906; Mayser, *Grammatik der griech. Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, p. 1 ff.; and Karl Krumbacher, Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 17 (1908) p. 577 ff.

great classics of the former age in Attic Greek. People imitated their manner of writing in the conviction that here once for all the standard of *good* Greek had been set. The followers of this romantic movement are called "Atticists" after the model they chose for imitation. Their convention was all but binding on the cultured and literary of that epoch, and has always remained one of the great powers in the intellectual world, influencing our humanistic studies even at the present day. We still possess works in plenty that were written by the ancient Atticists, and we are well informed as to their theories.[1] We do, moreover, possess memorials of the colloquial language of culture in that period, since there were several authors who paid little or no attention to the rules of the Atticists.

Memorials of the *popular* colloquial language, on the other hand, memorials of the spoken Greek of the people, were scarcely known to the general run of scholars at a period distant only some score or so of years from the present day. The lower orders, in all their wide extent, who in the time of the Roman Empire made up the bulk of the population in the great cities of the Mediterranean coast and the interior,—the non-literary people, whose vulgarisms and expressive terms were scorned and tabooed by the Atticists as weeds in the garden of language,—the masses of the people whom St. Paul at the end of 1 Cor. i. describes with the warmth of a blood-relation—this whole stratum of society seemed, with its language, to be buried for ever in oblivion.

[1] Of fundamental importance is the excellent work of Wilhelm Schmid (of Tübingen), *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dionysius von Halikarnass bis auf den zweiten Philostratus*, 4 vols. and index-vol., Stuttgart, 1887–1897.

And what judgment was usually formed of the language of the New Testament, under these circumstances?

We may state the case thus: In many details due emphasis was given to its relation with the contemporary international Greek, but on the whole it was isolated by the science of language, and raised to the rank of a separate linguistic entity under the title of "New Testament" Greek.

Two circumstances more particularly helped to make this isolative, dogmatic method prevail. From the point of view of religion and theology the isolation of the New Testament was encouraged by the doctrine of mechanical inspiration, combining with a very lively conception of the canon of the New Testament as a hard-and-fast boundary. From the point of view of language and philology every one with a classical training felt the strong contrast between the language of Scripture and the Attic Greek he had learnt at school. Enslaved by the immemorial prejudice of the Atticists, that the Greek world ended with Alexander the Great (whereas it really began with him), many who read the Greek New Testament never dreamt of taking up other Greek texts of the Imperial (and post-Alexandrian) period. The result was that for such readers there was a great gap between their New Testament and the earlier stage of Greek with which they were familiar, viz. the classical Attic of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.[1] Not only the theologians were at fault: philologists were in the same condemnation. So recently as 1894 the great Greek scholar

[1] Much in the same way as people used to be fond of ignoring the period between the conclusion of the Hebrew Old Testament and the rise of Christianity with reference to the history of religion.

Friedrich Blass,[1] of Halle, despite his marvellous knowledge of the whole range of Greek literature, asserted that New Testament Greek must be "recognised as something peculiar, obeying its own laws."

We owe it to the newly discovered or at least newly appreciated records that this isolative method of treatment has been given up. Of the literary language, with its trained obedience to artificial rules, there were productions enough extant already. Then came the inscribed stones, papyri, and potsherds—themselves not absolutely free from the tyranny of school and office usage[2]—and gave us a wealth of documents representative of the colloquial language, especially in its popular form, just as it had grown and was still growing in a state of nature.[3] The papyri and ostraca particularly furnished ample material for comparative purposes, first as regards phonology and accidence, and then as regards the meanings conveyed by words. The inscriptions, however, also produced a surprising harvest, principally of the lexical variety.

2. The work to be accomplished by the linguistic historian on the New Testament is barely begun, but one thing is clear already. The New Testament has been proved to be, as a whole, a monument of late colloquial Greek, and in the great majority of its component parts a monument of the more or less *popular* colloquial language.

[1] Theologische Literaturzeitung, 19 (1894) col. 338. Blass afterwards changed his opinion on the subject.

[2] On this point cf. especially Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, p. 3 f.

[3] It was long since noticed that the Mishna and other old Jewish texts contain considerable traces of popular Greek, but the subject does not come within the scope of this book. It was last treated by Paul Fiebig, Das Griechisch der Mischna, Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 9 (1908) p. 297–314.

The most popular in tone are the synoptic gospels,[1] especially when they are reporting the sayings of Jesus. Even St. Luke, with his occasional striving after elegance, has not deprived them of their simple beauty. The Epistle of St. James again clearly re-echoes the popular language of the gospels.

The Johannine writings, including the Revelation, are also linguistically deep-rooted in the most popular colloquial language. The Logos, occurring in the very first line of the gospel, has blinded most critics to the essential character of a book which, for all its share in the world's history, is a book of the people.

St. Paul too can command the terse pithiness of the homely gospel speech, especially in his ethical exhortations as pastor. These take shape naturally in clear-cut *maxims* such as the people themselves use and treasure up. But even where St. Paul is arguing to himself and takes more to the language of the middle class, even where he is carried away by the priestly fervour

[1] It is admirably remarked by J. Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, Berlin, 1905, p. 9: "In the gospels spoken Greek, and such Greek as was spoken by the people, makes its entry into literature. Some theologians have made vain endeavours to reduce it to the rules of the school grammar. Professed Greek scholars have in the past generally looked upon it from a narrow point of view only to despise it, but have lately, under the influence of comparative and historical philology, begun to criticise it with an open mind." In his own linguistic comments on the gospels, where it becomes necessary to decide which phenomena are non-Greek, Wellhausen has, however, relied far too much on the Attic standard of Greek. In many passages his book is a testimony to the enormous influence which the orthodox doctrine of the Atticists still exerts to-day on an enlightened mind. Wellhausen says himself (p. 35), "Greek being such an elastic and many-sided language, it may well be that here and there a Semiticism may also prove to be a Greek vulgarism"—and his words certainly apply in the great majority of the cases he has put down as Semitic. "There is not the slightest use," he says immediately afterwards, "in thrusting one's head into the Greek thicket"—but are we on that account to bury our heads in the sands of Semiticisms? The question is, what was customary within the sphere of the living Greek language of the people in the Imperial period? And if I am to answer this question I must purge myself of the leaven of the Atticists and study that living language. That Aramaisms exist, I have never denied; only as to the number of the "non-Greek" phenomena I am of another opinion than Wellhausen.

of the liturgist and by the enthusiasm of the Psalmist, his Greek never becomes literary. It is never disciplined, say, by the canon of the Atticists, never tuned to the Asian rhythm[1]: it remains non-literary.[2] Thickly studded with rugged, forceful words taken from the popular idiom, it is perhaps the most brilliant example of the artless though not inartistic colloquial prose of a travelled city-resident of the Roman Empire, its wonderful flexibility making it just the very Greek for use in a mission to all the world.

We are thus left with the total impression that the great mass of the texts which make up the New Testament, forming at the same time the most important part of the sacred volume in point of contents, are popular in character. The traces of literary language found in some few of the other texts cannot do away with this impression. On the contrary, the contrast in which the Epistle to the Hebrews, for instance, stands linguistically to the earlier texts of Primitive Christianity, is peculiarly instructive to us. It points to the fact that the Epistle to the Hebrews, with its more definitely artistic, more literary language[3] (corresponding to

[1] Friedrich Blass, *Die Rhythmen der asianischen und römischen Kunstprosa*, Leipzig, 1905, regards the Epistles of St. Paul as largely consisting of rhythmically elaborated artistic prose—a singular instance of the great scholar's having gone astray; cf. Theol. Lit.-Ztg., 31 (1906) col. 231 ff.

[2] I entirely agree with Nägeli (cf. especially p. 13 of his work) in his opinion of the apostle's language.

[3] Nobody could appreciate this contrast more correctly or express it more happily than Origen (quoted in Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* VI. xxv. 11) has done: *ὅτι ὁ χαρακτὴρ τῆς λέξεως τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιγεγραμμένης ἐπιστολῆς οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἰδιωτικὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου ὁμολογήσαντος ἑαυτὸν ἰδιώτην εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ τουτέστι τῇ φράσει, ἀλλά ἐστιν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως Ἑλληνικωτέρα, πᾶς ὁ ἐπιστάμενος κρίνειν φράσεων διαφορὰς ὁμολογήσαι ἄν*—"that the linguistic character of the epistle entitled 'to the Hebrews' has none of that rudeness of speech which the apostle himself confessed when he said [2 Cor. xi. 6] he was rude of speech, *i.e.* in expression, that on the contrary the epistle is more Greek in its stylistic structure, will be admitted by every one who is able to judge of differences of style."

its theological subject-matter), constituted an epoch in the history of the new religion. Christianity is beginning to lay hands on the instruments of culture; the literary and theological period has begun. There will be more to say on this head in the next chapter.

The modern conception of New Testament Greek is not altogether a new thing: our advances in knowledge rarely are. Under the late Roman Empire, when the old learning and culture came into hostile collision with Christianity, pagan controversialists spoke mockingly of the language of the New Testament as a boatman's idiom. The Christian apologists accepted the taunt and made the despised simplicity of that language their well-warranted boast.[1] The hopeless attempt to prove the Bible as a whole and the New Testament in particular to be artistically perfect in its external form was first made by Latin apologists.[2] The same theory reappeared many centuries later in the conflict between the so-called Purists and Hebraists,[2] and was passionately maintained and disputed by these two rival schools of

[1] For details see Eduard Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, II. p. 512 ff.

[2] Eduard Norden, II. p. 526 ff.

[3] See especially the account in Winer and Schmiedel, § 2, p. 4 ff.—The latest phase of New Testament philology has sometimes been described as a revival of the strife between the Hebraists and the Purists. That is, however, not quite accurate. The primary dispute no longer concerns the fact of Hebrew (or rather, Semitic) intrusions in the Greek of the New Testament: no one denies the existence of Semiticisms; opinions are only divided with reference to the relative proportion of these Semiticisms. On the other hand, there is now no assertion of the "purity" of New Testament Greek in the sense of the old disputants. The new tendency in the work now being done is to emphasise the popular and non-literary element in the language of the apostles and to protest against the dogmatic isolation of New Testament philology.—As early as 1863 we find Bishop Lightfoot remarking with the keen vision of a seer in one of his lectures: ". . . if we could only recover letters that ordinary people wrote to each other without any thought of being literary, we should have the greatest possible help for the understanding of the language of the N.T. generally." (Note by the Rev. J. Pulliblank in J. H. Moulton's *Grammar*,[2] p. 242.) Such letters (and other texts) have since then been made accessible in great abundance by the papyri and ostraca.

Biblical interpretation. To many it appeared as something perfectly obvious that Holy Scripture must be clothed in language at least as classical as that of Demosthenes or Plato, and assertions to the contrary were felt to be an outrage upon the Holy Ghost. We for our part are on the side of those who see beauty in the wild rose-bush as well as in a Gloire de Dijon. What is natural is also beautiful, and does not cease to be beautiful until artificiality and pretence step in. Thus in our opinion the new method of philological treatment brings out the peculiar beauty of the New Testament, by establishing the popular simplicity of the language in which it is written. The relation in which the language of the people stands to the artificial language of literature reminds us of the Master's own words, when He said, "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: and yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these."

3. How truly valuable the newly recorded documents are in the study of the language of the New Testament can only be realised by examples. In the following pages, therefore, some characteristic examples have been selected from the vast mass of available material. With regard, however, to the first point to be illustrated, viz. the phonology and accidence, there is no need to go into details here; a few remarks of a general nature will suffice.[1]

A. The characteristic features of the living Greek language that was in international use are most clearly seen in the *phonology and accidence.* The

[1] In what follows I have made occasional use of my article on "Hellenistisches Griechisch" in Herzog and Hauck, *Realencyclopädie*,[3] VII. p. 627 ff.

assumption of a special New Testament or Biblical Greek is hopelessly refuted by the observations made in this field. All the hundreds of morphological details in the Biblical texts which strike a reader accustomed to Plato and Xenophon will be found also in the contemporary "profane" records of international Greek, especially in those texts which have come down to us in their original form without passing through the refining fires of an Atticist purgatory. They occur in the inscriptions, but most of all in the ostraca and papyri. P. W. Schmiedel's new edition of the Accidence of Winer's *Grammar of the New Testament Idiom* appeared before the most important of the recently discovered papyri had been published, so that no use could be made of this most instructive material, and yet that book contains so many trustworthy observations as to make it impossible any longer to ignore the morphological identity of the supposed "New Testament Idiom" with the Hellenistic colloquial language. The other recent New Testament Grammars also bring out the fact, and, from another point of view, so do Karl Dieterich's *Researches on the History of the Greek Language from the Hellenistic Period to the 10th Cent. A.D.*[1] Here we see the value of things that are often loftily despised as philological trifles: the overwhelming amount of small facts ascertained with absolute certainty has brought New Testament philology into such close connexion with the general study of late Greek as will never again be broken. R. Helbing's Septuagint Grammar has established the same organic connexion between Septuagint philology and the wider subject.

[1] Cf. also *Neue Bibelstudien*, pp. 9–21; *Bible Studies*, pp. 181–193.

B. We quote one example from the special department of word-formation which may be called onomatology. The word *Panthera* used as a man's name, is of great interest to New Testament scholars, though it is not found in the Bible. It appears in later traditions concerning the family of Jesus of Nazareth, and plays a great part particularly in the Jewish legends of the birth of Christ. A few years ago Häckel's unsuccessful foray in the domain of New Testament research[1] made the name familiar to a large public. Many scholars have bestowed their attention to it, and in almost every case they have concluded it to be a nickname specially invented for the purposes of Jewish polemics.[2] The problem as to the origin of this name can now be solved with certainty, thanks particularly to Latin inscriptions. The name *Panthera* is known in Attic inscriptions, but it occurs frequently in funeral and other inscriptions of the Imperial period as a cognomen of both men and women.[3] Most interesting of all, perhaps, is the tombstone of *Tiberius Julius Abdes*[4] *Pantera*, of Sidon in Phoenicia, a Roman archer at the very beginning of the Imperial period. It was found near Bingerbrück, and is now in the museum at Kreuznach (Fig. 5). Taken in conjunction with the other

[1] In *The Riddle of the Universe.*

[2] And derived either from πόρνος (fornicator) or παρθένος (virgin).

[3] Detailed proofs will be found in my article "Der Name Panthera" in *Orientalische Studien* (presentation volume to Theodor Nöldeke), Gieszen, 1906, p. 871 ff. Cf. also the name Πάνθηρ *Panther* in a Fayûm papyrus, 101–2 A.D., which contains a number of Jewish names (Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 715, I_8).

[4] Count Wolf Baudissin explained this *Ebed* name to me (by postcard, dated Berlin, 29 January, 1907) as עבד אם *servant of Isis*. This is not the only example of Isis occurring among the Phoenicians. My attention was called by the same authority to the soldier's inscription at Ashmunēn (Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 2. p. 338), Κοττίων Ἀβδέους, "Cottio the son of Abdes" (Ἀβδῆς).

FIG. 5.—Tombstone from Bingerbrück, early Imperial Period. Now at Kreuznach.

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inscriptions, this epitaph[1] from the German frontier of the Roman Empire[2] shows with absolute certainty that *Panthera* was not an invention of Jewish scoffers, but a widespread name among the ancients.

C. Viewed in the light of the new documents the *vocabulary* of the New Testament also displays features characteristic of the Hellenistic colloquial language.

(*a*) With regard to the *words* themselves the proof of our thesis cannot in all cases be made out with the same completeness as in the phonology and accidence; but there is no need for absolute completeness here. It is obvious that the vocabulary of the international language, recruited from all the countries that had acknowledged the supremacy of Greek, can never be completely known to us in all its fulness. As a matter of fact words are constantly turning up in the newly discovered texts which one may seek in vain in the dictionaries. It is equally natural that many words can only be found a few times, sometimes only once, in the whole body of the texts known to us. Nobody with common sense will suppose that these were all coined by the writers on the spur of the moment: they are little discoveries for the lexicographer, it is true, but not inventions by the authors.[3] Such little discoveries can be made, not a few, in the Greek Bible. The advocates of the theory of "Biblical" Greek have often made capital

[1] The complete inscription runs :—

Tib. Iul. Abdes. Pantera.	Tiberius Julius Abdes Pantera
Sidonia. ann. LXII.	of Sidon, aged 62,
stipen. XXXX. miles. exs.	a soldier of 40 years' service,
coh. I. sagittariorum.	of the 1st cohort of archers,
h. s. e.	lies here.

[2] The cohort of archers in which the Sidonian served had come to the Rhine in the year 9 A.D.

[3] In Greek phrase I should say that they are ἅπαξ εὑρημένα, not ἅπαξ εἰρημένα.

out of them. Cremer was especially fond of distinguishing these erratics as "Biblical" or "New Testament" words which were specially due to the power of Christianity to mould language. Even Grimm, in his edition of Wilke's *Clavis Novi Testamenti*, was always careful to mark the rarities as "vox solum biblica," "vox mere biblica," "vox profanis ignota," thus creating everywhere the impression that "Biblical Greek" could after all be discovered somehow by means of the lexicon.[1]

In quite a number of cases, however, there are intrinsic reasons for saying at once: It is a mere accident of statistics that this word has been found hitherto only in the Bible. In other cases it is possible to prove directly from some neglected or newly discovered author, from inscriptions, ostraca, or papyri, that the word does after all belong to "profane," *i.e.* general Hellenistic, Greek. Such is the case, for instance, with the following supposed "Biblical" or "New Testament" words and combinations: ἀγάπη,[2] ἀκατάγνωστος, ἀντιλήμπτωρ, ἐλαιών, ἐνώπιον, εὐάρεστος, εὐΐλατος, ἱερατεύω, καθαρίζω, κυριακός, λειτουργικός, λογεία, νεόφυτος, ὀφειλή, περιδέξιον, ἀπὸ πέρυσι, προσευχή, πυρράκης, σιτομέτριον, ἔναντι, φρεναπάτης.[3]

[1] The English edition of Grimm's Wilke by J. H. Thayer, the best New Testament dictionary hitherto produced (corrected edition, New York, 1896), is more cautious here in the text; cf. Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1898, p. 922.

[2] Cf. the example now found by William H. P. Hatch, p.18, n. 4 above. Wilhelm Crönert tells me (postcards, Göttingen, 26, 30 July, and 6 August, 1908) that he conjectures with great probability ἀγάπη in a MS. of Philodemus (90-40 B.C.) among the Herculanean rolls at Naples. Details are reserved by him for later.

[3] For the last two words cf. Blass, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch*,[2] pp. 129, 71. [English translation,[2] pp. 128 n. 1, 68 n. 2. TR.] (In his first edition Blass had also quoted φιλοπρωτεύω from an inscription, and I unfortunately relied on this in my article in the *Realencyclopädie*,[3] but it afterwards proved to be an error.) Quotations will be found for the remaining words in my *Bibelstudien* and *Neue Bibelstudien* (= *Bible Studies*).

It will perhaps be objected, What are they among so many? What is this secularisation of 21 "Biblical" or "New Testament" words in comparison with the large number of cases in which no secular parallel has yet been found to characteristic peculiarities of the Greek Bible or New Testament? To this it must be replied that the number of specifically New Testament words at any rate has been enormously overestimated by all the statisticians.

The chief of those who have taken up this statistical problem in recent years is H. A. A. Kennedy; but he himself, as he tells me,[1] is no longer prepared to insist on his figures. Out of 4,829 New Testament words (excluding proper names and words derived therefrom) he formerly reckoned 580[2] or in round numbers 550[3] to be "Biblical," *i.e.* "found either in the New Testament alone, or, besides, only in the Septuagint." These figures were no doubt obtained from the lists in Thayer's Lexicon. At the end of that volume we find, among other statistical information, a list of "Biblical, *i.e.* New Testament" words, 767 in number. From these, however, Thayer himself excepted 76 words as "late" (*i.e.* known to be used elsewhere) and 89 as doubtful, leaving 602. But if we subtract from 767 the total number of words (some 218) in the list which Thayer himself notes as occurring in Polybius, Plutarch, and elsewhere, there remain only 549. That is approximately Kennedy's number, and is certainly a considerable amount.

But now comes the surprise. Among the 550 remaining words we find first a number of proper

[1] Letter, Toronto, 13 October, 1908.

[2] *Sources of New Testament Greek:* or the Influence of the Septuagint on the Vocabulary of the New Testament, Edinburgh, 1895, p. 62.

[3] Page 93.

names, then a quantity of Semitic and Latin transcriptions or borrowed words, then a series of numerals.[1] Finally, however, if we consult the excellent articles in the Lexicon itself, we shall find in the case of many of the words still remaining that there are quotations given from Josephus, Plutarch, Marcus Aurelius, etc.! Thus, for example, out of 150 words enumerated by Kennedy[2] as occurring "only" in the Septuagint *and* the New Testament, 67 are quoted by Thayer himself from pagan authors! The only excuse that I can see for the inaccuracy in these old statistics is that most of the authors quoted for the 67 words are later in date than the New Testament. But are we to regard words as specifically "New Testament" words because they happen to make their first appearance there? Did Plutarch, for instance, borrow words from the Bible? That is altogether improbable. The Bible and Plutarch borrow from a common source, viz. the vocabulary of late Greek.[3]

That there are such things as specifically "Biblical" and specifically "New Testament" (or rather, "early Christian") words, I have never denied. No lengthy statistical investigations as to usage are necessary in order to recognise these special words: a glance is sufficient. But when a word is not recognisable at sight as a Jewish or Christian new formation, we must consider it as an ordinary Greek word until the contrary is proved.[4] The number of really new-

[1] *E.g.* δεκαδύο, δεκατέσσαρες, δεκαπέντε, δεκαέξ, δεκαοκτώ.

[2] Page 88 ff.

[3] Cf. Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1896, p. 766. I there quoted the following words from Plutarch: ἀποκάλυψις, γνώστης, ὁλοκληρία, πρόσκομμα, σαγήνη, ψιθυρισμός, μίσθιος, ταπεινόφρων, ἐνταφιάζω, ἐξυπνίζω, μακροθυμέω.

[4] ἐπιούσιος is a case in point, in my opinion, notwithstanding the well-known remark of Origen. As a rule little reliance is to be placed on observations of the ancients with regard to the statistics of language. Jerome, for example,

coined words is in the oldest (New Testament) period very small. I estimate that in the whole New Testament vocabulary of nearly 5,000 words not many more than 50—fewer than that, more likely—will prove to be "Christian" or "Biblical" Greek words.[1] The great enriching of the Greek lexicon by Christianity did not take place till the later, ecclesiastical period, with its enormous development and differentiation of dogmatic, liturgical, and legal concepts. In the religiously creative period which came first of all the power of Christianity to form *new* words was not nearly so large as its effect in *transforming* the meaning of the old words.

As we have said, a close examination of the ancient literary texts[2] alone leads to the secularisation of many words in Thayer's "Biblical" list, when it is agreed to drop the petty quibble that pagan authors of, say, the second century A.D. do not come into account. It is a weak point in Cremer's Lexicon especially that "late" pagan parallels to New Testament words are apt to be treated with a certain contempt, whereas in reality the "late" parallels to the New Testament, which is itself "late," are

in commenting on Gal. i. 12, was quite wrong in saying that ἀποκάλυψις was a Biblical word, never employed by any of the world's wise men. Cf. R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, 7th ed., London, 1871, p. 333 (§ xciv).

[1] I therefore estimate the total of "Biblical" words in the New Testament as (at the utmost) 1 per cent. of the whole vocabulary. Kennedy (p. 93) estimated it at 12 per cent.

[2] The medical, astrological, and legal writers especially have not yet been thoroughly examined, and will prove very productive. Quite astonishing lexical parallels to the Bible are found, for instance, in a writer of whom I make repeated use later on in these pages, the astrologer Vettius Valens of Antioch, who wrote in the 2nd century A.D. Cf. Guilelmus Kroll, *Mantissa Observationum Vettianarum* (*Excerptum ex Catalogo codicum astrologorum graecorum*, t. V. p. ii.), Bruxelles, 1906, p. 152 ff. An edition of Vettius Valens by Kroll appeared recently: *Vettii Valentis Anthologiarum libri*, Berlin, 1908. Cf. the review by J. L. Heiberg, Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 29 (1908) col. 1764 ff.

much more instructive than the quotations from Homer or Plato.

The number of "Biblical" words shrinks, however, still further if we pursue the search among our non-literary texts. From the immemorial homes of Greek culture in Hellas and the islands, from the country towns of Asia Minor and the villages of Egypt no less than from the great centres of commerce on the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, year after year brings us new illustrations. Non-Christian texts are found containing words that were formerly —although "the kingdom of God is not in word"— thought to pertain exclusively to Primitive Christianity or the Old and New Greek Testaments.

In proof that the list given above[1] can already be largely increased I will here give a number of examples, beginning with 10 words which would assert their secularity at first glance, even if no quotations were forthcoming from extra-Biblical sources.

(1) The word ἀλλογενής, "of another race, a stranger, foreigner," found frequently in the Septuagint and once in the New Testament (Luke xvii. 18), is said by Cremer[2] and the other lexicographers to be "confined to Biblical and patristic Greek." The Roman authorities,[3] however, in placing inscriptions on the marble barriers of the inner courts of the Temple at Jerusalem, thought differently of the word, or they would not have employed it in a notice

[1] Page 70.

[2] [9]Page 247.

[3] Theodor Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, V.,[4] Berlin, 1894, p. 513, was of opinion that the "tablets" were not put up by the Jewish kings but by the Roman government. So too Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, II. p. 295.

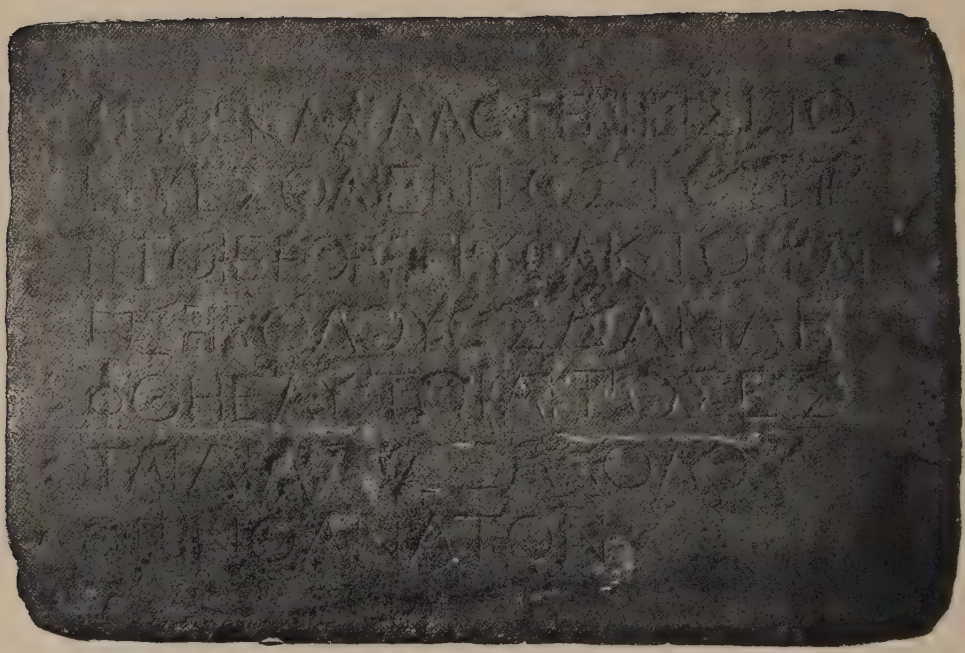

FIG. 6.—Limestone Block from the Temple of Herod at Jerusalem, inscribed with a warning notice. Early Imperial Period. Now in the Imperial New Museum at Constantinople.

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intended to be read by Gentiles, who were thereby threatened with death as the penalty for entering. One of these inscriptions was discovered by Clermont-Ganneau in 1871. The stone on which it is cut—a substantial block,[1] on which the eyes of Jesus and St. Paul[2] may often have rested—is now in the Imperial New Museum at Constantinople (Figure 6). The inscription[3] is as follows:—

Μηθένα ἀλλογενῆ εἰσπορεύεσθαι[4] *ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τρυφάκτου καὶ περιβόλου. ὃς δ' ἂν ληφθῇ, ἑαυτῷ αἴτιος ἔσται διὰ τὸ ἐξακολουθεῖν*[5] *θάνατον.*	Let no foreigner enter within the screen and enclosure surrounding the sanctuary. Whosoever is taken so doing will be the cause that death overtaketh him.

It is very remarkable that Josephus, who refers more than once to this ordinance, does not use our word, but two others.[6] Had ἀλλογενής been a

[1] One reads generally of a "tablet"; but it is a limestone block, 22½ inches high, 33½ inches long, and 14½ inches thick. The letters are more than 1½ inch high. I inspected the stone on 10 and 11 April, 1906 (it was then in Chinili Kiosk), and it seemed to me that I could detect signs of the letters having been formerly painted. "If the tablet really bears the marks of blows from an axe, they must have been done by the soldiers of Titus"—Mommsen, p. 513.

[2] It will be remembered that in consequence of an alleged breach of this regulation by St. Paul, who had taken Trophimus into the inner precincts, a tumult arose, and the apostle was then arrested, Acts xxi. 28 f.

[3] It has often been printed, most recently by Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, II. No. 598; references to previous literature will be found there and in Schürer, II.³ p. 272 f. Cf. also Moulton and Milligan, The Expositor, February 1908, p. 179.

[4] The imperatival infinitive is common in edicts and notices (as in German). Cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 260; *Bible Studies*, p. 344; and E. L. Hicks, *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part III. p. 176.

[5] ἐξακολουθέω is one of the words counted as "Biblical" by Thayer in his list, although in his text he gives quotations for it from Polybius, Plutarch, etc.!

[6] ἀλλόφυλος and ἀλλοεθνής. The passages are collected by Dittenberger, *op. cit.* p. 295 (*Bell. Jud.* 5, 193; 6, 124; *Antt.* 15, 417). Further quotations in Schürer, II.³ p. 272.

specifically Jewish word, it would not be easy to understand why he or his Greek revisers should have suppressed it. The fact probably is that, being an unliterary word of the people, it had to give way to the two other literary words in the pages of a writer who was aiming at elegance.

Even if the warning notice had been given its final form by the Jewish authorities, that would prove nothing against the view I have taken of this word. There is nothing whatever specifically Jewish about it either in sense or form.[1]

(2) One can scarcely repress a smile on discovering in Thayer's "Biblical" list the word ὀνικός, "of or belonging to an ass," which seems anything but "Biblical" or "Christian," though it is true that oxen and asses are animals mentioned in the Bible, and the word was only known in Matt. xviii. 6 and Mark ix. 42 in the expression for "a millstone turned by an ass." We find the word, however, exactly in the time of Christ in a Fayûm contract for the loan of an ass, dated 8 February, 33 A.D.,[2] and again exactly in the time when the gospels were being written, in another Egyptian document relating to the sale of an ass, dated 5 February, 70 A.D.[3] Moreover in the scale of taxes at Palmyra, recorded on stone in 136–137 A.D.,[4] there is twice mention of a tax on an *ass's burden* of goods. The gospel word is thus given both a southern and an eastern setting,

[1] It is the opposite of αὐθιγενής, which is a similar formation, and good Greek.

[2] Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 912_{24} τὰ ὀνικὰ κτήνη, "the asses," referring to an ass and her foal.

[3] *Les Papyrus de Genève* transcrits et pub és par Jules Nicole, Genève, 1896 and 1900, No. $23_{8f.}$ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν ὀνικῶν κτηνῶν ὄνον ἕνα μυόχρουν, "of the asses belonging to us, one mouse-coloured ass."

[4] Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* No. $629_{30\cdot45}$ γόμου ὀνικοῦ.

and is doubtless to be regarded as belonging to the colloquial language of every-day life. It survives in the Middle Greek τὸ (ὀ)νικόν, which is still in dialectal use, for instance in the island of Carpathus.[1]

(3) βροχή, "a wetting, rain," is rightly described by Thayer in his article as a late word, but nevertheless isolated in his "Biblical" list. A lease among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (No. 280$_5$), of the year 88–89 A.D., uses it to mean irrigation by the overflowing of the Nile.[2] This one quotation is enough to show that the word formed part of the living language. It is therefore quite justifiable to refer to its existence in Modern Greek.[3] The present-day language has not taken the word from the Bible, but the Bible and Modern Greek have both drawn from one common source—the ancient colloquial language.

(4) κόκκινος, "scarlet," an adjective frequently occurring in the Greek Old and New Testaments, is included in Thayer's list of "Biblical" words, though a good deal of ingenuity would be needed to say why the Biblical language required this special expression. Thayer himself, however, gives quotations for the word from Plutarch and Epictetus[4]; he must have placed it in his exclusive list because he considered these two authors to be late, and almost post-Biblical. The occurrence of the word, therefore, in an older contemporary of the Septuagint that the papyri have

[1] Hesseling, Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 8 (1899) p. 149.

[2] The document mentions βροχὰς τέσσαρες, "four waterings" of a piece of land. Cf. H. van Herwerden, *Lexicon Graecum Suppletorium et Dialecticum*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1902, p. 163.

[3] Kennedy, *Sources*, p. 153; Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache*, p. 226.

[4] To these must be added Martial, a contemporary of the New Testament, who uses *coccina* (*Epigr.* ii. 39, etc.) for "scarlet garments."

restored to us, Herondas (vi. 19),[1] is not without importance.

(5) In astonishment at finding in Thayer's list of "Biblical" words ἐνδιδύσκω, "I put on," which, though it occurs in the Septuagint and the New Testament, is a perfectly colourless expression, in no way deserving this sacred isolation,[2] we turn to Thayer's article on the word and find at least one quotation from Josephus. As Josephus, however, was a Jew, and may therefore seem to border on the "Biblical,"[3] we welcome an undoubted quotation from a profane source,[4] and yet contemporary with the Septuagint, viz. an inscription from Delphi, *circa* 156–151 B.C.[5]

(6) ἱματίζω, "I clothe," seems no less worldly than the last word, which indeed it resembles in meaning; but because it was only known to occur in Mark v. 15 and Luke viii. 35 it appears in Thayer's "Biblical" list. The Primitive Christians, however, had no call to invent new terms connected with dress,[6] and so this word is of course secular in origin. It is found in one of the pre-Christian Serapeum documents, 163 B.C.[7]; again later,[8] a welcome parallel to the New "Testament," it occurs among the Oxyrhynchus

[1] *Herondae Mimiambi* iterum edidit Otto Crusius, Leipzig, 1894, p. 47, τὸν κόκκινον βαυβῶνα.

[2] Cf. ἱματίζω, no. 6 below.

[3] Philologically this statement could only be accepted with great reservations.

[4] Van Herwerden, *Lexicon*, pp. 270 and 271.

[5] *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, herausgegeben von H. Collitz, II., Göttingen, 1899, No. 1899_{13} = Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 857_{13} ἐνδυδισκόμενος (*sic*; a stonemason's error), "clothed." The statement of Johannes Baunack, in Collitz, that ἐνδιδύσκω in the New Testament means "make to put on" is not correct.

[6] 1 Peter iii. 3, 4.

[7] *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, ed. F. G. Kenyon, No. 24_{14}, Vol. I. p. 32, ἱματιεῖ αὐτήν, "will clothe her." I am indebted to Mayser's Grammar of the Papyri, pp. 93, 465, for this passage.

[8] Cf. van Herwerden, Appendix, p. 107.

Papyri[1] in the testament of a man who could not write his own name, Dionysius the son of Harpocration, 117 A.D., clearly in formular phraseology,[2] which comes again in similar form in an instrument of adoption from Hermupolis, 31 December, 381 A.D.[3]

(7) ὀπτάνομαι, "I am seen, I let myself be seen," Acts i. 3, is in Thayer's list of "Biblical" words, although E. A. Sophocles[4] had quoted it from the so-called Hermes Trismegistus.[5] More important are the examples now known from two much older Ptolemaic papyri[6] (Paris No. 49_{33}, *circa* 160 B.C.[7]; and Tebtunis No. 24_5, 117 B.C.[8]), which prove that the word was at any rate current in Egypt and explain the Septuagint usage (1 Kings viii. 8; Tobit xii. 19) in the most direct manner.

(8) ἐλλογέω, "I put down to some one's account, I reckon, impute," Philemon 18, Romans v. 13, is one of those words that have as worldly a look as possible. Thayer, however, in his "Biblical" list separates it off from all other Greek, although in his article on the

[1] No. $489_{9 \text{ and } 17}$.

[2] The children of a female slave are twice mentioned as having been "fed and clothed" by the testator's wife, ἐκγόνων τρεφομένων καὶ ἱματιζομέ[νων] ὑπ' αὐτῆς (line 17).

[3] Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 3, p. 174_{18} (a Leipzig papyrus, published by L. Mitteis), θρέψω καὶ ἱματίζω εὐγενῶς καὶ γνησίως ὡς υἱὸν γνήσιον καὶ φυσικόν, "I will feed and clothe him nobly and properly as a proper and natural son." The passage is noted by van Herwerden in the *Mélanges Nicole*, Genève, 1905, p. 250.

[4] *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, New York and Leipzig, 1888.

[5] Poemander 31, 15.

[6] Pointed out by Mayser, p. 404; cf. also J. H. Moulton, The Expositor, February 1903, p. 117.

[7] *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, Vol. 18, Part 2, Paris, 1865, p. 320. The papyrus, which is of a very vulgar type, has ὀπτάεται (*sic*).

[8] The date 114 in Mayser is an error. The text is mutilated, but μηδαμῶς ὀπτανομένων is clear.

word he quotes pagan inscriptions [1] containing it. A new [2] and earlier reference is supplied by a military diploma (imperial letter) on papyrus, written at Alexandria (?) in the time of Hadrian.[3]

(9) In defiance of the note "Inscr." appended to the word, περισσεία, "abundance, superfluity, surplus," also figures in Thayer's "Biblical" list. But the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* had already cited an inscription of the Imperial period from Sparta,[4] which is also referred to by Grimm and Thayer. A further addition is now an inscription of 329 A.D. from Rakhlé in Syria.[5]

(10) "Never in profane writers," say Grimm [6] and others of ἀναστατόω, "I incite to tumult, stir up to sedition, unsettle," another Septuagint and New Testament word which at first sight certainly has nothing Biblical or Christian about it, but seems altogether profane. Cremer,[7] however, gives from the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* at least one quotation from Harpocration, a profane writer of the fourth [8]

[1] Inscription from Daulis, 118 A.D., *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 1732a$_{37}$; and the edict of Diocletian, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, III. p. 836.

[2] Cf. van Herwerden, *Lexicon*, p. 260.

[3] Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 140$_{31f.}$ It is now so dated by Wilcken, Hermes, 37 (1902) p. 84 ff. The Emperor writes οὐχ ἕνεκα τοῦ δοκεῖν με αὐτοῖς ἐνλογεῖν, which Theodor Mommsen (in Bruns, *Fontes iuris Romani*,[6] pp. 381, 382) translated "non ut iis imputare videar" (as I was informed by Wilcken, in a letter dated Leipzig, 5 May, 1907). The Emperor wishes to avoid the appearance of imposing an obligation, or *debiting* the soldiers with the *beneficium* granted them.

[4] *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 1378, concerning a certain president of the games, who "handed over to the city the whole surplus of the money belonging to the presidents of the games," τὴν περισσείαν ἀποδοὺς πᾶσαν τῇ πόλει τῶν ἀγωνοθετικῶν χρημάτων.

[5] Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 21 (1897) p. 65, ἐκ περισειῶν (*sic*), "from superfluous (money)." The inscription, which was no new discovery in 1897, is not Christian.

[6] *Clavis*,[4] p. 28. [7] [9]Page 515.

[8] Eduard Norden (letter, Gross-Lichterfelde W., 3 September, 1908) dates Harpocration earlier.

century A.D. But, as Nägeli[1] pointed out, we find at any rate the word ἐξαναστατόω in a fragment of an anthology written about 100 B.C. (Tebtunis Papyri No. 2). Still more valuable is a passage in an Egyptian letter of 4 August, 41 A.D. (Berliner Griechische Papyrusurkunden, No. $1079_{20\,f}$[2]), where the word probably means the same as in the bad boy's letter among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (No. 119_{10}), of the second or third century A.D.[3] The Paris Magical Papyrus l.2243f. also contains the word, in a good sense.[4] We are therefore undoubtedly entitled to reckon it as part of the general secular vocabulary.

I now add to these examples 22 words (nos. 11-32) which in some way or other approach more closely to the domain of religion and ethics, so that it was at least not impossible from the first that they might be peculiar to the Bible.

(11) ἀφιλάργυρος, "not covetous" (1 Tim. iii. 3; Hebrews xiii. 5), has been stated to be a "New Testament word only," and one might suppose it to be really Christian when one remembers how the Gospel is always antagonistic to mammon. But Nägeli[5] has already quoted (besides certain authors that had been overlooked) an inscription from Athens 36–35 B.C.,[6] another from Istropolis, first century B.C.,[7]

[1] Page 48. [2] μὴ ἵνα ἀναστατώσῃς ἡμᾶς.

[3] ἀναστατοῖ με, "he drives me out of my senses," Nägeli, p. 47; or "he upsets me," Blass, Hermes, 34 (1899) p. 314. Cf. Chapter III. below, letter No. 14 (p. 188). For both papyri cf. also Moulton and Milligan, The Expositor, March 1908, p. 268 f.

[4] Edited by C. Wessely, Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vol. 36, Wien, 1888, p. 101: χαῖρε, ἱερὰ αὐγή, ἐκ σκότους εἰλημμένη, ἀναστατοῦσα πάντα, "hail! sacred radiance, thou that art taken out of darkness and causest all things to rise up." Cf. Nägeli, p. 47.

[5] Page 31.

[6] Michel, *Recueil*, No. 973_{25} = Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 732_{25}.

[7] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 325_{17}.

and a papyrus (Oxyrhynchus No. 33 verso, II_{11}) of the second century A.D., in which either ἀφιλάργυρος or ἀφιλαργύρως occurs.[1] To these may now be added a still earlier quotation for the adjective from an inscription at Priene (No. 137_5), probably of the second century B.C.

(12) πληροφορέω, "I carry full, make full, fulfil," is according to Cremer[2] found "only in Biblical and patristic Greek; elsewhere not till very late." The earliest example hitherto discovered is in the Septuagint, Ecclesiastes viii. 11. The papyri,[3] however, show that this word, which occurs frequently in the New Testament, was at any rate used in Egypt at the same period and immediately afterwards. The earliest passages are: a letter from the Fayûm, now at Berlin, first century A.D.[4]; an Amherst papyrus, of 124 A.D.[5]; a Berlin papyrus, of 139 A.D.[6]; an Oxyrhynchus papyrus, of the end of the second century A.D.[7] If these Egyptian quotations are not sufficient, the astrologer Vettius Valens of Antioch, a contemporary of the last two,

[1] It is there said of the Emperor Antoninus Pius: τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠ[ν] φιλόσοφος, τὸ δεύτερον ἀφιλάργυρος, τ[ὸ] τρίτον φιλάγαθος, "he was first a friend of wisdom, secondly not a friend of money, thirdly a friend of the good." As in 1 Tim. iii. 3, the word occurs in a sort of list of virtues.

[2] Page 882.

[3] Cf. Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 28 (1903) col. 593; J. H. Moulton, The Expositor, February 1903, p. 118 f., December 1903, p. 436; Nägeli, p. 60; Lietzmann on Romans iv. 21 (the Wessely papyrus there cited is identical with the London papyrus afterwards referred to). Lietzmann states the semasiological problem well.

[4] Berliner Griechische Urkunden No. 665 II_9, ἐπληροφόρησα αὐτόν. The meaning is not certain; either "I have convinced him," or "paid him."

[5] The Amherst Papyri No. 66 II_{42}, ἵνα δὲ καὶ νῦν πληροφορήσω, "but in order to settle the matter thoroughly." Moulton gives a similar explanation of the passage; the editors, Grenfell and Hunt, "but now also to give you full satisfaction."

[6] Berliner Griechische Urkunden No. 747 I_{22}, α[τ]ούμ[ε]νο[ς] π[λ]η[ρ]οφορε[ῖ]ν, "asking them to settle the matter (?)."

[7] Oxyrhynchus Papyri No. 509_{10}, τυγ[χά]νω δὲ πεπληροφορημένος τοῖς ὀφειλομένοις μοι, "I am completely satisfied with regard to what was owing to me."

can help to increase the statistics.[1] Considering the undoubted rarity of the word a later quotation in a "profane" context is also worthy of note: in an inscription of the eighth century A.D. from Nicaea in Bithynia[2] the verb is used of the completion of a tower.

(13) *συναντιλαμβάνομαι*, "I take interest in (a thing) along with (others), take my share in, assist jointly," was first known to occur in the Septuagint. It occurs twice also in the New Testament, Luke x. 40 and Romans viii. 26, in the latter passage referring to the mediation of the Holy Spirit. Though it is used by the pre-Christian writer Diodorus of Sicily, and by Josephus,[3] it is included by Thayer in his "Biblical" list, with the note "Inscr." appended, but without any quotation from inscriptions. We can trace the word, however, throughout the whole extent of the Hellenistic world of the Mediterranean. An inscription of the year 270 B.C. on the retaining-wall of the temple of Apollo at Delphi[4] construes it with the genitive, an inscription of Pergamum between 263 and 241 B.C.[5] with *εἰς*, a papyrus letter from Hibeh in Egypt *circa* 238 B.C. with *περί*.[6] Then comes the Septuagint,

[1] I. p. 43_{17} of Kroll's edition. Before the book appeared the editor very kindly sent me the passage in Greek and German (letter dated Münster, 5 April, 1907): *ἵνα διὰ τῆς κατοχῆς ταύτης τὸ τῆς συνοχῆς σχῆμα πληροφορηθῇ*, "in order that the *συνοχή* (predicted by the whole constellation) may fulfil itself (come to fulfilment) in this way."

[2] Athenische Mitteilungen, 24 (1899) p. 406, *ἐπληρω[φόρη]σεν (εἰσ)*, as read and interpreted by A. Koerte.

[3] *Antt.* IV. viii. 4; the word is, however, struck out in this passage by Niese.

[4] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 250_7, *συναντιλήψεσθαι τῶν τῇι πόλει συμφερόντων*, "to help in things profitable unto the city." Van Herwerden's citation of this inscription, *Lexicon*, p. 780, is misleading.

[5] Fränkel, No. $18_{26f.}$, *τοὺς εἰς ταῦτα συναντιλαμβανομένους*, "those helping in this."

[6] The Hibeh Papyri No. $82_{17ff.}$, *καλῶς οὖν [π]οιήσεις συναν[τι]λ[α]μβανόμενος προθύμως περὶ τῶν εἰς ταῦτα συγκυρόντων*, "thou wilt therefore do well to take part zealously in the things relating thereto."

with various constructions[1]; the Sicilian follows, with the genitive,[2] while St. Luke and St. Paul use the word with the dative. These statistics are absolutely comprehensive geographically. Thus the word which, in the absence of proper evidence, was consigned to isolation, but which is in fact known to have been used at Delphi, in Asia, in Egypt, and by a Sicilian writer, might now serve as a school example of the unity and uniformity of the international Greek vocabulary.

(14) St. Paul in Philippians ii. 30 testifies of Epaphroditus that he had for the sake of the work of Christ come nigh unto death, having daringly exposed himself.[3] The verb *παραβολεύομαι*, "I expose myself," here used in the aorist participle, has not been found in other writers, and was even in ancient times such a rare word that some copyists have altered it.[4] Nevertheless, though placed by Thayer in his list, it is not a "Biblical" peculiarity. An inscription at Olbia on the Black Sea, probably of the 2nd cent. A.D.,[5] in honour of a certain Carzoazus

[1] Sometimes with the genitive, sometimes with the dative; cf. Hatch and Redpath's Concordance.

[2] Diod. xiv. 8.

[3] Literally: "having offered himself with his soul." [The R.V. has "hazarding his life." Tr.]

[4] Instead of *παραβολευσάμενος* they write *παραβουλευσάμενος*. [= the A.V. "not regarding his life." Tr.]

[5] *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* ed. Basilius Latyschev, I., Petropoli, 1885, No. $21_{26\text{-}28}$, ἀλλὰ καὶ (*μέχρι*) *περάτων γῆς ἐμαρτυρήθη τοὺς ὑπὲρ φιλίας κινδύνους μέχρι Σεβαστῶν συμμαχίᾳ παραβολευσάμενος*. Latyschev considers this a very obscure text (p. 54). I find not the least difficulty, if *μέχρι* (ἕως?) *περάτων* is right: "but also to the ends of the world it was witnessed of him that in the interests of friendship he had exposed himself to dangers as an advocate in (legal) strife (by taking his clients' causes even) up to emperors." *παραβολευσάμενος* governs the accusative *τοὺς κινδύνους* (cf. *παραβάλλεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον*, Thuc. iii. 14, quoted in Pape's Lexicon) and the dative *συμμαχίᾳ* (cf. *τῇ ψυχῇ* in the passage from St. Paul, and *ψυχῇ καὶ σ[ώ]ματι παραβαλλόμενος*, inscription from the coast of the Black Sea, *circa* 48 A.D., Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 342_{29}; literary passages in Thayer, *s.v.* *παραβολεύομαι*, and J. H. Moulton, *Grammar*, I. p. 64). Hence, "by his advocacy he exposed himself to dangers." The whole passage has a

the son of Attalus, employs exactly the same participle in a similar context, and helps to elucidate the passage in Philippians, while itself receiving illumination from the New Testament.

(15) In 1 Tim. ii. 12 the woman is forbidden to "have dominion over" the man. The word αὐθεντέω appears here for the first time in Greek literature, nor does it occur again except in ecclesiastical writers. Of course, therefore, it has been described as "only Biblical and patristic."[1] Now, as Nägeli[2] points out, the word is twice used[3] in a non-literary text, viz. a Christian papyrus letter of the 6th or 7th cent. A.D., No. 103 among the Berlin documents. A superficial observer will say this is a new proof that the verb is Christian. As a matter of fact its occurrence in the letter is much rather an indication of its popular character. And all doubt is removed by Moeris,[4] one of the late lexicographers among the ancients, who gives αὐτοδικεῖν as the Attic and αὐθεντεῖν as the corresponding Hellenistic word (in the Κοινή). In the same way Thomas Magister[5] warns against the use of αὐθεντεῖν as vulgar, and recommends αὐτοδικεῖν instead.[6] It is therefore

very "New Testament" ring. The ancient phrase πέρατα τῆς γῆς is also familiar to us from the Greek Bible. For the actual hyperbole itself cf. for instance the amiable exaggeration in Romans i. 8 and the emphatic expressions in Romans xv. 19. The use of μαρτυρέομαι is quite as in the New Testament (*Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 93; *Bible Studies*, p. 265).—In the Theologische Rundschau, 9 (1906) p. 223, I quoted the inscription from van Herwerden, *Lexicon*, p. 622, unfortunately with his error in the reference: II. (instead of I.).

[1] Grimm, Thayer, etc., *s.v.* [2] Page 49.

[3] The precise meaning is not completely clear, but the general idea of "being master" seems to me to be decisive in this passage also.

[4] Page 58 of J. Pierson's edition, quoted by Nägeli, p. 50.

[5] Page 18, 8 of Ritschl's edition, quoted by Nägeli, p. 49 f. This is not the medieval lexicographer's own wisdom, but borrowed from his predecessors.

[6] Cf. Moulton and Milligan, The Expositor, October 1908, p. 374; and Jean Psichari, Efendi, *Extrait des Mélanges de philologie et de linguistique offerts à M. Louis Havet*, Paris, 1908, p. 412 ff.

probably a mere statistical accident that αὐθεντέω has not been met with earlier than in the New Testament; any day may bring us an ancient "profane" quotation.

(16) διαταγή, "disposition, ordinance" (Ezra iv. 11; Rom. xiii. 2; Acts vii. 53) is said to be "purely" Biblical and patristic: the "Greeks" use instead διάταξις.[1] Nevertheless E. A. Sophocles[2] noted the word in Ruphus of Ephesus,[3] a physician who flourished about 100 A.D. (so that he may well have been a contemporary of the physician St. Luke). That this pagan physician should have picked up the word from the Christians is, I think, more improbable than that St. Paul and the Christian physician St. Luke knew it from its use among their medical contemporaries—if it was not known to them naturally apart from that. And in all probability it was so known to them. The word is not merely a technical term in medicine: the astrologer Vettius Valens of Antioch, of the 2nd cent. A.D., also uses it.[4]

The inscriptions and papyri add their light. Nägeli[5] quotes inscriptions from Sardis[6] (Roman period), and Pergamum[7] (date uncertain), and docu-

[1] Grimm and Thayer, *s.v.* Thayer certainly gives the note "Inscr." on p. 694.

[2] *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods.*

[3] In the *Collectanea Medicinalia* of the physician Oribasius, edited by Bussemaker and Daremberg, I. p. $544_{6f.}$, μόνον δὲ χρὴ τῇ ἐφεξῆς διαταγῇ τὸ σῶμα ἀνακομίζειν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν, "it is only necessary by a subsequent ordered way of living to bring back the body into proper order." The French editors translate *régime, i.e.* "diet." The word has here already undergone a change of meaning.

[4] *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, V. 2 p. 51_{16}, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κελεύοντος διαταγήν, "according to the disposition of the person commanding." I am indebted for the reference to W. Kroll (letter, Münster, 5 April, 1907).

[5] Page 38.

[6] *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 3465, a votive inscription, ἐκ τῆς διαταγῆς.

[7] No. 358, a votive inscription, [ἐκ] διαταγῆς.

ments from the Oxyrhynchus Papyri dated respectively 335(?) A.D.[1] and 362 A.D.[2] To these we may add (beginning with the latest) a letter of 343–344(?) A.D.[3] from the Fayûm, an inscription from Irbid in the Hauran (238–239 A.D.),[4] an inscription from Hierapolis[5] (2nd ? cent. A.D.), and an inscription from Oenoanda in the south-west of Asia Minor (Imperial period).[6] Of still greater importance, if rightly restored, is an inscription from Antiphellus[7] in Lycia (2nd ? cent. A.D.), in which G. Hirschfeld (rightly, I think) explains *τῶν θείων δια[ταγ]ῶν* as "imperial ordinances."[8] This would be a most exact parallel to the celebrated passage in the Epistle to the Romans, which also refers to the Roman authorities.

As we review the statistics[9] we repeat the ob-

[1] No. 92, order for payment of wine, *ἐκ διαταγ(ῆς)*.

[2] No. 93, order for payment of corn, *ἐκ διαταγῆς*. From these four passages we may conclude that *ἐκ διαταγῆς*, "by order," was a regular formula.

[3] *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, No. 133, *ἵνα τὴν διαταγὴν τῆς τρύγης ποιήσηται* (I take this as equivalent to *ποιήσητε*), "that ye may make disposition concerning the harvest."

[4] American Journal of Archaeology, 10 (1906) p. 290, *διαταγῆ* Φλ. *Οὐήρου* (or [Σε]*ουήρου*) *ἐκ δημοσίου*, "by order of Flavius Verus (or Severus) from public money."

[5] *Altertümer von Hierapolis* [see above, p. 12, n. 6], p. 100, No. 78, *εἴ τις παρὰ τὴν διαταγὴν τὴν ἐμὴν ποιήσι*, "if any one doeth contrary to my ordinance." Walther Judeich (*ibid.* p. 110) points out that in this and related inscriptions from Asia Minor *διατάσσεσθαι*, *διάταξις*, *διάταγμα*, and *διαταγή* display the specialised meaning of "determine by testamentary disposition," etc., just like *διατίθεσθαι*, etc. This use was also known to St. Paul: his *ἐπιδιατάσσεσθαι* (Gal. iii. 15) also refers to a testament.

[6] *Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien* [see above, p. 14, n. 1], II. p. 180, No. 231, *κατὰ τὴν Σειγηλάσεος* (*sic*) *διαταγήν*, "by order of Seigelasis."

[7] *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 4300$_g$, with the reading on p. 1128 : *[ὑπ]εύθυνος ἔσται τοῖς διὰ τῶν θείων δια[ταγ]ῶν ὡρισμένοις*, "He will be liable to the (penalties) appointed by the divine ordinances."

[8] Further details in Judeich, who does not accept this explanation, but thinks rather of some private document left by the owner of the tomb. But in that case how is *θείων* to be explained? *θεῖος*, "divine," has in countless passages the meaning of "imperial," just like the Latin *divinus*. See Chapter IV. below, p. 351.

[9] Ludwig Mitteis (letter, Leipzig, 21 May, 1908) refers me further to the Leipzig Papyrus No. 97 III$_5$, X$_{15}$, XIII$_1$, XVII$_{36}$ (in his edition).

servation already hinted above: we see unity and uniformity prevailing in the use of words wherever the international language was written. A supposed Biblical word can be traced in the Imperial period from one stage to another through the countries bordering on the Mediterranean: from Pergamum, Sardis, Ephesus, Hierapolis, by way of Oenoanda, Lycia, and Cilicia (St. Paul), to Antioch, the Hauran, and the little country towns of Egypt. And in Egypt we found what is at present the oldest example of all, the Septuagint Ezra iv. 11.

(17) πρωτότοκος, "firstborn," occurs frequently in the Septuagint and in important religious utterances of the New Testament. Thayer quotes it twice from the Anthology, but nevertheless leaves it in his list of "Biblical" words. It is of some importance therefore to find in Trachonitis, on the undated tomb of a pagan "high priest" and "friend of the gods," a metrical inscription, mutilated indeed, but plainly showing this word.[1] It is noteworthy that we have here, as in the Anthology, a poetical text. Another metrical epitaph from Rome,[2] Christian, and not much later than the second (?) or third century, uses the word with reference to a firstborn "sun-child" (*i.e.* child born on a Sunday) who died at the age of two years.

(18) συγκληρονόμος, "fellow-heir," is "unknown in profane Greek" according to Cremer.[3] He has just quoted Philo the Jew, who uses the word once,

[1] *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus collecta* ed. Georgius Kaibel, Berolini, 1878, No. 460, ἱρεὺς γάρ εἰμι πρωτοτόκων ἐκ τελεθ[ὼν ?] (= τελετ[ὼν] ?), "for I am a priest by the rites of the firstborn." Kaibel thinks that in the family of the deceased the firstborn always exercised the office of priest. Cf. van Herwerden, *Lexicon*, p. 710. [Cf. Pindar, *Ol.* x. (xi.) 63, ἐν πρωτογόνῳ τελετᾷ παρέσταν . . . Μοῖραι. TR.]

[2] *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 9727 = *Epigrammata* ed. Kaibel, No. 730.

[3] [Page 584.]

so we must suppose Cremer to be as broad-minded as the early Church in approximating Philo to Christianity. But even in quite pagan surroundings we encounter this word, the origin of which in the legal terminology of the day is patent on the face of it. In an Ephesian inscription of the Imperial period[1] one C. Umphuleius Bassus mentions "Eutychis as coheir." If this woman was his wife, as is probable, this example is a specially fine illustration of 1 Peter iii. 7, where the wife is honoured as being (spiritually) a fellow-heir with her husband.

(19) The word δικαιοκρισία "is found only in ecclesiastical and Biblical Greek, and that rarely," says Cremer. This time it is interesting to notice that Cremer[2] has tolerantly admitted to Biblical (or ecclesiastical?) precincts the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, in which the word twice occurs.[3] Now on the fourth of the month Phamenoth, in the year 303 A.D., a certain Aurelius Demetrius Nilus, a former arch-priest of Arsinoë and undoubtedly a heathen, caused a petition to be written (for he could not write himself[4]!) to the Praefect of Egypt, Clodius Culcianus, who is known to us from the time of the Diocletian persecution. The petitioner appealed confidently, "being of good hope to obtain righteous judgment from thy Magnificence."[5] In this passage the word δικαιοκρισία stands really for that which is the outcome of just judgment, viz. "a

[1] *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, III. No. 633 (p. 249), Εὐτυχίδος . . . . σ[υγ]κληρονό[μου αὐτ]οῦ.

[2] Page 339.

[3] Test. Levi 3 and 15.

[4] Cf. line 11 of the petition, διὰ τὸ ἀγράμματόν με εἶναι, "because I cannot write."

[5] The Oxyrhynchus Papyri No. 71 I_4, εὔελπις ὢν τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σοῦ μεγέθους δικαιοκρισίας τυχεῖν. The passage is referred to by Nägeli, p. 48, and by Lietzmann on Romans ii. 5. The scribe who drew up this petition knew the word from official usage, not from the Bible.

just sentence." In Romans ii. 5 the radical meaning, "just judgment," [1] suffices, and Cremer's discrimination between "judgment which does justice" and "judgment in accordance with justice" is doubtless too fine.

(20) The word *κατήγωρ*, "accuser," is probably still regarded by most commentators on Rev. xii. 10 as a Biblical speciality traceable to a Hebrew [2] or Aramaic [3] adaptation of the Greek *κατήγορος*. The question why *κατήγορος* is always used elsewhere in the New Testament is either not raised at all or tacitly answered by reference to the supposed strongly Hebrew character of the Revelation. We find the word, however, in a very vulgar magical formula in a British Museum papyrus (No. 124) of the fourth or fifth century A.D., where it refers not to the devil, as in the Biblical passage, but to human enemies.[4] The papyrus itself is late; the formula, however, to judge by the analogy of other magical prescriptions, is older; and, in spite of the strongly syncretic character of the papyrus, there is nothing which points to a Jewish or Christian origin for this formula.[5] The only thing that can be ascertained

[1] Cf. 2 Thess. i. 5, *τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως*; John vii. 24, *τὴν δικαίαν κρίσιν κρίνατε*.

[2] W. Bousset on the passage in Meyer's Commentary, XVI,[6] Göttingen, 1906, p. 342.

[3] P. W. Schmiedel, in his new edition of Winer's Grammar, Göttingen, 1894, § 8, 13 (p. 85 f.).

[4] *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, ed. F. G. Kenyon (Vol. I.), London, 1893, p. 122, *θυμοκάτοχον πρὸς πάντας ποιῶν· ποιεῖ γὰρ πρὸς ἐχθροὺς καὶ κατήγορας καὶ λῃστῶν καὶ φόβους καὶ φαντασμοὺς ὀνείρων*, "a charm to bind the senses, effective against everybody: for it works against enemies and accusers and robbers and terrors and dream-spectres." *θυμοκάτοχον*, which often occurs as a title to magical prescriptions, I take (in the sense which *κατέχω* often has, cf. Chapter IV below, p. 308, n. 5) to mean that the enemy's senses will be paralysed. [Eduard Norden, letter, Gross-Lichterfelde W., 3 September, 1908, makes the excellent suggestion to delete the third *καί*. The translation will then be "fears of robbers" instead of "robbers and terrors."]

[5] The formula next following has been influenced by Judaeo-Christian conceptions of angels.

with certainty is the vulgar character of the formula, and the word κατήγωρ is also—as in the vulgar Greek Revelation of St. John—a vulgarism.

The philologists who have discussed the word recently[1] are doubtless on the right track: κατήγωρ is a vulgar "back formation" from the genitive plural κατηγόρων, on the analogy of ῥητόρων. Nearly all of them[2] quote, among numerous vulgar formations of the same kind, the word διάκων (= διάκονος), and refer to the Charta Borgiana (191–192 A.D.) for the earliest example of its use. The phenomenon in general is very old,[3] and in this special case a much earlier example can be quoted: a papyrus letter from the Fayûm, dated 4 December, 75 A.D., and now at Berlin, has the dative τῶι διάκωνι.[4] It is therefore impossible to call διάκων "late," as Blass even did[5]; or at least it is impossible in a New Testament Grammar, for this example is no doubt older than the Revelation.

(21) With regard to κατάκρισις, "condemnation," Cremer[6] expresses himself somewhat more cautiously: "a word that appears to be found only in Biblical and ecclesiastical Greek." The appearance, however, was deceptive. Christianity had no more need of a

[1] Wilhelm Schmid, Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1895, p. 42; Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, 16 (1899) col. 541 f., 18 (1901) col. 602; A. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, p. 126; P. Wendland, Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 11 (1902) p. 189; L. Radermacher, Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, New Series 57 (1902) p. 148; *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Prospectus), p. 5 f.

[2] Even Schmiedel, in spite of his other statement.

[3] Wilhelm Schmid, Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, 18 (1901) col. 602.

[4] Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 597$_4$. The iota adscript in the article and elsewhere in the letter shows that the writer wished to be elegant; he no doubt considered the word διάκων to be good Greek.

[5] *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch*,[2] p. 30; [Eng. trans.,[2] p. 29, n. 2].

[6] [3]Page 610.

special word for "condemnation"[1] than it has call to be jealous in claiming the sole possession of words for "a curse," "to curse," and "cursed."[2] The "Biblical" word[3] κατάκρισις is found more than once in the astrologer Vettius Valens of Antioch (second century A.D.).[4]

(22) ἀναθεματίζω, "I curse," literally "I devote (to the lower world)"[5]—there was surely no reason for the Bible religion to be particularly proud of having invented such a word, and yet according to Cremer[6] and other lexicographers it is found "only in Biblical and ecclesiastical Greek." Among the ancient lead tablets published and discussed by Richard Wünsch in the preface to his collection of Attic cursing-tablets[7] we find, however, one of the first or second century A.D., a heathen curse from Megara, now in the Royal Museum at Berlin, which throws a new light on the words ἀνάθεμα and ἀναθεματίζω. At the end of the whole formula there is a separate line of large letters[8] making up the word ΑΝΕΘΕΜΑ, which is obviously a form of conclusion—"curse!"

[1] John iii. 17.

[2] Cf. the following nos. 22, 23.

[3] Thayer, in his list.

[4] I am indebted for the references to the kindness of W. Kroll (letter dated Münster, 5 April, 1907): *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, V. 2, p. 73_{34}, here Valens speaks περὶ δεσμῶν καὶ συνοχῶν καὶ ἀποκρύφων πραγμάτων καὶ κατακρίσεως καὶ ἀτιμίας, "about bonds and distresses and secret difficulties and condemnation and dishonour"; and in Kroll's new edition, I. 117_{35}, he speaks of φθονικαὶ (Kroll: φονικαί?) κατακρίσεις, "condemnations for envy (murder?)."

[5] For what follows cf. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 2 (1901) p. 342.

[6] [9]Page 1003.

[7] *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, Appendix (=*Inscriptiones Graecae*, III. 2) p. xiii f., and now accessible also in Wünsch's *Antike Fluchtafeln*, p. 4 ff.

[8] Cf. the facsimile, *loc. cit.* p. xiii. ανεθεμα=ἀνάθεμα. The weakening of the accented α to ε is probably not unique. Nägeli, p. 49, following a hint of Wackernagel's, looks upon it as an example of vulgar Greek misplaced extension of the augment to a derivative; so also Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*, p. 5.

We find further in line 5 f. ἀναθεματίζ[ομ]εν αὐτούς, in line 8 f. τούτους ἀναθεμα[τί]ζομεν, and on the back, line 8 f., ἀναθεματί[ζ]ομεν τούτο[υς]: "we curse them," three times over. We must therefore say that ἀνάθεμα, meaning "curse," belonged also to the pagan vocabulary, and that ἀναθεματίζω will have to be removed from the list of merely "Biblical" or "ecclesiastical" words. We may still reckon with the possibility that the verb was first coined by Greek Jews: technical expressions in magic are of all places the most likely in which to assume that the international language had been influenced by Judaism.

(23) The classical Greek for "cursed" is ἄρατος, ἐπάρατος, or κατάρατος. In the Septuagint we find κατάρατος rarely, but a fourth word, ἐπικατάρατος, occurs frequently. As it was met with elsewhere "only" in the New Testament, it has been reckoned among the words that are "only" Biblical and ecclesiastical,[1]—as though Christianity had any need to plume itself on the possession of this special word. But why the secular words were not sufficient, and how far a "Biblical" distinction was secured by the ἐπί prefixed, these questions have never been raised. From the point of view of historical grammar the correct thing would have been to assume ἐπικαταράομαι and ἐπικατάρατος to be instances of those double compounds or "decomposites"[2] which become more and more common in later Greek, and to regard ἐπί, therefore, as a late Greek, not a Biblical, feature. We are therefore not surprised to find the adjective used in a pagan inscription from Euboea[3] of the

[1] Grimm and Thayer, *s.v.*

[2] Cf. Wilhelm Schmid, *Der Atticismus*, IV. p. 708 ff.; Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, p. 497 ff.; Arnold Steubing, *Der paulinische Begriff "Christusleiden,"* a Heidelberg Dissertation, Darmstadt, 1905, p. 9.

[3] Εφημερις Αρχαιολογικη, 1892, col. 173 ff.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 891. Cf. above, p. 20, n. 1.

second century A.D.[1] The inscription must be pagan, for the Erinyes, Charis, and Hygeia are named in it as goddesses. If it should be thought, on account of the Septuagint formulae occurring in this inscription,[2] that Septuagint influence might account for ἐπικατάρατος,[3] we can refer to a pagan inscription from Halicarnassus, of the second or third century A.D., now in the British Museum.[4]

(24) νεκρόω, "I make dead, mortify," is one of the "Biblical" words that Thayer even in his list secularises by reference to Plutarch, the Anthology, and inscriptions. In his article on the word he adds to these Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, but he nowhere actually cites an inscription. He may have been thinking of the metrical epitaph of one M. Aurelius Eutychus (Athens, Roman period),[5] which employs the phrase "body deceased" or "dead body" and thus furnishes an excellent parallel to Rom. iv. 19.

(25) ἀναζάω, "I live again, revive," which occurs several times in the New Testament, is regarded by

[1] Ἐπικατάρατος ὅστις μὴ φείδοιτο κατὰ τόνδε τὸν χῶρον τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου, "cursed whoever doth not spare this place with this work" (viz. a monument on a tomb).

[2] Cf. above, p. 20, n. 1.

[3] Nägeli, who quotes this inscription (p. 60), is so cautious as to make this suggestion. It must be noted, however, that the extremely numerous ἐπικατάρατος passages in the Septuagint never employ the formula of the inscription, ἐπικατάρατος ὅστις. If the word were taken over from the Septuagint we should expect in this case the construction also to be borrowed.

[4] *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 2664 = *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, IV. 1, No. 918, εἴ τις δὲ (the same collocation as in 1 Cor. viii. 2, Cod. 37; frequent also in the inscriptions of Hierapolis, cf. *Altertümer von Hierapolis*, p. 201) ἐπιχειρήσι λίθον ἆραι ἢ λῦσαι αὐτό, ἤτω ἐπικατάρατος ταῖς προγεγραμμέναις ἀραῖς, "but if any one shall attempt to take away a stone or to destroy the monument, let him be cursed with the imprecations written above."

[5] *Inscriptiones Graecae*, III. 2, No. 1355, Ἄνθρωπε . . . μή μου παρέλθῃς σῶμα τὸ νεν[ε]κρ[ω]μένον, "man! pass not (unheeding) by my body dead!" Cf. van Herwerden, *Lexicon*, p. 555.

Grimm, Thayer,[1] and Cremer as specifically a New Testament and ecclesiastical word. Cremer[2] even explains why Christianity had to invent the word: "the ἀναβιῶναι of profane Greek does not suit the soteriological sense of the Biblical ζωή."

Without raising the question why, if that were so, it was not necessary to find a substitute for the secular substantive ζωή, we are able in the first place to quote from Nicander,[3] a poet of the second century B.C., at least the verb ἀναζώω, which the lexicons describe as a poetical form of ἀναζάω. We find the Biblical word, however, in Sotion,[4] a narrator of marvels who possibly belongs to the first century A.D.,[5] and again in Artemidorus,[6] an interpreter of dreams in the second century A.D. A Cretan inscription[7] of unascertained date, which moreover requires restoration, was referred to by Nägeli.[8] In the fifth century we still find the word ἀναζάω used in a

[1] In his list of "Biblical" words Thayer adds to ἀναζάω the note "Inscr."—another of these remarkable contradictions in so exact a writer.

[2] [8]Page 464.

[3] Fragment in Athenaeus, IV. 11, 133 D, θερμοῖς δ' ἱκμανθεῖσαι ἀναζώουσ' ὑδάτεσσιν, "Till that the warm rains fall, and moistened therewith they revive them."

[4] Παραδοξογραφοι *Scriptores Rerum Mirabilium Graeci* ed. Antonius Westermann, Brunsvigae, 1839, p. 183, παρὰ Κιλικίᾳ φασὶν ὕδατος εἶναί τι σύστημα, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πεπνιγμένα τῶν ὀρνέων καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων ἐμβραχέντα ἀναζῆν, "they say that in the neighbourhood of Cilicia there is a body of water, in which strangled birds and irrational creatures, if plunged therein, come to life."

[5] Westermann, Praefatio (p. L).

[6] iv. 82, according to the reading of the Codex Laurentianus, preferred by the editor, J. G. Reiff, Leipzig, 1805. Here again the subject is the return to life of one supposed to be dead. R. Hercher inserts the reading ἀναβιοῦν in the text of his edition, Leipzig, 1864.

[7] *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 2566 = *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, edited by H. Collitz and F. Bechtel, III. 2, Göttingen, 1905, No. 4959, edited by F. Blass. A woman, Ἀρχονίκα, fulfils a vow to Artemis which she had made "on coming to life again," ἀναζῶσα. The text is not quite clear. Hiller von Gaertringen pointed out to me (letter, Berlin, Μεγαλοσάββατον [*i.e.*, the Saturday before Easter, 30 March], 1907) that Blass has forgotten to print εὐχάν at the end.

[8] Page 47.

physical sense, as in the above-quoted passages, by the Christian writer Nilus[1]; and the late lexicographers of antiquity, quoted by Nägeli, now supplemented by the newly discovered fragment of Photius,[2] give it as a synonym for *ἀναβιώσκομαι* and *ἀναβιόω*.

Our conclusion, therefore, must be this: *ἀναζάω*, "I live again," is an international Greek word, and its radical (physical) meaning, which can be traced through many centuries, has been hallowed and given an ethical content by Christianity. Cremer's theory would reverse all this, and we should have to deplore the profanation of a "Christian" word.

(26) *εὐπροσωπέω*, "I look well, make a fair show" (Gal. vi. 12; and as a variant in the hexaplaric text[3] of Psalm cxl. [cxli.] 6), is described by Cremer[4] as "not discoverable in profane Greek." We find it, however, in the letter of the Egyptian Polemon to his "brother" Menches (114 B.C.),[5] clearly used no longer in the physical sense,[6] but (as by St. Paul) with

[1] In Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 513_{36} (quoted from the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*), *οἱ γὰρ κόκκοι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ σήψεως νέκρωσιν καὶ φθορὰν ἀναζῶσι*, "for the seeds come to life again after death and destruction by decay."

[2] *Der Anfang des Lexicons des Photios*, edited by R. Reitzenstein, Leipzig and Berlin, 1907, p. 107: *ἀναβιώσκεσθαι· ἀναζῆν.*

[3] *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt* conc. F. Field, t. II., Oxonii, 1875, p. 297, notes an *ἄλλος* who has *εὐπροσωπίσθησαν* and the variant *εὐπροσώπησαν*. The *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (with false reference to "Proverb.") describes *εὐπροσωπίσθησαν*, with doubtful correctness, as a contamination.

[4] [6]Page 765.

[5] The Tebtunis Papyri No. $19_{12\,f.}$, *ὅπως εὐπροσωπῶμεν*, "so that we may make a fair appearance." J. H. Moulton, The Expositor, February 1903, p. 114, called attention to this passage.

[6] The physical meaning is of course the original one. We may imagine it so used by physicians. W. Pape's *Handwörterbuch* (2nd ed., 4th reprint, Braunschweig, 1866, p. 982) *s.v.* refers to "Galen.," *i.e.* the physician Galen of the 2nd century A.D., but this is only by a cheerful misunderstanding of some preceding dictionary, probably Passow's, which rightly refers to "ep. Gal. 6, 12." "Gal." it is true does also stand for "Galen" in Passow. Thus the Epistle to the Galatians has been turned into an epistle of Galen's! There is some right instinct after all in the mistake, for the word was probably a medical expression to begin with.

reference to winning the good opinion of one's neighbours.

(27) When St. Paul preached as a missionary in Athens he was suspected by Stoic and Epicurean opponents of being "a setter forth of strange gods: because he preached Jesus and Anastasis." The word καταγγελεύς, "proclaimer, herald, setter forth," here placed in the mouth of the pagan philosophers, is according to Cremer[1] and others only found in this passage "and in ecclesiastical Greek." Even if no quotations were forthcoming from profane sources, this isolation of the word would for intrinsic reasons be highly questionable; for although the sentence containing it is in the Bible, it is not a "Biblical" but a pagan utterance, emanating from the pagan opposition, and of its authenticity Cremer can have had no doubt. A less hasty examination would have led to the recognition of the word as pagan on internal grounds. As a matter of fact it is found on a marble stele recording a decree of the Mytilenians in honour of the Emperor Augustus (between 27 and 11 B.C.).[2]

(28) In the First Epistle of St. Peter v. 3 f. we read[3]: ". . . making yourselves ensamples to the flock. And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive the crown of glory that fadeth not away."

The "chief Shepherd" of course is Jesus; the corresponding Greek word, ἀρχιποίμην, is according to Cremer[4] unknown except in this passage. One is tempted to regard it as a Christian invention;

[1] [9]Page 32.

[2] Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 456_{10} = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XII. 2, No. 58_{10}, καταγγελεῖς τῶν πρώτων ἀ(χ)θησο[μένων ἀγώνων], "heralds of the first games that shall be held."

[3] On this subject cf. Die Christliche Welt, 18 (1904) col. 77 f.

[4] [9]Page 906.

some people, I daresay, detect a sort of official ring in the word. It is possible, however, to show that the apostle, far from inventing the word, was merely borrowing. A slip of wood (Figure 7) that once hung round the neck of an Egyptian mummy, of the Roman period, has been found with the following Greek inscription,[1] designed to establish the identity of the deceased :—

Πλῆνις νεώ- *τερος ἀρχιποί-* *μενος. ἐβίω-* *σεν ἐτῶν . . .*	Plenis the younger, chief shepherd's. Lived . . . years.

The genitive here, "chief shepherd's," is probably a mere slip in writing, but the occurrence of such a slip is of some interest. Had the deceased been a person of distinction the inscription would have been more carefully executed. This label was hurriedly written for a man of the people, for an Egyptian peasant who had served as overseer of, let us say, two or three shepherds, or perhaps even half a dozen.[2] If a reading of Carl Wessely's[3] may be trusted, we have the same title again on another mummy-label ;[4] but I believe from the facsimile that the word is not really there.[5] The one instance, however, is enough : it shows "chief shepherd" to have been a title in genuine use among the people. Moreover, the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* had already

[1] Cf. E. Le Blant, Revue Archéologique, 28 (1874) p. 249 ; the facsimile (see our Fig. 7) is in Plate 23, fig. 14. I do not know where the tablet now is.

[2] Wilcken (note on proof-sheets of the first edition of this book) thinks he may have been the master of a guild of shepherds ; for something similar see Wilcken, *Ostraka*, I. p. 332.

[3] *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, V., Wien, 1892, p. 17. Wessely reads *ἀρχιποίμ(ην)*.

[4] Also in Le Blant, p. 248 ; facsimile, Plate 21, fig. 9.

[5] Ludwig Mitteis (letter, Leipzig, 21 May, 1908) refers me to the Leipzig Papyrus No. 97 XI_4 (in his edition).

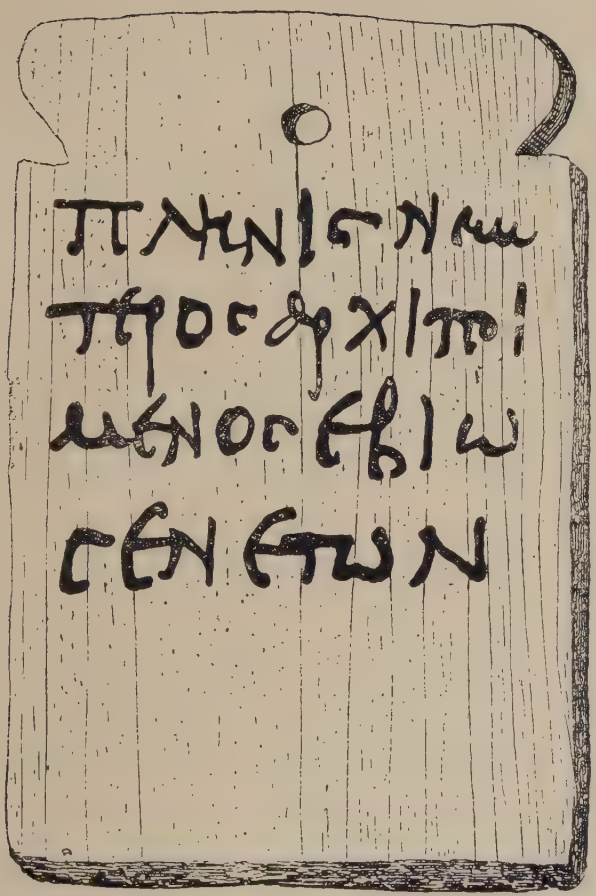

FIG. 7.—Wooden Mummy-label from Egypt, Imperial Period.
By permission of Ernest Leroux, of Paris.

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quoted the word from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.[1] The Christians called their Saviour "the chief Shepherd," but this was not crowning Him with jewelled diadem of gold: it was more like plaiting a wreath of simple green leaves to adorn His brow.

(29) προσκυνητής, "a worshipper," is according to Cremer[2] "unknown in pre-Christian Greek, and very rare afterwards, *e.g.* in inscriptions." Which inscriptions are meant, is not stated. The plural "inscriptions" is no doubt traceable to Passow or Pape *s.v.*, where "Inscr." certainly means "Inscriptiones," though the plural must not be pressed. As a matter of fact the only inscription of which these lexicographers could have had knowledge must have been one of the third century A.D. from Baetocaece, near Apamea in Syria, reprinted from Chandler in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (No. 4474_{51}), so that Cremer's statement would seem to be about right.

In the addenda,[3] however, he informs us that "the word was not entirely unknown in pre-Christian Greek," and quotes an inscription (Waddington 3, 2720a) from the same place in Syria containing a decree[4] drawn up in the interests of "the worshippers that come up"[5] and communicated to the Emperor Augustus.

[1] *Testamentum Judae*, c. 8. The occurrence of the word has no bearing on the question of the Christian origin of this work.—Symmachus uses the word in his version of 2 Kings iii. 4.—At the present day the Chélingas, the hereditary leaders of the pastoral Vlachs, are called ἀρχιποίμην by the Greeks (K. Baedeker, *Greece*,[3] Leipzig, 1905, p. xlix). How old this title is, I cannot say.—The remark of the lexicographer Hesychius, that among the Cretans Ἀρχίλλας was the name for the ἀρχιποίμην, shows that the word was in use at any rate in the time of Hesychius.

[2] [2]Page 616. [3] Page 1120.

[4] Cremer says "petition."

[5] Τοῖς ἀνιοῦσει (*sic*; Cremer has ἀνιοῦσι) προσκυνηταῖς.

This inscription, however, is identical with the one referred to above; it has been repeatedly discussed of late.[1] Though carved in the third century this example of the use of προσκυνητής is really pre-Christian; the inscription in fact includes older documents: a letter of a King Antiochus, and the old decree that was sent to Augustus.

Other examples are at present unknown to me. I know no foundation for van Herwerden's statement,[2] that the word is frequent in inscriptions and papyri.

(30) προσκαρτέρησις, "perseverance, constancy," which the lexicons hitherto have quoted only from Eph. vi. 18, is strangely enough described by Cremer[3] not as Biblical but as a "late" Greek word. This is because he here follows Pape, who marks the word as "late" though he certainly can have known no example of its use outside the Bible. Thayer includes the word in his "Biblical" list. It can now be quoted from two Jewish manumissions recorded in inscriptions at Panticapaeum on the Black Sea, one[4] belonging to the year 81 A.D., and the other[5] nearly as old. These inscriptions, I admit, will not do more than disprove the supposed "Biblical" peculiarity of

[1] *E.g.* Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 262; Hans Lucas, Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 14 (1905) p. 21 ff.

[2] *Lexicon*, p. 702.

[3] [3]Page 570.

[4] *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* ed. Basilius Latyschev, II., Petropoli, 1890, No. 52_{13-15}, χωρὶς ἰς τ[ὴ]ν προ[σ]ευχὴν θωπείας τε καὶ προσκα[ρτερ]ήσεως, "besides reverence and constancy towards the place of prayer" (θωπεία, which generally means "flattery," is here used in the good sense of "reverence"). Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, III.[3] p. 53, points to the analogy between this inscription and the usage, striking by its frequency in the New Testament, of combining the verb προσκαρτερέω with προσευχή (meaning "prayer": it could hardly be "place of prayer").

[5] *Op. cit.* No. 53, with the same formula as in No. 52, which we may therefore take to have been a standing expression.

the word. For the present there is still the possibility that προσκαρτέρησις was a Jewish coinage of the Diaspora.

(31) The Greek word used for the veil or curtain that separated the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies in the Temple at Jerusalem is καταπέτασμα, literally "that which is spread out downwards, that which hangs down." That this word should be found in Thayer's "Biblical" list is not in itself surprising, for the idea before us is a technical one, connected with the apparatus of worship. The occurrence of the word in the Epistle of Aristeas, in Philo and Josephus, would not affect the case, for these writers knew the word from the Septuagint. Nevertheless it cannot be that we have here to do with a Biblical or Judaeo-Christian[1] speciality, created by the Septuagint. An inscription from Samos, 346–5 B.C.,[2] cataloguing the furniture of the temple of Hera, furnishes an example which is a century earlier, and particularly valuable because it shows the word employed in a religious context and incidentally corrects the description "Alexandrian"[3] with which the lexicons had mechanically labelled it.

(32) ἐπισυναγωγή, found only in 2 Macc. ii. 7, 2 Thess. ii. 1, and Heb. x. 25, where it denotes various senses of the word "assembly," is according to Cremer[4] "unknown in profane Greek." As συναγωγή itself was originally a profane word, one

[1] That is the opinion of Kennedy, *Sources*, p. 113.

[2] In Otto Hoffmann, *Die Griechischen Dialekte*, III., Göttingen, 1898, p. 72 (from Ath. Mitt. 7, p. 367 ff.; cf. van Herwerden, *Lexicon*, pp. 433, 717): καταπέτασμα τῆς τραπέζης, "table-cover."

[3] Even Thayer says, *s.v.* καταπέτασμα, that it is an Alexandrian Greek word, for which "other" Greeks used παραπέτασμα. But in the identical inventory mentioned above, containing the καταπέτασμα τῆς τραπέζης, we find παραπετάσματα noted immediately afterwards. The two words therefore do not coincide.

[4] Page 79.

is inclined to ask why ἐπισυναγωγή should be different, especially as the profane συναγωγή became among the Jews (and occasionally among the Christians) the technical expression for the (assembled) congregation and the house in which they met. As a matter of fact a mere statistical accident was the cause of error here, and a second accident has very happily corrected the first. In the island of Syme, off the coast of Caria, there was lately discovered, built into the altar of the chapel of St. Michael Tharrinos, the upper portion of a stele inscribed with a decree in honour of a deserving citizen.[1] The writing is considered to be not later than 100 B.C., so that the inscription is probably older than the Second Book of Maccabees. By the kind permission of the Imperial Austrian Archaeological Institute I am able to reproduce here (Figure 8) a facsimile of the whole stele (including the portion previously discovered).

On the upper fragment of this stele we find our word in the general meaning of "collection"[2]; the difference between it and the common συναγωγή is scarcely greater than between, say, the English "collecting" and "collecting together"[3]: the longer Greek word was probably more to the taste of the later period.

The stone which has established the secular character of this Bible word—the heathen stone of Syme built into the altar of the Christian chapel of

[1] Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, 7 (1904) p. 81 ff. (with facsimile, p. 84) = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XII. 3 Suppl. No. 1270.

[2] Lines 11 and 12: τᾶς δὲ ἐπισυναγω/γᾶς τοῦ διαφόρου γινομένας πολυχρονίου, "the collection, however, of the (sum to defray) expenses proving a matter of long time" (the translation was sent me by the editor, Hiller von Gaertringen, in a letter, Berlin, 18 July, 1905).

[3] [In German *Sammlung* and *Ansammlung*. TR.]

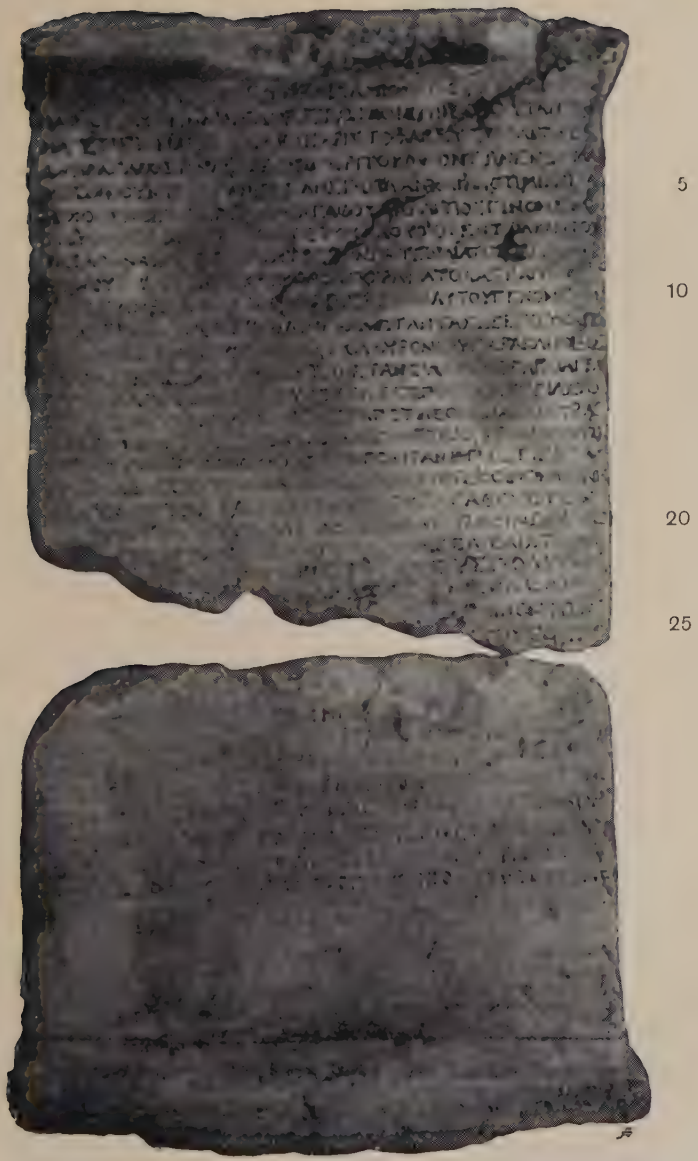

FIG. 8.—Stele with decree of honour from Syme, 2nd cent. B.C. Now in the chapel of St. Michael Tharrinos, Syme. By permission of the Imperial Austrian Archaeological Institute.

St. Michael—may be taken as symbolical. It will remind us that in the vocabulary of our sacred Book there is embedded material derived from the language of the surrounding world.

Even without the stone we could have learnt the special lesson, for the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* had already registered the word in the geographer Ptolemy and in the title of the third book of Artemidorus, the interpreter of dreams, both of the 2nd century A.D., and later in Proclus. Such "post-Christian" "late" passages, however, generally fail to impress the followers of Cremer's method, and therefore the pre-Christian, and (if importance be attached to the book) pre-Maccabean inscription is very welcome.

In the above examples it has often happened that the secularisation of a "Biblical" word has been effected by more than one solitary quotation, *e.g.* from a papyrus; again and again we have seen such words occurring outside the Bible in secular uses both in Egypt and also in Asia Minor.[1] This uniformity (or we might say, these real Κοινή characteristics) in the vocabulary of the Κοινή—an observation of some importance to our total estimate of international Greek—may now in conclusion receive further illustration from certain new discoveries relating to the curious word λογεία (λογία),[2] "a

[1] Another typical example is σιτομέτριον, used in Luke xii. 42 for "a portion of corn." In *Bibelstudien*, p. 156 [*Bible Studies*, p. 158], I was only able to produce one Egyptian example, of which Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, p. 431, afterwards took the same view as I did. We now find it in an Opramoas inscription of 149 A.D. at Rhodiapolis in Lycia, with the spelling σειτομέτριον (Heberdey, *Opramoas*, p. 50, xix A_8); its exact meaning here is not clear to me.

[2] This second spelling has also been found now in the new texts, *e.g.* in the Thebes ostracon given on p. 105 below.

(charitable) collection," which I have already dealt with elsewhere.[1]

This word, occurring "only" in 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, has been given a false etymology[2] and has sometimes even been regarded as an invention of St. Paul's.[3] The etymology, however, is now definitely ascertained: it comes from λογεύω, "I collect," a verb which, like the derivate, was found for the first time comparatively recently in papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions[4] from Egypt and elsewhere. We find it used chiefly of religious[5] collections for a god, a temple, etc., just as St. Paul uses it of his collection of money[6] for the "saints" at Jerusalem. Out of the large number of new examples from Egypt[7] I select an ostracon which comes very near in date to the First Epistle to the Corinthians. It was written on 4 August, 63 A.D., discovered at Thebes in Egypt,[8] and is now in the Berlin Museum.[9] For the photograph

[1] *Bibelstudien*, p. 139 ff.; *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 46 f. [*Bible Studies*, pp. 142, 219].

[2] From λέγω.

[3] Cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 139 [*Bible Studies*, p. 142].

[4] Cf. A. Wilhelm, Athenische Mitteilungen, 23 (1898) p. 416 f.; Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, 1. p. 255, etc.

[5] As shown especially by the ostraca, Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I. p. 253 ff.

[6] A most grotesque theory was put forward as late as 1897 by Linke in the Festschrift für Professor D. Fricke (cf. Theol. Literaturblatt, 19 [1898] col. 121). He suggests that the "great logia" in the field of St. Paul's missionary labours was not a collection of money but a determination of the forms of doctrine and liturgical formulations that had arisen within the churches through special gifts of the Spirit. St. Paul, he thinks, wishes to obtain the results of the thought and prayer, revelations and spiritual hymns of each single church in the course of an ecclesiastical year. The parallel to the modern German system of church returns is so close that one wonders almost at the omission of statistics of mixed marriages!

[7] Cf. especially Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I. p. 253 ff.; J. H. Moulton, The Expositor, February 1903, p. 116, December 1903, p. 434; Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, p. 417.

[8] Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, II. No. 413.

[9] No. 4317.

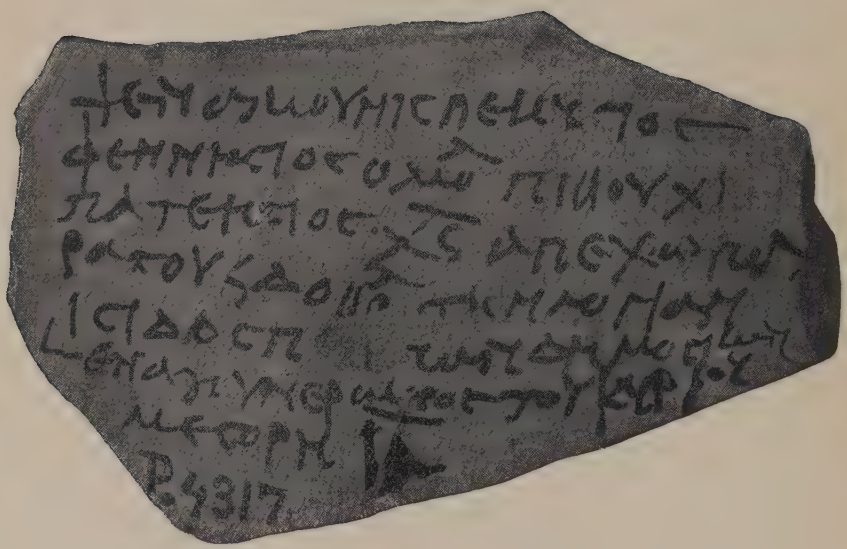

FIG. 9.—Ostracon, Thebes, 4 August, 63 A.D. Receipt for Isis Collection. Now in the Berlin Museum. By permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums.

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(Figure 9) I am indebted to the kind offices of Wilhelm Schubart.

The little document[1] runs as follows :—

Ψεναμοῦνις Πεκύσιος	Psenamunis, the son of Pecysis,
λ	
φεννήσιος sic ὁμο[2] Πιβούχι	phennēsis,[7] to the homologos[8] Pibuchis, the son of Pateēsis,
Πατεήσιος χ̄ς̄[3]. Ἀπέχω πα-	greeting. I have received from
λ	
ρὰ σοῦ S[4] δ ὀβο[5] τὴν λογίαν	thee 4 drachmae 1 obol, being
Ἴσιδος περὶ τῶν δημοσίων	the collection of Isis on behalf
L[6] ἐνάτου Νέρωνος τοῦ κυρίου	of the public works. In the
Μεσορὴ ιᾱ.	year nine of Nero the lord,[9] Mesore 11th.

Beyond the numerous instances of the use of the word in Egypt, the only witness for the word in Asia Minor was St. Paul. Inscriptions now forthcoming from Asia Minor are therefore a very welcome addition to the statistics. A marble tablet of about the first century A.D., found at Smyrna,[10] enumerates among the votive gifts presented by a benefactor

[1] For explanation of the contents cf. the commentary in Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, II. p. 253 ff., and Archiv, 4, p. 267.

[2] *i.e.* ὁμο(λόγῳ).

[3] *i.e.* χ(αίρειν).

[4] *i.e.* δραχμὰς.

[5] *i.e.* ὀβολ(ὸν).

[6] *i.e.* ἔτους.

[7] Hellenised Egyptian title, "priest of Isis."

[8] *Homologos* is a technical term for a country labourer working under a contract. [Cf. the labourers in the vineyard, Matt. xx. and 1 Cor. ix. 7.] The same man contributed in the same year and on the same day to another collection called λογεία τοῦ θεοῦ, "collection of the god," Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, II. No. 414 ; the sum was 4 drachmae 2 obols. Other receipts for contributions by the same man in other years are extant (ostraca Nos. 402, 412, 415, 416, 417, 418, 420). As a rule they are for 4 drachmae and a few obols. They are interesting evidence of the extent of the financial claims made upon persons of no great means for religious purposes in the period which saw the rise of Christianity.

[9] On this expression cf. Chapter IV. below, p. 353 ff.

[10] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 583_{26}, κλεῖν κεχρυσωμένην καὶ ἐμπεφιασμένην (the meaning of this word is doubtful) πρὸς τὴν λογήαν (sic) καὶ πομπὴν τῶν θεῶν. The reference seems to be to a procession on the occasion of which money contributions were expected from the spectators.

of the god and the city "a gilded and . . . key for the collection and procession of the gods." In this instance, not far removed in date from the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the word is used in a sacred connexion, but the oldest example from Asia Minor hitherto known no doubt refers to secular matters.[1] A limestone slab, found at Magnesia on the Maeander, and now at Berlin, is inscribed with the award of the people of Magnesia in a dispute between Hierapytna and Itanus in the year 138 or 132 B.C.[2] By the kind permission of the Museum authorities at Berlin I am enabled to give here a reduced reproduction of Kern's facsimile[3] (Fig. 10). Taken together with the poor Egyptian potsherd given as a receipt to the country labourer Pibuchis, this official inscription from Magnesia (a duplicate of which has been found in Crete[4]) shows, like the inscription from Smyrna, that the remarkable word used by St. Paul in corresponding with the Corinthian Christians was common to all grades of the international language.

A considerable number of "Biblical" words having thus been brought into proper historical alignment, it is scarcely necessary to enter into proofs that many words hitherto described as "rare" in the New Testament are authenticated by the new texts.[5]

[1] The sentence is mutilated. G. Thieme, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander und das Neue Testament*, p. 17, who noted the inscription and fully appreciated its importance as a proof of the unity of the Κοινή, thinks it refers to the gathering together of supplies of corn for warlike purposes.

[2] *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander*, edited by Otto Kern, No. 105_{72} = Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 929_{100}, λογείαις τε σιτικαῖς, "collections of corn."

[3] Plate VI. No. 105.

[4] But unfortunately mutilated, with loss of the λογεία passage.

[5] Numerous references in my *Bibelstudien* and *Neue Bibelstudien* (= *Bible Studies*) and in the works of J. H. Moulton and Thieme.

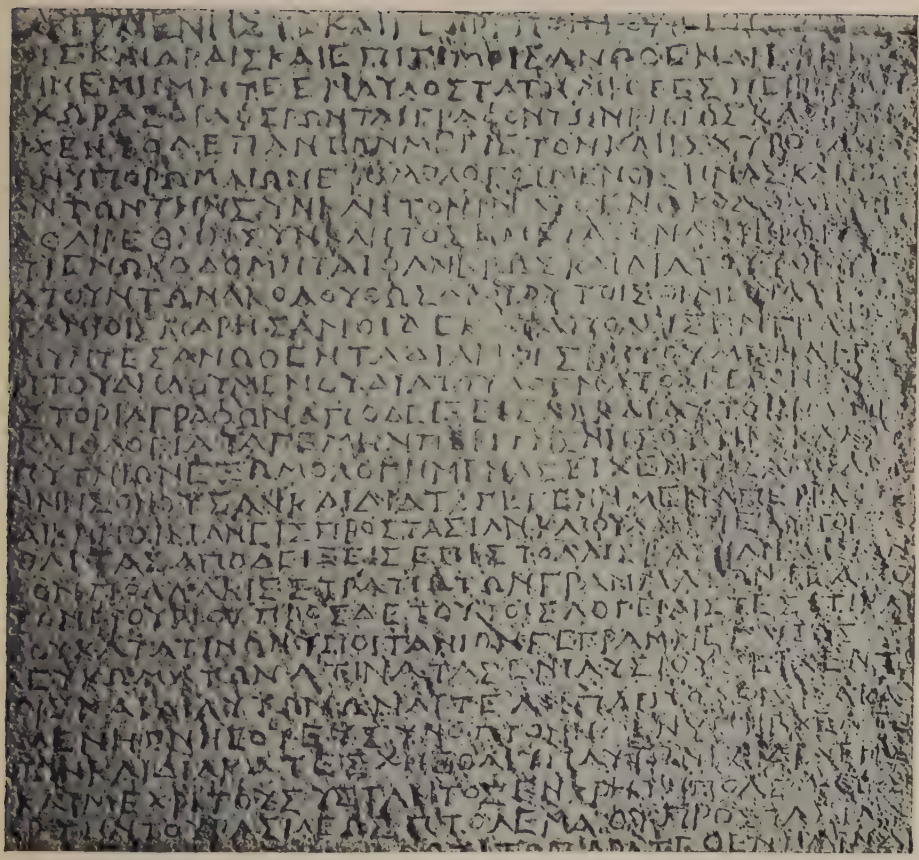

FIG. 10.—Limestone Slab, Magnesia on the Maeander, 138 or 132 B.C. Judicial Award by the Magnesians, lines 52–80. Now in the Berlin Museum. By permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums.

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The harvest here is of course equally great in proportion, and obtained with less trouble than in the first group.

(*b*) As regards the *meanings of words* our knowledge has also been largely increased. I have already remarked (p. 73 above) that the influence of Primitive Christianity was far more powerful to transform words, *i.e.* to create new meanings, than to create new words. But here again there has often been great exaggeration in the statement of the facts. Cremer especially had a tendency to increase as much as possible the number of specifically "Biblical" or "New Testament" meanings of words common to all Greek; and in exegetical literature, when dogmatic positions of the schools are to be defended, a favourite device is to assume "Biblical" or "New Testament" meanings. The texts that are now forthcoming from the world contemporary with the New Testament serve, however, to generalise not a few of these specialities, *e.g.* the use of ἀδελφός ("brother") for the members of a community, ἀναστρέφομαι ("I live") and ἀναστροφή ("manner of life"; "conversation," A.V.) in an ethical sense,[1] ἀντίλημψις ("help"), λειτουργέω ("I act in the public service") and λειτουργία ("public service") in a sacral sense, ἐπιθυμητής ("desiring") in a bad sense, λούω ("I wash") in a sacral sense, πάροικος ("sojourner"), etc. etc.[2]

But there are other ways in which not unfrequently the familiar words of the New Testament acquire a new light. A new choice of meanings presents itself, changing, it may be, the inner meaning of

[1] Cf. Chapter IV. below, p. 315.

[2] References in *Bibelstudien* and *Neue Bibelstudien* (= *Bible Studies*).

the sacred text more or less decidedly, disclosing the manifold interpretations of the gospel that were possible to the men of old, illuminating in both directions, backward and forward, the history of the meaning of words.

Let us look at a few examples.

(1) When Jesus sent forth His apostles for the first time He said to them [1] (Matt. x. 8 ff.) :—

"Freely ye received, freely give. Get you no gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses (*margin:* girdles): no wallet for your journey . . . " (R.V.).

Or, as it is reported by St. Mark (vi. 8) :—

"He charged them that they should take nothing for their journey, save a staff only; no bread, no wallet, no money (*margin:* brass) in their purse (*margin:* girdle)" (R.V.).

And thus in St. Luke (ix. 3; cf. x. 4 and xxii. 35 f.) :—

"Take nothing for your journey, neither staff, nor wallet, nor bread, nor money. . . . " (R.V.)

One of the characteristic utterances of Jesus has here been handed down, not without variations, but still in such form that the original can be discerned beneath them: the apostles were told to take with them for their journey only the barest necessaries,[2] among which was to be reckoned neither money nor bread. According to St. Matthew's report they were further forbidden even to earn money on their way, as they might have done by working miracles of healing, etc. The meaning of the "wallet" (A.V. "scrip") has seldom been questioned, because it seems so obvious: most commentators probably think

[1] Cf. Die Christliche Welt, 17 (1903) col. 242 f.

[2] The one point on which the authorities leave us in doubt is whether the staff was one of them.

of it as a travelling-bag,[1] or, more precisely defined, as a bread-bag. The word in the original Greek, πήρα, is capable of either meaning, according to circumstances. In the context "travelling-bag" would do very well; "bread-bag" not so well, being superfluous after the mention of "bread," and tautology seems out of place in these brief, pointed commands given by Jesus. But there is a special meaning, suggested by one of the monuments, which suits the context at least as well as the more general sense of "bag" or "travelling-bag." The monument in question was erected in the Roman Imperial period at Kefr-Hauar in Syria by a person who calls himself, in the Greek inscription, a "slave" of the Syrian goddess. "Sent by the lady," as he says himself, this heathen apostle tells of the journeys on which he went begging for the "lady" and boasts triumphantly that "each journey brought in seventy bags."[2] The word here employed is πήρα. Of course it has nothing to do with well-filled provision-bags for the journey: it clearly means the beggar's collecting-bag.[3] The same special meaning

[1] In that case construing "wallet" with "for your journey."

[2] Published by Ch. Fossey, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 21 (1897) p.60, ἀ(π)οφόρησε ἑκάστη ἀγωγὴ πήρας ο′.—Eberhard Nestle (postcard, Maulbronn, 13 March, 1903) called my attention to the punning observation in the Didascalia = Const. Apost. 3, 6, about the itinerant widows, who were so ready to receive that they were not so much χῆραι as πῆραι (which we may perhaps imitate in English by saying that though *spouse-less* they were by no means *pouch-less*). Hermann Diels writes to me from Berlin W., 22 July, 1908: "Does not the beggar's bag form part of the equipment of the mendicant friar of antiquity, *i.e.* the Cynic? Crates the Cynic wrote a poem called Πήρα (fragm. in my *Poetae philosophi*, fr. 4, p. 218)."

[3] [Wallet, then, is just the right word in English. Cf. Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, III. iii. 145, "Time hath, my lord, a wallet at his back, Wherein he puts alms for oblivion." A writer in Notes and Queries, 7th Ser., iv. 78, points out that the triangular piece of stuff, like a bag, which hangs from behind the left shoulder of a junior barrister's gown was originally a wallet to receive fees.—There is an illustration of the ancient wallet in Anthony Rich's *Dict. of Roman and Greek Antiquities*, s.v. "Pera." TR.]

would make excellent sense in our text, particularly in St. Matthew's version: there is to be no earning, and also no begging of money. With this possible explanation of the word πήρα the divine simplicity of Jesus stands out afresh against the background suggested by the heathen inscription. While Christianity was still young the beggar-priest was making his rounds in the land of Syria on behalf of the national goddess. The caravan conveying the pious robber's booty to the shrine lengthens as he passes from village to village, and assuredly the lady will not forget her slave. In the same age and country One who had not where to lay His head sent forth His apostles, saying:—

"Freely ye received, freely give. Get you no gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses: no wallet for your journey."

(2) Among the sayings of our Lord we find thrice repeated the phrase "They have their reward," *e.g.* in Matt. vi. 2 of the hypocrites who sound a trumpet before them when they do their alms. The Greek word translated "have" (A.V.), or preferably (with the Revisers) "have received," is ἀπέχω, "I have or receive in full," "I have got." Reward is spoken of in the passage immediately preceding, but there the simple verb ἔχω is used. I have long held [1] that the word ἀπέχω is explainable by the papyri and ostraca. In countless instances we find the word in these texts [2] in a meaning that suits admirably our Lord's saying about rewards, viz. "I have received," a

[1] *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 56; *Bible Studies*, p. 229. Cf. also Moulton and Milligan, The Expositor, July 1908, p. 91.

[2] The importance of this seeming trifle, both intrinsically and from the point of view of historical philology, has recently received due recognition from Heinrich Erman, who discussed the subject in an article on "Die 'Habe'-Quittung bei den Griechen," Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 1, p. 77 ff. His objections to the translation "I have received" are waived by A. Thumb, Prinzi-

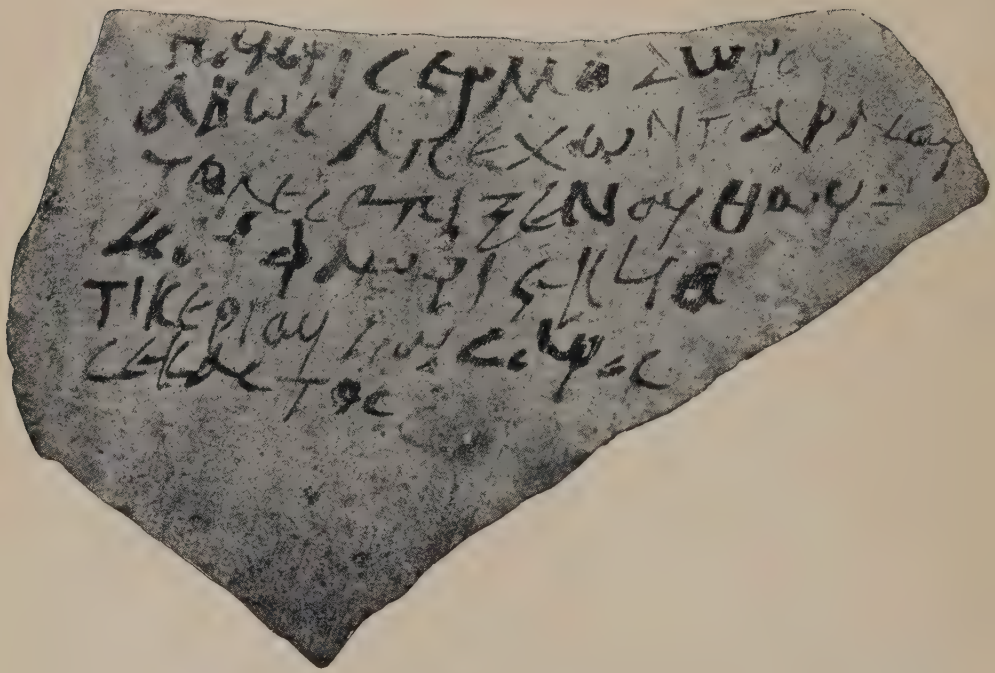

FIG. 11.—Ostracon, Thebes, 32–33 A.D. Receipt for Alien Tax. Now in the Author's collection.

[p. 111

technical expression regularly employed in drawing up a receipt. Compare, for instance, two ostraca from Thebes figured in this book, one (p. 152 below) a receipt for rent in the Ptolemaic period, the other (p. 105 above) a receipt for the Isis collection, 4 August, 63 A.D. Still nearer in date to the gospel passage is an ostracon of very vulgar type in my collection, a receipt for alien tax paid at Thebes, 32–33 A.D., of which I here give a full-sized reproduction (Figure 11).

With the help of Ulrich Wilcken the ostracon was thus deciphered :—

Παμᾶρις Ἑρμοδώρου	Pamaris the son of Hermodorus
Ἄβῶς. Ἀπέχων[sic] *παρὰ σοῦ*	to Abos. I have receiving (*sic*)
τέλες[sic 1] *ἐπιξένου Θῶυθ*	from thee alien tax[4] (for the
καὶ Φαῶφι S[2] *β. L*[3] *ιθ*	months) Thoyth and Phaophi
Τιβερίου Καίσαρος	2 drachmae. In the year 19 of
Σεβαστοῦ.	Tiberius Caesar Augustus.

This technical *ἀπέχω*, however, was in use not only in Egypt but elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, as shown by inscriptions at Delphi recording manumissions at the beginning[5] and end of the second century B.C., and again in the first century A.D.[6] An

pienfragen der Koine-Forschung, Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, 1906, p. 255: "*ἀπέχουσι* is, by reason of the nature of the action expressed, identical with *ἔλαβον* or *ἔσχον*, *i.e.* it is an aorist-present." Cf. also J. H. Moulton, *Grammar*,[2] p. 247. Further references in Mayser, *Grammatik der griech. Papyri*, p. 487, and especially Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I. p. 86.

[1] = *τέλος*, "toll, custom," as in Matt. xvii. 25, Rom. xiii. 7.

[2] *i.e.* *δραχμὰς*.

[3] *i.e.* *ἔτους*.

[4] On this alien tax cf. Wilcken, Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 1, p. 153, where other quotations for the word *ἐπίξενος*, "stranger," are given besides Clement of Alexandria I. 977 A, which is the only example in E. A. Sophocles' Lexicon. At present this ostracon is the earliest evidence of the tax.

[5] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 845$_7$, *τὰν τιμὰν ἀπέχει*, "the price he hath received." Cf. p. 327 below.

[6] Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 22 (1898), *e.g.* p. 58, *καὶ τὰν τειμὰν ἀπέχω πᾶσαν*, "and I have received the whole price"; first century A.D., *e.g.* pp. 116, 120.

inscription from Orchomenus of the third or fourth century B.C.[1] shows the expression in use even then in the Aeolic dialect; it is close in date to the oldest papyrus reference I know of, viz. Hibeh Papyri No. 97_5 (279–278 or 282–281 B.C.).

I think we may say, therefore, that this technical meaning of ἀπέχω, which must have been known to every Greek-speaking person, down to the meanest labourer, applies well to the stern text about the hypocrites: "they have received their reward in full," *i.e.* it is as though they had already given a receipt, and they have absolutely no further claim to reward. This added touch of quiet irony makes the text more life-like and pointed. From the same technical use J. de Zwaan[2] has attempted to explain the enigmatical ἀπέχει in Mark xiv. 41, and it is not improbable that St. Paul is alluding to it in a gently humorous way in Phil. iv. 18.[3]

(3) The first scattered congregations of Greek-speaking Christians up and down the Roman Empire spoke of themselves as a "(convened) assembly"; at first each single congregation was so called, and afterwards the whole body of Christians everywhere was spoken of collectively as "the (convened) assembly." That is the most literal translation of the Greek word ἐκκλησία.[4] This self-bestowed name rested on the certain conviction that God had separated from the world His "saints" in Christ, and had "called" or "convened" them to an assembly, which

[1] *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part II. No. 158_{31}, ἀπέχι πάντα, "he hath received all things."

[2] The Text and Exegesis of Mark xiv. 41, and the Papyri, The Expositor, December 1905, p. 459 ff. He takes the betrayer, who is mentioned immediately in the next verse, to be the subject.

[3] As a matter of fact, ἀπέχω is frequently combined with πάντα in receipts; cf. the Orchomenus inscription quoted in the last note but one.

[4] For what follows cf. Die Christliche Welt, 18 (1904) col. 200 f.

was "God's assembly," "God's muster," because God was the convener.[1]

It is one of the characteristic but little considered facts in the history of the early Christian missions that the Latin-speaking people of the West, to whom Christianity came, did not translate the Greek word ἐκκλησία (as they did many other technical terms) but simply borrowed it. Why was this? There was no lack of words for "assembly" in Latin, and as a matter of fact *contio* or *comitia* was often translated by ἐκκλησία.[2] There must have been some special reason for borrowing the Greek word, and it lay doubtless in the subtle feeling that Latin possessed no word exactly equivalent to the Greek ἐκκλησία. There is evidence of this feeling even in non-Christian usage. Pliny the Younger employs the Latinised word *ecclesia* in one of his letters to Trajan.[3] Some years ago a bilingual inscription of the year 103–4 A.D.[4] came to light at Ephesus, which furnishes a still more interesting example. It was found in the theatre, the building so familiar to readers of Acts xix., and now, thanks to the labours of the Austrian archaeologists, one of the best preserved ruins in the ancient city.[5] A distinguished

[1] I pointed out in Die Christliche Welt, 13 (1899) col. 701, that an excellent analogy to the Primitive Christian use of ἐκκλησία is afforded by the members of so-called "Pietistic" congregations in the valley of the Dill (a tributary of the Lahn, a little below Giessen) in their use of the word "Versammlung" for "congregation." [Cf. the English "meeting" and "meeting-house" as used by Quakers and Methodists. TR.]

[2] David Magie, *De Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis sollemnibus in Graecum sermonem conversis*, Lipsiae, 1905, p. 17 etc. (see the index).

[3] Epist. X. 111, "bule et ecclesia consentiente." βουλή has also been adopted.

[4] Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, 2 (1899), Supplement p. 43 f.

[5] I shall never forget the sunny Easter morning (15 April, 1906) when Dr. Keil showed us the theatre. In the jointing of the white marble seats blood-red anemones were blossoming high among the luxuriant greenery of the Anatolian spring.

Roman official, C. Vibius Salutaris, had presented a silver image of Diana (we are reminded at once of the silver shrines of Diana made by Demetrius, Acts xix. 24) and other statues "that they might be set up in every ἐκκλησία in the theatre upon the pedestals."[1] The parallel Latin text has, *ita ut* [*om*]*n*[*i e*]*cclesia supra bases ponerentur*. The Greek word was therefore simply transcribed. Here we have a truly classical example (classical in its age and in its origin) of the instinctive feeling of Latin speakers of the West which afterwards showed itself among the Western Christians: ἐκκλησία cannot be translated, it must be taken over.

The word which thus penetrated into the West is one of the indelible marks of the origin of Christianity. Just as the words *amen*, *abba*, etc. are the Semitic birthmarks, so the word *ecclesia* (and many others besides) points for all time to the fact that the beginnings of Christianity must be sought also in the *Greek* East.

(4) For the word ἁμαρτωλός, "sinning, sinful," Cremer[2] quotes but one passage from Aristotle and one from Plutarch: "besides these passages only, it seems, in Biblical and ecclesiastical Greek." In the Appendix,[3] however, comes this very necessary correction: "The word is found not only in the two passages quoted but also in inscriptions, and so often that it must be described as quite a usual word, at least in Syria, to designate *a sinner in the religious sense*." There is only one more correction to make: here, and in the epigraphical references which Cremer

[1] ἵνα τίθηνται κατ' ἐκκλησίαν (for this formula cf. Acts xiv. 23) ἐν τῷ (*sic*) θεάτρῳ (*sic*) ἐπὶ τῶν βάσεων. This is also a neat confirmation of Acts xix. 32, 41, according to which the ἐκκλησίαι at Ephesus took place in the theatre.

[2] [9]Page 151.

[3] [9]Page 1119.

proceeds to give, we must read not "Syria" but "Lycia."[1]

The subject had already been treated in detail by G. Hirschfeld,[2] and more recently L. Deubner[3] published a collection of passages from inscriptions, which is almost identical with Cremer's. The inscriptions are of a class very common in the south-west of Asia Minor—epitaphs containing a threat against any one who shall desecrate the tomb, ἁμαρτωλὸς ἔστω θεοῖς (κατα)χθονίοις, "let him be as a sinner before the (sub)terranean gods." In the same district, however, we find the words ἐπάρατος, "cursed,"[4] and ἔνοχος, "guilty," employed in exactly the same way: [ἔ]νοχος ἔστω πᾶσι θεοῖς, "let him be guilty before all the gods."[5] This parallelism between ἁμαρτωλός and ἔνοχος seems to be the solution of a grammatical puzzle which has always caused me difficulties, viz. the use of the genitive after ἔνοχος[6] especially in the important passage 1 Cor. xi. 27, to which I have long sought a parallel in inscriptions and papyri, but in vain, despite the frequent occurrence of the word. We find, however, the parallel ἁμαρτωλός with the genitive in inscriptions from Telmessus in Lycia, 240 B.C.,[7] and from Myra in Lycia, before

[1] Cremer probably misread the handwriting of Schlatter, to whom he no doubt was indebted for this important correction.

[2] Königsberger Studien, 1 (1887) p. 83 ff.

[3] Athenische Mitteilungen, 27 (1902) p. 262; cf. also G. Mendel, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 24 (1900) p. 392.

[4] *Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien* [cf. p. 14, n. 1, above], II. p. 159, No. 187.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 166, No. 193.

[6] U. Wilcken has also been struck by the New Testament genitive in Matt. xxvi. 66, Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 1, p. 170, although this genitive of the punishment is not without parallel. J. Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 34, says that ἔνοχον εἶναι τῇ κρίσει, Matt. v. 21 f., is not Greek—why, I do not know.

[7] Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. $55_{31\,f.}$ (= Michel, *Recueil*, No. $547_{31\,f.}$), ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἔστωσαν [θεῶ]ν πάντων, "let them be as sinners before all the gods."

A.D. 1,[1] and this is sufficient to account for the peculiar use of the synonymous ἔνοχος by St. Paul the Cilician[2] in the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

(5) The Hebrew name for the Feast of Tabernacles is *ḥag hassukkōth*, "feast of booths." To have been quite literal, the Greek translators of the Old Testament must have rendered this ἑορτὴ (τῶν) σκηνῶν, as is actually found in the Septuagint, Lev. xxiii. 34, Deut. xvi. 13, 2 Chron. viii. 13, Ezra iii. 4, 2 Macc. x. 6. In the majority of passages, however, in which the feast is mentioned (Deut. xvi. 16, xxxi. 10; Zech. xiv. 16, 18, 19, 1 Esdras v. 51, 1 Macc. x. 21, 2 Macc. i. 9, 18) we find the more cumbrous expression ἑορτὴ (τῆς) σκηνοπηγίας, "feast of booth-making," which has found its way into the New Testament (John vii. 2), and Josephus, and was therefore no doubt the most usual.[3] The reason for the choice of this cumbrous expression is not discoverable in the Hebrew. It lies rather in the fact that the verb σκηνοπηγεῖσθαι already bore a technical religious sense in the world which spoke the language of the Septuagint. There is a long inscription[4] from the island of Cos, probably of the 2nd century B.C., which records the arrangements for sacrifices and enumerates the acts of religion to which the worshippers were obliged. They had to offer sacrifice and they had to "erect a booth" (σκανοπαγείσθων),[5] on the occasion of a great panegyry or solemn assembly, "which was probably held only

[1] *Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien*, II. p. 36, No. 58, ἀμαρτωλὸς ἔστω θεῶν πάντων, "let him be as a sinner before all the gods."

[2] Possibly it was a provincialism of S.-W. Asia Minor. For earlier treatment of the supposed "Cilicisms" in the New Testament, see Winer and Schmiedel, § 3, 2 *e* (p. 23).

[3] Winer and Schmiedel, § 3, 2 *e* (p. 23), reckon σκηνοπηγία among the words that were certainly coined by the Greek Jews. But it is found in Aristotle.

[4] Athenische Mitteilungen, 16 (1891) p. 406 ff.

[5] This formula is many times repeated.

once a year."[1] It is well known that Plutarch regarded the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles as a festival of Dionysus[2]; the Septuagint translators, with other motives, did much the same thing: by choosing a secular name for their feast they brought it more into touch with the religious usages of the world around them. This is one more factor in the great adaptive process for which the Septuagint Bible stands in general in the history of religion.[3]

(*c*) *Standing phrases and fixed formulae* have often found their way from the contemporary language into the New Testament.[4]

(1) The phrase δίδωμι ἐργασίαν, "I give diligence, take pains" (Luke xii. 58), explained in all the grammars as a Latinism,[5] and not known elsewhere except in Hermogenes[6] (2nd century A.D.), is nevertheless found in an inscription recording a decree of the Senate concerning the affairs of Stratonicia in Caria (81 B.C.).[7] It is possible, of course, to maintain that the phrase is here imitated from the Latin

[1] According to the editor, Johannes Toepffer, p. 415, who refers to the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles and gives a number of pagan examples of the custom of erecting booths for religious festivals. Theodor Wiegand writes (postcard, Miletus, 22 May, 1908): "We have found in the market-place of Priene, near the altar in the middle of the square, stones marked with letters and perforated to receive wooden supports. They are evidently relics of the custom of erecting tents at festivals."

[2] *Sympos.* iv. 6, 2.

[3] Cf. the appendix at the end of this book on the Jewish prayers for vengeance found at Rheneia, and my little work *Die Hellenisierung des semitischen Monotheismus*, Leipzig, 1903, reprinted from the Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, 1903.

[4] Numerous examples have already been given in my *Bible Studies* and in Moulton and Thieme.

[5] = *operam do.*

[6] *De invent.* iii. 5, 7.

[7] Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 441_{109}, φροντίζωσιν διδῶσίν τε ἐργασίαν, "may they take heed and give diligence." Dittenberger (p. 23) criticises this phrase severely.

original,[1] but a letter of vulgar type among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, dated 2 B.C., has it in the imperative[2] just as in St. Luke, and shows it (also as St. Luke does) in living use among the people, who no longer felt that it was a "Latinism." I am informed by Wilcken that the phrase occurs again in an unpublished letter, *circa* 118 A.D. (Bremen Papyri No. 18).

(2) In the same context in St. Luke (xii. 57) we have the expression *κρίνω τὸ δίκαιον*, literally "I judge the right," which used to be regarded as unique, and which Bernhard Weiss[3] explains to mean deciding about that which God demands from us. It is made clearer, however, by a prayer for vengeance addressed to Demeter which was found inscribed on a tablet of lead at Amorgus.[4] There the goddess is implored to give right judgment. So Jesus advises those who would go to law with one another not to wait for the judge to speak but to become reconciled beforehand and thus put an end to the dispute by pronouncing "just judgment" themselves.

(3) Another gospel phrase, *συναίρω λόγον*, "I compare accounts, make a reckoning" (Matt. xviii. 23 f., xxv. 19), is said by Grimm and Thayer not to occur in "Greek" writers. Moulton,[5] however, has pointed out that it occurs in two letters of the

[1] So Paulus Viereck, *Sermo Graecus* quo senatus populusque Romanus magistratusque populi Romani usque ad Tiberii Caesaris aetatem in scriptis publicis usi sunt, Gottingae, 1888, p. 83.

[2] The Oxyrhynchus Papyri No. $742_{11\,f.}$, *δὸς ἐργασίαν*, "give diligence."

[3] *Kritisch Exegetischer Kommentar* von H. A. W. Meyer, I. 2^{7}, Göttingen, 1885, p. 482.

[4] Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 25 (1901) p. 416, *ἐπάκουσον, θεά, καὶ κρῖναι τὸ δίκαιον*, "hear, goddess, and give right judgment." The editor, Th. Homolle, translates "prononce la juste sentence."

[5] The Expositor, April 1901, p. 274 f.

2nd century A.D., one from Oxyrhynchus[1] and the other in the Berlin collection,[2] while an ostracon from Dakkeh in Nubia, dated 6 March, 214 A.D., contains the corresponding substantival phrase.[3]

(4) Speaking of the devoted couple Aquila and Priscilla, in Rom. xvi. 4, St. Paul uses the words: "who for my life laid down their own necks."[4] Many commentators have taken this phrase literally, as if Aquila and his wife had laid their heads on the block to save the apostle after he had been condemned to death by the executioner's axe. The majority, however, explain it figuratively: "to lay down one's own neck" is the same as "to risk one's own life." This interpretation is undoubtedly confirmed by a passage in one of our new texts. At the destruction of the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii in the year 79 A.D. the citizens' libraries were of course buried along with the rest of their household furniture. Remains of these domestic libraries have been discovered in the course of excavations, and means have also been found to make the badly charred rolls in part at least legible again. One of the rolls from Herculaneum (No. 1044), for the decipherment of which we are indebted to the ingenuity and learning of Wilhelm Crönert, contains a biography of the Epicurean Philonides, who flourished about 175–150 B.C. The biographer's name is unknown; but he must have written after 150 B.C. and of course before the year in which

[1] The Oxyrhynchus Papyri $113_{27\,f.}$, *ἵνα συνάρωμαι αὐτῶι λόγον*, "that I may make a reckoning with him."

[2] Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. $775_{18\,f.}$, *ἄχρης* (*sic*) *ἂν γένομε* (*sic*) *ἐκῖ* (*sic*) *καὶ συνάρωμεν λόγον*, "until I come there and we make a reckoning."

[3] Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, No. 1135, *ἄχρι λόγου συνάρσεως*, "till the reckoning of the account."

[4] *οἵτινες ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς μου τὸν ἑαυτῶν τράχηλον ὑπέθηκαν.* For what follows cf. Die Christliche Welt, 17 (1903) col. 611 f.

Herculaneum was destroyed, that is to say either in, or at any rate not long before, the age of St. Paul. In this biography there occurs the following passage, mutilated at the beginning, but for our purpose sufficiently clear:[1] "[For (?)] the most beloved of his relatives or friends he would readily stake his neck."

Here we have the same phrase as in the Epistle to the Romans, only with another verb,[2] and it is reasonable to suppose that in the Greek world "to lay down, or to stake one's neck for somebody" was as current a phrase[3] as, say, "to go through fire and water for somebody" is with us. Originating, no doubt, in the phraseology of the law,[4] the phrase was probably in the time of the Epistle to the Romans no longer understood literally. The merit of the apostle's devoted friends is in no way diminished by this observation: it must certainly have been an unusually great sacrifice of the personal kind that Aquila and Priscilla had dared for St. Paul. We may adopt the words of the pagan roll that was buried under the lava of Vesuvius some twenty years after the Epistle to the Romans was written, and say it was something that one would dare only "for the most beloved of one's relatives or friends."

(5) St. Paul's fondness for legal expressions has been often observed in other cases,[5] and will meet

[1] Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1900, p. 951, [ὑπὲρ ?] τοῦ μάλιστ' ἀγαπωμένου τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἢ τῶν φίλων παραβάλοι ἂν ἑτοίμως τὸν τράχηλον. The thought is somewhat parallel to Romans v. 7. This, and the other passage about Aquila and Priscilla,—what perspectives they open up for critics who are fond of tracing "influences."

[2] St. Paul uses ὑποτίθημι, the text from Herculaneum παραβάλλω τὸν τράχηλον.

[3] Cf. above, p. 84, παραβολεύομαι.

[4] The original idea is either that some one suffers himself to be put to death in the place of another, or that he pledges his neck and goes bail for the other.

[5] Cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 103 [*Bible Studies*, p. 107].

with further confirmation in these pages.[1] In Phil. iv. 3 we have another curious echo of the language of the documents: "whose names (are) in the book of life"[2] sounds like the formula "whose names are shown in the little book,"[3] which occurs in a document of the year 190 A.D.[4] The coincidence might be accidental, and I would not quote it here were it not that the phrase *ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα*, "whose names," is certainly demonstrable as a characteristic documentary formula, often occurring in the Berlin papyri, *e.g.* No. 181_{16} (57 A.D.) and No. $72_{6f.}$ (191 A.D.). In No. 344_1 (second or third century A.D.) it is even found, as in Mark xiv. 32 for instance, without a verb, and it is certainly not a Hebraism there.[5]

D. The *Syntax* of the New Testament has hitherto been least of all regarded in the light of the new texts. For instance, one of the greatest weaknesses of Blass's Grammar is that in the syntactical portions the New Testament is far too much isolated, and phenomena that might be easily[6] illustrated from the pagan inscriptions, papyri, and ostraca, are frequently explained as Hebraisms. One typical

[1] Cf. for instance in Chapter IV. below (p. 323 ff.) the ancient custom of sacral manumission made use of by St. Paul as a symbol of our redemption by Christ.

[2] *ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς.*

[3] Some document is thus referred to.

[4] Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 432 II$_{3f.}$, *ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα τῷ βιβλιδίῳ δεδήλωται.*

[5] Blass, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch*,[2] p. 77 [English translation,[2] p. 74], says that *καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς* is "still more Hebraic" than *οὗ τὸ ὄνομα*, thus making this latter also a Hebraism.—Ludwig Mitteis (letter, Leipzig, 21 May, 1908) refers further to the Oxyrhynchus Papyri No. 485_{31} and Berliner Griechische Urkunden No. 888_{21}.

[6] Though not so easily as the lexical points, because the indices, when there are any, often take no account of syntax. There is nothing for it but to read the texts.

example is the phrase just mentioned, "whose names," used without any verb. And yet, at the present day, there is so much new solid knowledge to be gained!

(1) To take one example: in the period of the new religious movement the colloquial language of the Mediterranean area exhibits specially interesting changes and additions with regard to prepositional usages.[1] How are we to understand the passages, so important from the point of view of religious history, in which St. Paul and others employ the prepositions ὑπέρ and ἀντί, unless we pay attention to the contemporary "profane" uses?

The phrase βλέπειν ἀπό, "to beware of," is explained by Blass[2] as Hebrew, by Wellhausen[3] as Semitic; and yet it is used in a papyrus letter of strongly vulgar type, 4 August, 41 A.D., by a writer who was surely not a Jew, for he gives this warning: "and thou, do thou beware thee of the Jews."[4]

The combination of εἶναι and similar verbs with εἰς, which is after a Hebrew model according to Blass[5] and like *Lamed* according to Wellhausen,[6] occurs in inscriptions and papyri.[7] I have found

[1] Cf. A. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, p. 128, and my hints in the Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 24 (1904) col. 212 f. A meritorious beginning has been made towards the study of the prepositions in the papyri by Gualtherus Kuhring, *De praepositionum Graecarum in chartis Aegyptiis usu quaestiones selectae*, (a doctoral dissertation) Bonn, 1906.

[2] *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch*,[2] p. 127 [Eng. trs.,[2] p. 126].

[3] *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 32.

[4] Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 1079, καὶ σὺ βλέπε σατὸν (*sic*) ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Here we have also the supposed "non-Greek" phrase, βλέπειν ἑαυτόν. See also Moulton and Milligan, The Expositor, October 1908, p. 380 f.

[5] *Grammatik*, p. 88 [Eng. trs.[2] p. 85]. See also Jean Psichari, *Essai sur le Grec de la Septante*, p. 201 f.

[6] *Einleitung*, p. 32. But ל is not the exact equivalent of εἰς. If ל were to be imitated we should expect some other preposition, *e.g.* ἐπί.

[7] J. H. Moulton, *Grammar*, p. 71 f.; Radermacher, Prospectus, p. 6.

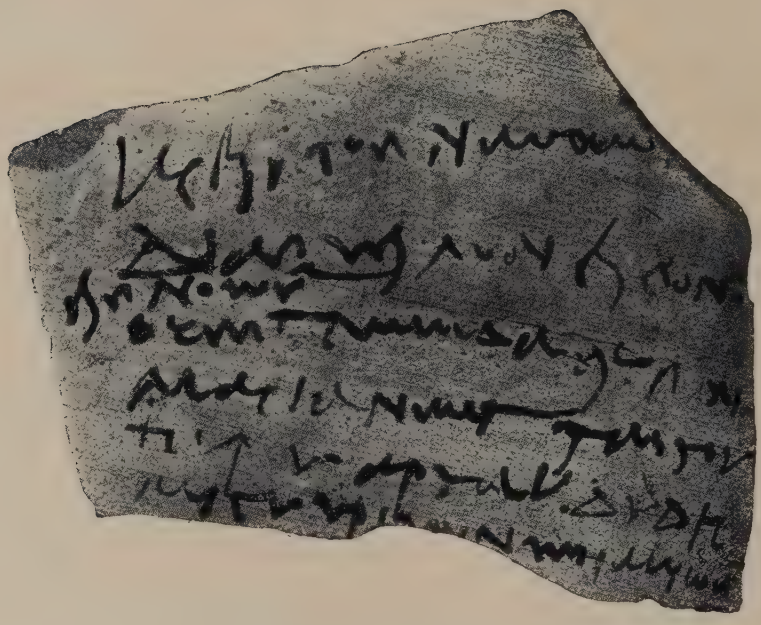

FIG. 12.—Ostracon, Thebes, 2nd cent. A.D. Order for Payment of Wheat. Now in the Author's collection.

[p. 123

an especially valuable[1] example among the inscriptions of Priene, of about the second century B.C.[2]

What light has been shed on the formula εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, "in the name," by the inscriptions, papyri, and not least by the ostraca! To the previous examples[3] of this, a legal formula[4] current in the Hellenistic world, I can now add from my own collection an ostracon from Thebes, of the second century A.D., which is important also in other respects (Figure 12).

As deciphered by Wilcken the reading is:—

Κρεῖσπος[5] Να . . ạ . [.][6]	Crispus[5] to Na . . [a] . . (?)
Διάστειλον εἰς ὄνο[μ][7]	Pay in the name[15] (for the
εἰς Νότου[λ][8]	south-west quarter) of Vestidia
Οὐεστ[9] Σεκ̣ο̣ῦ̣δα (?)[10] διὰ Πολ-	Secunda (?), represented by[16]
λία	Pollia Maria the younger, the
Μαρία[11] νεωτ[12] τὰς τοῦ	two and a half and a third and a
πυροῦ ἀρτάβ[13] δύο ἥ-	twenty-fourth artabae[13] of wheat
μισυ τρίτον τετρακαικοστ[14]	

(Here the ostracon breaks off.)

[1] Because old, and occurring not in a vulgar text but actually in an official document.

[2] No. 50$_{39}$, [τ]αῦτα δὲ εἶναι εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως, "but this is to be for a guard to the city." No. 59$_{34 f.}$ (*circa* 200 B.C.) is to the same effect: εἶναι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς πόλεως, "but this decree is to be for the salvation of the city."

[3] *Bibelstudien*, p. 143 ff.; *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 25; *Bible Studies*, pp. 146, 197; Theologische Literaturzeitung, 25 (1900) col. 73 f.; and most particularly Wilhelm Heitmüller, "*Im Namen Jesu*," Göttingen, 1903, p. 100 ff.

[4] It is possible, perhaps, that the formula found its way into Greek legal phraseology at a very early period through Semitic influence. Cf. the בישם of the Aramaic papyri of Assuan and the observations by Mark Lidzbarski, Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 27 (1906) col. 3213. But this is no reason for regarding it as a Semiticism felt as such in the Imperial period; it had been amalgamated long before. Cf. also Heitmüller, p. 104$_5$. Jean Psichari, *Essai sur le Grec de la Septante*, p. 202 f., must not be neglected.

[5] Occurs as the name of a Jew in 1 Cor. i. 14, Acts xviii. 8.

[6] Or Νε . . ạ . [.], Wilcken. Νι[κολ]άω is very improbable.

[7] *i.e.* εἰς ὀνομ(α). The formula is so common that it is abbreviated.

[For notes 8 to 16 see next page.

As the ostracon contains the name "Maria" it constitutes a new document in the history of the Jewish[1] Diaspora in Egypt, and more particularly in Thebes.[2] To claim it on that account as a proof of the genuine "Judaeo-Greek" character of our formula would be trivial, in view of the numerous and early pagan examples that are already known.

(2) According to Mark vi. 7 Jesus sent forth His disciples δύο δύο, "by two and two." A distributive numeral relation is here expressed in the Greek by repeating the cardinal number. Wellhausen[3] says this is not truly Greek, but[4] it is found in Aeschylus[5] and Sophocles.[6] These examples

[1] It is not very probable that this Maria was a Christian.

[2] Cf. previous examples in Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, III.[3] p. 19 ff. [the Jew *Danoũlos* mentioned on p. 23 must be struck out, for the papyrus passage in question is now read differently by Wilcken; cf. *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* ed. S. Witkowski, p. 84]; and Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I. pp. 281 ff., 523 f. [the persons here mentioned with the name of *Simon* need not all be Jews; cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 184; *Bible Studies*, p. 315, n. 2], 535.

[3] *Das Evangelium Marci übersetzt und erklärt*, Berlin, 1903, p. 52.

[4] Cf. Theologische Literaturzeitung, 23 (1898) col. 630 f.

[5] *Pers.* 981, μυρία μυρία, "by myriads."

[6] From the lost drama called *Eris* the Antiatticist [an anonymous lexicographer of late date, edited by Bekker; see W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus*, I. p. 208, etc. TR.] quoted μίαν μίαν in the sense of κατὰ μίαν; this was first pointed out

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Continuation of notes to p. 123 ;—

[8] *i.e.* εἰς Νότου Λ(ιβός); on the quarters of the city of Thebes see Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I. p. 713.

[9] *i.e.* Οὐεστ(ιδία ?). The use of the cases (nominative for genitive) is vulgar, as in the Revelation of St. John.

[10] The reading is doubtful, Wilcken. It would = Σεκοῦ(ν)δα.

[11] It is significant that the Hellenised form of the name, Μαρία, occurs also here.

[12] *i.e.* νεωτ(έρα), abbreviated like our "jun." or "jr."

[13] *i.e.* ἀρτάβ(ας). The "artaba" was a measure of corn.

[14] With this form cf. a similar one in Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, p. 318.

[15] *i.e.* "to the account of."

[16] This use of the preposition διά, occurring also in the papyri (cf. L. Wenger, *Die Stellvertretung im Rechte der Papyri*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 9 ff.), is of important bearing on the interpretation of the formula "through Christ" and the conception of the Paraclete; cf. Adolph Schettler, *Die paulinische Formel "Durch Christus,"* Tübingen, 1907, p. 28 ad fin.

would be sufficient to account for the same use in the Septuagint and in the New Testament; it agrees with the Semitic use,[1] it is true, but it is good popular Greek for all that. It has been shown by Karl Dieterich[2] to exist in Middle Greek, and has remained in Modern Greek down to the present day.[3] We can trace this use, therefore, through a period of two thousand five hundred years. A welcome new link in the long chain of witnesses from Aeschylus to the Bible and from the Bible till to-day was added by a letter of the 3rd century A.D., among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (No. 121), in which a certain Isidorus writes to one Aurelius to "bind the branches by three and three in bundles."[4] Still more recently there has come in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (No. $886_{19f.}$) a magical formula of the 3rd cent. A.D., which exhibits a curious mixture of this and a prepositional construction.[5]

(3) In conclusion we may select from the abundance of new syntactical observations an example which has lately met with general recognition, viz. the peculiar "nominative" πλήρης in the prologue to

by Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache*, p. 128. Blass, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch*,[2] p. 146 [Engl. ed.[2] pp. 145, 330], rightly inferred from this that the Atticists opposed this form of expression, which they therefore must have found present in the vernacular, "and it was not merely Jewish Greek."

[1] We have here one of the numerous coincidences between the popular phraseology of different languages. Cf. the popular distributive *zwei und zwei* in German; in English "two and two."

[2] *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, p. 188.

[3] Cf. Jean Psichari, *Essai sur le Grec de la Septante*, p. 183 f.

[4] εἶνα (*sic*) δήσῃ τρία τρία. Cf. δήσατε δεσμὰς δεσμάς, "bind them in bundles," which Blass,[2] p. 146 [Engl. ed.[2] p. 145], considers to have been the original reading in Matt. xiii. 30.

[5] ἔρε [= αἶρε] κατὰ δύο δύο, "take them up by two and two."—In the Oxyrhynchus Papyri No. 940_6 (letter, 5th cent. A.D.) μίαν μίαν is used, so the editors (Grenfell and Hunt) think, in the sense of *una* = "together" (Part VI. 1908, p. 310).

St. John (i. 14),[1] which bears intimately on a celebrated problem of this gospel. If I am not mistaken,[2] this "nominative" has been regarded by a pious Silesian commentator of our own day as a peculiarly fine dogmatic distinction of the inspired sacred text. In matters linguistic, however, the commentator's piety is not enough. I agree, *mutatis mutandis*, with Hans Thoma,[3] who once told the Protestant clergy of Baden that it would be more desirable to have a sinner painting good pictures than to have a saint painting bad ones.[4] The present case, therefore, must be decided by cold philological considerations, and philology tells us, on the evidence of papyri,[5] ostraca, and wooden tablets, that πλήρης as used by the people had often shrunk and become indeclinable. The oldest example hitherto known[6] is in the dreams of the twin-sisters and Ptolemaeus,[7] 160 B.C., contemporary, therefore, with the Septuagint usage. Another pre-Johannine example is afforded by an Egyptian wooden tablet, probably of the reign of Augustus.[8] Next come a

[1] ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρὸς πλήρης [Codex D πλήρη] χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας. This πλήρης occurs also in other passages of the New Testament and the Septuagint.

[2] I cannot lay my hand on the passage, and I prefer not to waste time in looking for it.

[3] [The painter, *b.* 1839. He is the holder of two honorary degrees of the University of Heidelberg, Dr. phil. and D. theol., the latter conferred in October 1909. TR.

[4] Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Wissenschaftlichen Predigervereins der evangelischen Geistlichkeit Badens im Jahre 1906, Karlsruhe, 1907, p. 10.

[5] Cf. Blass, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch*,[2] p. 84 and even [1]p. 81 [Engl. ed. p. 81]. Hermann Diels (letter, Berlin W., 22 July, 1908) refers further to A. Brinkmann, Rheinisches Museum, 54, p. 94, and Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift, 1900, col. 252.

[6] Cf. J. H. Moulton, *Grammar*,[2] p. 50, and Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, p. 63. All other needful references will be found there.

[7] Leyden Papyrus, C II_{14} (*Papyri Graeci Musei . . . Lugduni-Batavi*, ed. C. Leemans, t. I. [1843] p. 118).

[8] Revue Archéologique, 29 (1875) p. 233 f. ἔδωκα αὐτῷ (*sic*) τὰ ναῦλα πλήρης καὶ τὰς δαπάνας, "I have given him his full fare and money to spend."

number of quotations from papyri, and, as might have been expected, the statistics have been further enriched by the ostraca.[1] Moulton[2] is quite right in saying that a Greek with a literary training would not have used the shrunken form. But he goes too far in assuming that it was first introduced into the Gospel of St. John by a copyist. The copyists worked as a rule quite mechanically, like our compositors; when they made linguistic changes in the text of the New Testament they did so under the orders of trained theologians—men who generally must have been under the influence of Atticism and opposed to the vernacular. Where the textual authorities show variations, then in the gospels and in St. Paul popular forms have always a fair claim to preference. There is no special reason for regarding πλήρης in St. John as not original. The vulgar form occurring in the lapidary style of the prologue—a field anemone amid the marble blocks—is in fact a clear token of the popular character which even this gospel bears. The scholar whose instinct may have been misled by the word *Logos* in the first line is brought back to the right road by this undoubted popular form.

E. We pass now to consider briefly, in conclusion, the *style* of the New Testament in the light of the profane texts.[3] The transition is an easy one, for we can still take our examples from the Johannine writings. It has become an inviolable tradition with commentators to represent the Johannine style as particularly Semitic, chiefly on account of its pre-

[1] Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, No. 1071, Thebes, 16 February, 185 A.D.; probably also No. 1222, Thebes, Roman period.

[2] *Grammar*,[2] p. 50.

[3] Cf. the general observations above, pp. 63 f.

ference for paratactic constructions, especially "and . . . and," which occurs so frequently. The very latest critic of the Johannine style, E. von Dobschütz,[1] who distinguishes an original and an adaptation in the First Epistle of St. John, has these observations on the style of the original, conveyed, it may be remarked, in a highly paratactic style of his own :—

"Thesis stands beside thesis, sentence opposes sentence; there are none of the delicate connecting particles, appropriate to every gradation in the thought, which are so abundant in classical Greek. These are no doubt greatly diminished in the colloquial language of the Hellenistic period. But a style such as we have here is really not Greek. It is Semitic thinking that is here displayed. Only in the Septuagint is there anything like it to be found."

Apart from our new texts altogether, we could appeal to the facts of Indo-Germanic philology in refutation of this branding of parataxis as "not Greek." Parataxis appears to be not Greek only from the orthodox point of view of the Atticists, who laid it down that the periodic structure with hypotaxis was good, beautiful, and Greek *par excellence*. As a matter of fact, parataxis was the original form of Greek speech; it survived continuously in the language of the people, and even found its way into literature when the ordinary conversation of the people was imitated. The facts are admirably stated by Karl Brugmann[2] :—

[1] "Johanneische Studien," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, 8 (1907) p. 7. Wilhelm Heitmüller in the *Gegenwartsbibel* (Die Schriften des N. T. . . ., herausg. von Johannes Weiss), II., Göttingen, 1907, 3, p. 175, pronounces a similar judgment, and even ventures from the structure of the sentences and their connexion to draw conclusions as to the birth-certificate of the writer: "They betray beyond doubt the Jewish origin of the evangelist."

[2] *Griechische Grammatik*[3] (Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, II. 1[3]), München, 1900, p. 555 f.

"It is beyond doubt that the language of Homer exhibits on the whole far more of the original paratactic structure than the language of Herodotus and the Attic prose writers, such as Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes. . . . This is not because the language of Homer is older and closer to the primitive Indo-Germanic type of language, but rather because the epic is less detached than the later literature from the natural soil of language. Wherever in the Indo-Germanic sphere a genuine popular dialect is found to exist side by side with a more highly developed literary language, we see that the popular dialect makes far more use of the paratactic form of expression than the literary language. If a work of later date, say, for example, of the 3rd century B.C., were preserved, presenting to us as true a specimen of popular sentence-construction as the Homeric poems, the language of Homer would probably in this respect appear scarcely more archaic. There is in fact no very great difference to be detected between Homeric Greek and the Modern Greek dialects in this particular. When, in the age of literary practice and scholastic training, we find authors using paratactic constructions where they might have employed hypotactic forms, such being in general use in the cultivated language, we may generally assume that there has been an upward borrowing from the forms of the language of every-day life."

Brugmann illustrates this last remark by examples from the Greek Comedy and from Demosthenes; in both cases there is conscious imitation of the popular[1] style.[2]

If we have once recognised the *popular* character of the Johannine style—not an imitation, this, but in large measure a wild, natural growth—then we have

[1] This is obvious, of course, in the case of Comedy. We have here the reason why the vocabulary of Comedy finds such frequent echoes in the New Testament. It is not because the apostles were regular attendants at the theatre or readers of Comedy, but Comedy and New Testament both draw from the popular colloquial language as from a common spring.

[2] The examples in Wilhelm Schmid, *Der Atticismus*, I. p. 422, II. p. 299, III. p. 326, are also very well worth considering. Cf. also Eduard Schwyzer, Neugriechische Syntax und altgriechische, Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc., 1908, 1 Abteilung, 21 Band, p. 500; and Jean Psichari, *Essai sur le Grec de la Septante*, p. 186.

solved the riddle which our Atticist commentators with their censorial attitude are always discovering. St. John is popular in style when he is narrating something, or when he is making reflections of his own, no less than when he reproduces the sayings of Christ. It is easy to find examples of both—the popular narrative style, with its short paratactic sentences and its "*and* . . . *and*," and the stately style, impressive by the very simplicity of its popular appeal, in which the Divinity speaks in the first person to strangers and devotees.

One of the finest examples of popular narrative style is the report by an Egyptian named Ptolemaeus, in the year 160 B.C., of a dream that he had had (Paris Papyri, No. 51). I should have liked to reprint this extraordinarily interesting text here,[1] but it is advisable to await the appearance of Wilcken's edition of the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, which will doubtless give us the dream of Ptolemaeus with considerably improved readings.

Another good example is the letter of consolation written by Irene, an Egyptian woman of the second century A.D., and found at Oxyrhynchus. This letter will be discussed in a later chapter.[2]

Here is the story told by two "pig-merchants," about 171 A.D., in their letter of complaint to the Strategus, found at Euhemeria (Ḳaṣr el-Banât) in the Fayûm[3]:—

. . . ἐχθὲς ἥτις ἦν ιθ τοῦ [ὄ]ντος μηνὸς Θὼθ ἀνερχομένων ἡμῶν[4] ἀπὸ κώμης Θεαδελφείας Θεμίστου μερίδος ὑπὸ τὸν	. . . Yesterday, which was the 19th of the present month Thoth, as we were returning about daybreak from the village

[1] First published in Notices et Extraits, 18, 2, p. 323 f.

[2] Cf. p. 164, below.

[3] *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, No. 108.

[4] This "incorrect" genitive absolute with a following dative occurs in exactly the same way in John iv. 51, and many other New Testament passages.

ὄρθρον ἐπῆλθαν ἡμεῖν κακοῦργοί τινες ἀνὰ [μ]έσον Πολυδευκίας καὶ τῆς Θεαδελφείας καὶ ἔδησαν ἡμᾶς σὺν καὶ τῷ μαγδωλοφύλακι καὶ πληγαῖς ἡμᾶς πλίσταις ἤκισαν κ[αὶ] τραυματιαῖον ἐποίησαν τὸν [Πασίω]να καὶ εἰσανῆρα[ν ἡμ]ῶν χοιρίδι[ον] α καὶ ἐβάσ[ταξαν τὸν τοῦ Πασίων]ος κιτῶνα . . . καὶ . . .

of Theadelphia in the division of Themistes, certain malefactors came upon us between Polydeucia and Theadelphia, and bound us and also the guard of the tower, and assaulted us with very many stripes, and wounded Pasion, and robbed us of 1 pig, and carried off Pasion's coat . . . and . . .[1]

How firmly this "and . . . and" style was rooted in the language of the people is shown by a much later bill of complaint of a Christian Egyptian woman who had been ill-treated by her husband (Oxyrhynchus Papyri, No. 903, 4th century A.D.).

The parallelism of the style comes out most clearly if we compare texts of similar content. For instance we might take these sentences from the story of the man born blind (John ix. 7, 11):—

7. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ὕπαγε νίψαι εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν τοῦ Σιλωάμ (ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται ἀπεσταλμένος). ἀπῆλθεν οὖν καὶ ἐνίψατο καὶ ἦλθεν βλέπων. 11. ἀπεκρίθη ἐκεῖνος· ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰησοῦς πηλὸν ἐποίησεν καὶ ἐπέχρισέν

7. And said unto him, Go, wash in the pool of Siloam (which is by interpretation, Sent). He went away therefore, and washed, and came seeing. 11. He answered, The man that is called Jesus made clay, and anointed mine eyes,

[1] Cf. the parallel descriptive details of the robber scene in the parable of the Good Samaritan, Luke x. 30: mention of the road on which the outrage took place ("from Jerusalem to Jericho"), the stripes ("beat him," R.V.), the theft of clothing. It is clear that Jesus was successful in hitting the popular tone. The papyri and inscriptions furnish good contemporary illustrations of the same kind to other of our Lord's parables, *e.g.* the importunate widow (Luke xviii. 1 ff.) Tauetis of the village of Socnopaei Nesus (Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 522, Fayûm, 2nd century A.D.), or the prodigal son Antonis Longus with his confession of sins to his mother Nilus (Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 846, Fayûm, 2nd century A.D.; see below, pp. 176 ff.).

μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὅτι ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν Σιλωὰμ καὶ νίψαι. ἀπελθὼν οὖν καὶ νιψάμενος ἀνέβλεψα.

and said unto me, Go to Siloam, and wash: so I went away and washed, and I received sight. (R.V.)

Compare with these sentences one of four records of cures inscribed on a marble tablet some time after 138 A.D., probably at the temple of Asclepius on the island in the Tiber at Rome [1]:—

Οὐαλερίῳ Ἄπρῳ στρατιώτῃ τυφλῷ ἐχρημάτισεν[2] *ὁ θεὸς ἐλθεῖν*[3] *καὶ λαβεῖν αἷμα ἐξ ἀλεκτρυῶνος λευκοῦ μετὰ μέλιτος καὶ κολλύριον*[4] *συντρῖψαι καὶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπιχρεῖσαι*[5] *ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. καὶ ἀνέβλεψεν*[6] *καὶ ἐλήλυθεν*[7] *καὶ ἠὐχαρίστησεν*[8] *δημοσίᾳ*[9] *τῷ θεῷ.*[10]

To Valerius Aper, a blind soldier, the god revealed[2] that he should go[3] and take blood of a white cock, together with honey, and rub them into an eyesalve[4] and anoint[5] his eyes three days. And he received his sight,[6] and came[7] and gave thanks[8] publicly[9] to the god.[10]

This text is, if possible, even more paratactic ("Semitic," people would say, if it were a quotation from the New Testament) than the corresponding passage in St. John.

[1] *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. $5980_{15ff.}$ = Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. $807_{15ff.}$ Apart from the mere words the parallelism is of course remarkable. Similarities both formal and actual occur also in the three other records and in numerous tablets of the same kind from Epidaurus. For a perfectly simple narrative style, consisting almost entirely of participial constructions and sentences connected by *καί*, cf. the long inscription recording the "Acts of Heracles," *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 5984. The word *πράξεις* is here used as in the title of St. Luke's and other "Acts of the Apostles."

[2] So used frequently in the Greek Bible in the sense of divine warning or revelation [*e.g.*, LXX Jer. xxxii. (xxv.) 30, xxxvii. (xxx.) 2, xliii. (xxxvi.) 2, 4; Matt. ii. 12, 22; Luke ii. 26; Acts x. 22; Heb. viii. 5, xi. 7, xii. 25].

[3] Corresponding to the direct imperative "Go" in St. John.

[4] Cf. the clay made of earth and spittle in St. John.

[5] The word is employed exactly as by St. John, who also construes it with *ἐπί* (ix. 6).

[6] As in St. John.

[7] As in John ix. 7.

[8] As often in the New Testament.

[9] As in the Acts [xvi. 37, xviii. 28, xx. 20].

[10] Cf. the grateful Samaritan, Luke xvii. 15 f.

Most striking of all, however, is the similarity between St. John's solemn use of the first personal pronoun and certain non-Christian and pre-Christian examples of the same style employed in the service of religion. Diodorus of Sicily has preserved an inscription in this style in honour of Isis at Nysa in "Arabia," and there has recently been discovered another Isis inscription in the island of Ios, while echoes of the same style are found in texts of post-Johannine date. In the case of the second inscription there is another[1] of those delightful accidents to be recorded which serve to recompense all who are wearied by the toil of compiling the statistics of language. This inscription, highly important also in respect of its contents, is now in the church of St. John the Divine, Ios, written on a portion of fluted column which now serves to support the altar: St. John the Divine has rescued this venerable document of a prose akin to his own. The first editor of the inscription, R. Weil,[2] considered it, strangely enough, to be an imperial edict or letter of the period of the Christian persecutions. Its true character was afterwards pointed out to him by Ἐvστratiadis.[3] It has repeatedly engaged the attention of scholars, and was last published by Baron F. Hiller von Gaertringen,[4] who assigns the writing to the second or

[1] Cf. p. 102 above for the similar preservation of the ἐπισυναγωγή inscription.

[2] Athenische Mitteilungen, 2 (1877) p. 81. Fortunately he was not a theologian, or he would have been marked out as an example for all time of the blindness inevitable to a member of our faculty.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 189 f.

[4] *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XII. V. 1 No. 14, cf. p. 217; for an unimportant new fragment see Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 28 (1904) p. 330. I observed recently that Adolf Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*, Berlin, 1905, p. 245, also translates the inscription (in part), and takes the same view of it as I do. It shows, he says, "what the more simple souls thought of Isis."

third century A.D. By his kind agency I am enabled to reproduce here (Figure 13), with the permission of the Epigraphical Commission of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, a carefully prepared facsimile of this uncommonly interesting text by Alfred Schiff. In spite of the late writing the text itself, as shown by the parallel text from Nysa in our pre-Christian authority Diodorus, is old in the main, and probably much older than the Gospel of St. John.

In order not to break the historical continuity I give first of all the text from Nysa, then that from Ios,[1] thirdly a Johannine text of similar form, and lastly an example of the sacral use of the first person singular that is no doubt later than St. John.

I

Diodorus of Sicily († 27 B.C.) says in his *History*[2] that he was acquainted with writers who had described the tombs of Isis and Osiris at Nysa in

[1] Among pre-Johannine texts we might also mention the "Praise of Wisdom," in Ecclesiasticus xxiv., where the first personal pronoun is used at least four times in the solemn manner. This style can undoubtedly be traced still further back: cf. the solemn "I am" of Jahveh in the Old Testament, and the "I" used by the kings in ancient Oriental inscriptions, an echo of which is found in the late inscription of Silco, a 6th cent. Christian King of Nubia (Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 201). The parataxis in this inscription, which is sufficiently barbaric in other respects, is exactly paralleled in the Isis inscriptions of Nysa and Ios. The best parallels to the use of the first personal pronoun are to be found in Egyptian sacred texts. Cf. for instance the texts in Albrecht Dieterich's *Eine Mithrasliturgie erläutert*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 194 f., and the same scholar's references to the Leyden magical papyrus V. in the Jahrbücher für classische Philologie herausg. von Alfred Fleckeisen, 16, Supplementband, Leipzig, 1888, p. 773. *E.g.*, in the same papyrus, VII_{23}, we have ἐγώ εἰμι Ὄσιρις ὁ καλούμενος ὕδωρ, ἐγώ εἰμι Ἶσις ἡ καλουμένη δρόσος, "I am Osiris, who am called 'Water'; I am Isis, who am called 'Dew.'" Formal and actual parallels are also found in the London magical papyrus No. $46_{236f.}$ and $121_{498f.}$ (Kenyon, I. pp. 72, 100), and particularly in Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 11. 5.

[2] I. 27. I quote from the edition by F. Vogel, Leipzig, 1888.

"Arabia."[1] The tombstone of each deity bore an inscription in "sacred characters," and he gives as much of the text as was still legible, the greater part having been already destroyed by time.

Ἐγὼ Ἶσίς εἰμι ἡ βασίλισσα πάσης χώρας ἡ παιδευθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ, καὶ ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνομοθέτησα, οὐδεὶς αὐτὰ δύναται λῦσαι. Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ τοῦ νεωτάτου Κρόνου θεοῦ θυγάτηρ πρεσβυτάτη. Ἐγώ εἰμι γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ὀσίριδος βασιλέως. Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ πρώτη καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις εὑροῦσα. Ἐγώ εἰμι μήτηρ Ὥρου τοῦ βασιλέως. Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἐν τῷ ἄστρῳ τῷ ἐν τῷ κυνὶ ἐπιτέλλουσα. Ἐμοὶ Βούβαστος ἡ πόλις ᾠκοδομήθη. Χαῖρε, χαῖρε Αἴγυπτε ἡ θρέψασά με.

I am Isis, the queen of every land, taught by Hermes, and whatsoever things I have ordained, no one is able to loose them. I am the eldest daughter of Cronos, the youngest god. I am wife and sister of King Osiris. I am the first that devised fruit for men. I am mother of Horus the King. I am she that riseth in the dog-star. For me was the city of Bubastis built. Rejoice, rejoice,[2] Egypt, that nourished me.

Diodorus also gives a fragment of the Osiris inscription. Like the other it consists of brief statements by Osiris about himself, but the word "I" is not so conspicuous as in the Isis text.

II

That the Nysa inscription was no fiction but a permanent constituent in liturgical texts of the Isis cult, is proved by the later record from Ios (Fig. 13), which is longer, but in no other respect discordant. I print it here without preserving the original division into lines, only marking (for convenience in referring to the facsimile) the point where every fifth line begins.

[1] This statement must be regarded with suspicion. The text came probably, as Wilcken conjectures, from Bubastis. Nysa is a fabulous place.

[2] Or "Hail, hail!"

[Ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκεν Εἶ]σι[δι Σερά]π[ι δ]ι [Ἀ]νούβιδι κ' Ἁ[ρ-
ποκρά]τη. Εἶσις ἐγώ[1] εἰμι ἡ
τ[ύρανν]ος πάσης χόρας καὶ
(5)ἐπαιδ[εύ]θην ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ
καὶ γράμματα εὗρον μετὰ Ἑρ-
μοῦ τὰ δημόσια, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς
αὐτοῖς πάντα γράφηται. Ἐγὼ
νόμους ἀνθρώποις ἐθέμην καὶ
ἐνομο-(10)θέτησα, ἃ οὐδεὶς δύ-
ναται μεταθεῖναι. Ἐγώ εἰμι
Κρόνου θυγάτηρ πρεσβυτάτη.
Ἐγώ εἰμι γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ
Ὀσείρεος βασιλέος. Ἐγώ εἰμι
θεοῦ Κυνὸς ἄστρῳ ἐπιτέλουσα.
(15)Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ παρὰ γυναιξὶ
θεὸς καλουμένη. Ἐ[μ]οὶ Βού-
βαστις πόλις οἰκοδομήθη. Ἐγὼ
ἐχώρισα γῆν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ.
Ἐγὼ ἄστ[ρ]ων ὁδοὺς ἔδειξα.
Ἐγὼ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης πο-
ρείαν συνέταξα. Ἐγὼ θαλάσ-
(20)σια ἔργα εὗρα. Ἐγὼ τὸ
δίκαιον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίησα. Ἐγὼ
γυναῖκα καὶ ἄνδρα συνήγαγα.
Ἐγὼ γυναιξὶ δεκάμηνον βρέφος

N. N. dedicated this to Isis, Serapis, Anubis, and Harpocrates. I am Isis,[2] the mistress of every land,[3] and was taught by Hermes, and devised with Hermes the demotic[4] letters, that all things might not be written with the same (letters). I gave and ordained laws[5] unto men, which no one is able to change. I am eldest daughter of Cronos. I am wife and sister of King Osiris. I am that riseth in the star of the Dog god. I am she that is called goddess by women. For me was the city of Bubastis built.[6] I divided the earth from the heaven.[7] I showed the paths of the stars.[8] I ordered the course of the sun and moon.[9] I devised business in the sea.[10] I made strong the right.[11] I brought together woman and man.[12] I appointed unto women the

[1] I am not quite sure if these two words are rightly taken together. The anaphoric ἐγώ in the following lines leads us to expect that the first sentence should also begin with ἐγώ. Εἶσις would then stand alone: Εἶσις (*scil.* λέγει)· Ἐγώ. On the other hand the metrical Isis inscription from Andros, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XII. V. 1, No. 739, of the age of Augustus, has Ἶσις ἐγὼ . . . several times.

[2] Or [?] "Isis (saith): I am . . ."

[3] Cf. Ecclus. xxiv. 6.

[4] As distinguished from the hieroglyphics.

[5] Cf. the idea of divine legislation in the Old Testament.

[6] Cf. LXX Psalm cxxi. [cxxii.] 3, 4; Ecclus. xxiv. 11.

[7] Cf. LXX Gen. i. 7–10.

[8] Cf. LXX Gen. i. 16 f.; Job ix. 7 ff.; xxxviii. 31 f.

[9] Cf. LXX Gen. i. 16 f.; Job ix. 7 ff.; xxxviii. 31 f.

[10] Cf. Wisdom xiv. 3 ff.

[11] Cf. LXX Psalm xxxvi. [xxxvii.] 17, 39.

[12] Cf. LXX Gen. i. 28, ii. 22.

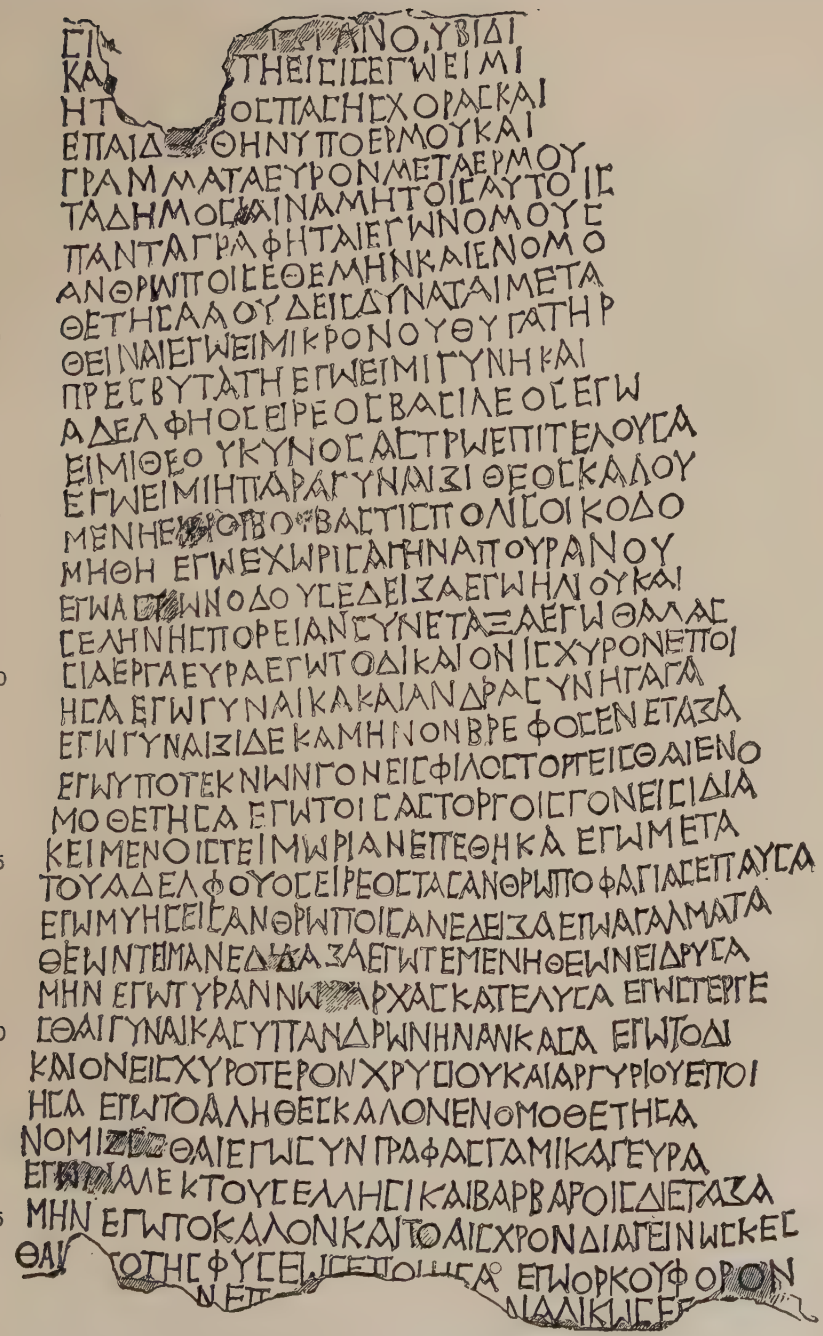

FIG. 13.—Isis Inscription from Ios. Writing of the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D. Contents pre-Christian. Now in the church of St. John the Divine, Ios. By permission of the Epigraphical Commission of the Prussian Academy of Sciences.

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ἐνέταξα. Ἐγὼ ὑπὸ τέκνων γονεῖς φιλοστοργεῖσθαι ἐνομοθέτησα. Ἐγὼ τοῖς ἀστόργοις γονεῦσι δια-(25)κειμένοις τειμωρίαν ἐπέθηκα. Ἐγὼ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ὀσείρεος τὰς ἀνθρωποφαγίας ἔπαυσα. Ἐγὼ μυήσεις ἀνθρώποις ἀνέδειξα. Ἐγὼ ἀγάλματα θεῶν τειμᾶν ἐδίδαξα. Ἐγὼ τεμένη θεῶν εἱδρυσάμην. Ἐγὼ τυράννω[ν ἀ]ρχὰς κατέλυσα. Ἐγὼ στέργε-(30)σθαι γυναῖκας ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ἠνάγκασα. Ἐγὼ τὸ δίκαιον εἰσχυρότερον χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐποίησα. Ἐγὼ τὸ ἀληθὲς καλὸν ἐνομοθέτησα νομίζ[εσ]θαι. Ἐγὼ συνγραφὰς γαμικὰ[ς] εὗρα. Ἐγὼ [δ]ιαλέκτους Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις διεταξά-(35)μην. Ἐγὼ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν διαγεινώσκεσθαι [ὑπ]ὸ τῆς φύ-[σ]ε[ω]ς ἐποί[ησ]α. Ἐγὼ ὅρκου φόρον [ἐπέβαλο]ν ἐπ[ὶ . . .
. . . . . .]ν ἀδίκως ε[. . .

new-born babe in the tenth month.[1] I ordained that parents should be loved by children.[2] I laid punishment upon those disposed without natural affection towards their parents.[3] I made with my brother Osiris an end of the eating of men.[4] I showed mysteries unto men. I taught to honour images of the gods. I consecrated the precincts of the gods. I broke down the governments of tyrants.[5] I compelled women to be loved by men.[6] I made the right to be stronger than gold and silver.[7] I ordained that the true should be thought good. I devised marriage contracts.[8] I assigned to Greeks and barbarians their languages.[9] I made the beautiful and the ill-favoured to be distinguished by nature. I laid (?) the burden (?) of an oath upon . . . unjustly . . .

It may seem surprising that in this case of a religious text of really Egyptian origin the parallels I have given (in the footnotes) are taken from the Septuagint and not from other Egyptian texts.[10] But

[1] Cf. Wisdom vii. 1, 2.
[2] Cf. LXX Exod. xx. 12; Deut. v. 16, etc.
[3] Cf. Exod. xxi. 15, 16, etc.
[4] Cf. Wisdom xii. 3–5.
[5] Cf. LXX Psalm cxxxiv. [cxxxv.] 10, 11, cxxxv. [cxxxvi.] 17–20.
[6] Cf. LXX Gen. ii. 24; Mal. ii. 15, 16.
[7] Cf. LXX Psalm xxxvi. [xxxvii.] 16, cxviii. [cxix.] 127.
[8] Cf. LXX Mal. ii. 14; (Tobit vii. 13.)
[9] Cf. LXX Gen. xi. 7, 9.
[10] It would have been easy to find them there. Cf. for instance O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* II., München, 1906, p. 1563 ff.

there is a good reason for this: in anticipation of the problem which will engage our attention in Chapter IV. I was anxious to show how close the resemblance can be between the Hellenised Old Testament and Hellenised Egyptian religion. The actual relationship of ideas being so close, how easy must it have been for Hellenistic Judaism and Christianity to adopt the remarkable and simple style of expression in the first person singular.[1]

III

John x. 7–14 :—

Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ θύρα τῶν προβάτων· πάντες ὅσοι ἦλθον πρὸ ἐμοῦ κλέπται εἰσὶν καὶ λῃσταί, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἤκουσαν αὐτῶν τὰ πρόβατα. Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ θύρα· δι' ἐμοῦ ἐάν τις εἰσέλθῃ, σωθήσεται, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται καὶ ἐξελεύσεται καὶ νομὴν εὑρήσει. Ὁ κλέπτης οὐκ ἔρχεται εἰ μὴ ἵνα κλέψῃ καὶ θύσῃ καὶ ἀπολέσῃ. Ἐγὼ ἦλθον ἵνα ζωὴν ἔχωσιν καὶ περισσὸν ἔχωσιν. Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός· ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων. Ὁ μισθωτὸς καὶ οὐκ ὢν ποιμήν, οὗ οὐκ ἔστιν τὰ πρόβατα ἴδια, θεωρεῖ τὸν λύκον ἐρχόμενον καὶ ἀφίησιν τὰ πρόβατα καὶ φεύγει (καὶ ὁ λύκος ἁρπάζει

I am the door of the sheep. All that came before Me are thieves and robbers: but the sheep did not hear them. I am the door: by Me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and go out, and shall find pasture. The thief cometh not, but that he may steal, and kill, and destroy: I came that they may have life, and may have abundance. I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd layeth down His life for the sheep. He that is a hireling, and not a shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, beholdeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth (and the wolf snatcheth and scattereth them), because

[1] At Ephesus, to which the Johannine texts point, there was a cult of Isis.—In the inscription in *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, III. No. 722, the reading Εἴσειον does not seem to me to be certain, but there are other more certain epigraphical proofs. Cf. Adolfus Rusch, De Serapide et Iside in Graecia cultis, Diss. Berolini, 1906, p. 72 f.

αὐτὰ καὶ σκορπίζει)· ὅτι μισθωτός ἐστιν καὶ οὐ μέλει αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν προβάτων. Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός.

he is a hireling, and careth not for the sheep. I am the good shepherd. (R.V., adapted.)

IV

In spite of distortion caused by the would-be wizardry the features of the old style are recognisable in the following passage from the London magical papyrus No. 46 $_{145\,\text{ff.}}$,[1] which was written in the 4th century A.D. Similar examples would not be difficult to find in other magical texts.[2]

Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἀκέφαλος δαίμων, ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν ἔχων τὴν ὅρασιν, ἰσχυρός, τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀθάνατον. Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια ὁ μεισῶν ἀδικήματα γείνεσθαι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἀστράπτων [magic words inserted here] καὶ βροντῶν. Ἐγώ εἰμι οὗ ἐστιν ὁ ἱδρὼς ὄμβρος ἐπιπείπτων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἵνα ὀχεύῃ. Ἐγώ εἰμι οὗ τὸ στόμα καίεται δι' ὅλου. Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ γεννῶν καὶ ἀπογεννῶν. Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ χάρις τοῦ αἰῶνος.

I am the headless[3] daemon, having eyes in my feet, the strong one, the deathless fire. I am the truth, who hateth that evil deeds are in the world. I am he that lighteneth [*here follow certain magic words*] and thundereth. I am he whose sweat is a shower falling upon the earth to make it fruitful. I am he whose mouth burneth altogether. I am he that begetteth and begetteth again.[4] I am the grace of the aeon.

The entire simplicity of the style of this solemn monotone is seen all the more clearly if we compare

[1] *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, ed. F. G. Kenyon, I. p. 69 f.

[2] It was part of the proper procedure in ancient sorcery for the enchanter to identify himself with powerful and terrible deities in order to impress the demons who were to be overcome. Cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 271; *Bible Studies*, pp. 355, 360.

[3] Cf. Franz Boll, *Sphaera:* Neue griechische Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternbilder, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 221 f., 433, 438.

[4] Hermann Diels (letter, Berlin W., 22 July, 1908) considers it possible that the verb here means *destroy*.

it with metrical paraphrases. This we can do in the case both of the Isis inscription and of the Johannine texts. There is an inscription of the age of Augustus in the island of Andros,[1] consisting of a hymn to Isis in hexameters, and based evidently on the old formulae known to us from the inscriptions of Nysa and Ios. For comparison with the Gospel of St. John we have the pompous hexameters of Nonnus. Contrasted with their originals these verses sound something like the rhyming paraphrase of the Psalms by Dr. Ambrosius Lobwasser (*anglice* Praisewater), Professor of Law and Assessor to the Royal Court of Justice at Königsberg, achieved in 1573.

> "Zu Gott wir unser Zuflucht haben,
> Wann uns schon Unglück thut antraben"—

so the good man begins the Psalm[2] out of which Luther had quarried the granite for his "Feste Burg." The "watered praises" of Lobwasser's Psalter are about equal in merit, perhaps even superior, to the hexameters into which Nonnus and the author of the Andros hymn diluted the old lines couched in homely, vigorous "I"-style.

4. From whatever side the New Testament may be regarded by the Greek scholar, the verdict of historical philology, based on the contemporary texts of the world surrounding the New Testament, will never waver. For the most part, the pages of our sacred Book are so many records of popular Greek,

[1] *Epigrammata Graeca*, ed. G. Kaibel, No. 1028; most recently in the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XII. V. 1, No. 739.

[2] [Psalm xlvi. Lobwasser might be thus imitated: "To God for refuge each one flieth When to o'erride us trouble trieth." Luther's celebrated "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott" is best represented in Carlyle's version, "A safe stronghold our God is still, A trusty shield and weapon," etc. TR.]

in its various grades; taken as a whole the New Testament is a Book of the people. Therefore we say that Luther, in taking the New Testament from the doctors and presenting it to the people, was only giving back to the people their own. We enter, perhaps, an attic-room in one of our large cities, and if we find there some poor old body reading her Testament beside the few fuchsias and geraniums on the window-sill, then we feel that the old Book is in a position to which its very nature entitles it. Think too of the Japanese New Testament found by a Red Cross sister in a wounded man's knapsack during the war between Russia and Japan: that was also a grateful resting-place for the old Book. We will go further, and say: this great Book of the people ought really never to be published in sumptuous editions with costly engravings and expensive binding. The Egyptian potsherds with Gospel fragments,[1] the Paternoster from Megara,[2] the Biblia Pauperum[3] and the Stuttgart Groschenbibel,[4] are in their externals more in keeping with the character of the New Testament than the proposed Double-crown Bible[5] and the other *éditions de luxe* bought by rich German godfathers for Confirmation presents. The

[1] Cf. above, pp. 48–53. [2] Cf. above, p. 48, n. 2.

[3] My friend Carl Neumann, the art-critic, in a letter dated Kiel, 17 May, 1908, objects to this estimate of the Biblia Pauperum. [No doubt the author was thinking not so much of the actual artistic merit or cost of production of the block-books and their MS. predecessors, as of the contrast between them and elaborately written (and illuminated) complete Bibles of the same date or earlier. TR.]

[4] Cf. an article on the Groschenbibel in Die Hilfe, 1898, No. 16. [The article was written by Professor Deissmann on the publication of the first German "penny Testament" by the Württemberg Bible Institute, following the example of the British and Foreign Bible Society. TR.]

[5] Cf. an excellent criticism of the plan by Johannes Ficker, Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst, 12 (1907) p. 179 ff. [This Bible was to be printed at the Imperial Government Printing Office in Berlin and sold for a sovereign. TR.]

plainer the cover, the more modest the type, the coarser the paper, the nearer the pictures come to the style of Dürer or Rembrandt, the more fitly will the great Book of the people be arrayed.

The Book of the people has become, in the course of centuries, the Book of all mankind. At the present day no book in the world is printed so often and in so many languages as the New Testament. From the people to mankind at large: historical philology establishes the causal connexion underlying this development. The New Testament was not a product of the colourless refinement of an upper class that had nothing left to hope for, whose classical period lay, irretrievable, in the past. On the contrary, it was, humanly speaking, a product of the force that came unimpaired, and strengthened by the Divine Presence, from the lower class (Matt. xi. 25 f.; 1 Cor. i. 26–31). This reason alone enabled it to become the Book of all mankind.

And so the simple texts on stone, papyrus, and earthenware have helped us, firstly, to a knowledge of the sacred Volume on its linguistic side, and then, by that means, to no small understanding of its most distinguishing characteristic. A new ray of light falls on its history among the nations. The New Testament has become the Book of the Peoples because it began by being the Book of the People.

CHAPTER III

THE NEW TESTAMENT AS LITERATURE, ILLUSTRATED BY THE NEW TEXTS

1. Our estimate of the New Testament will be much the same as we have just stated if we now approach it from the point of view of literary history. Here again it is the records of the world contemporary with the New Testament that have supplied us with the right standard of criticism.

In saying this we may seem at first to be preparing difficulties for ourselves. We have insisted more than once that the records referred to are to a great extent non-literary, yet now we claim that they throw light on literary questions. This seems to be self-contradictory; and I can well imagine that some readers will be astonished to hear me say that these poor scraps of papyrus, or potsherds inscribed with fragments of letters from unknown Egyptians, have taught me to understand the true nature of St. Paul's Epistles and, ultimately, the course by which Primitive Christianity developed on the literary side. But I ask the incredulous to give me a patient hearing.[1]

[1] For what follows cf. the "Prolegomena to the Biblical Letters and Epistles" in *Bibelstudien*, 1895, pp. 187–252 [*Bible Studies*, pp. 1–59], and the article "Epistolary Literature" in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, II., London, 1901, col. 1323 ff.; also the outline in *Beiträge zur Weiterentwicklung der christlichen Religion*, München, 1905, p. 119 ff. These sources have been

The mention of the literary side of Primitive Christianity brings us to a branch of inquiry the importance of which has until now been all too little recognised. Whole libraries, it is true, have been written concerning the growth of the New Testament and the origin of its several parts, but the fact remains that it has seldom been viewed, as the literary historian would view it, in relation to the history of ancient literature. None but a very few scholars have felt the need of studying Primitive Christianity with the strictness of the literary historian. One honourable exception to be named here was Franz Overbeck, whose important study "On the Beginnings of Patristic Literature"[1] was published in 1882. As a general rule it is not so much as indicated that there is a problem to be solved, for the New Testament is approached with the preconceived idea that the Primitive Christian texts which owe their preservation to their inclusion in that book were themselves without exception "books" and works of literature.

But this preconceived idea must be given up. If we were to regard the New Testament merely as an assemblage of little works of literature and treat

made occasional use of here.—K. Dziatzko, article "Brief" in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, new edition by G. Wissowa, III., Stuttgart, 1899, col. 836 ff., takes the same view as regards the main questions.

[1] Historische Zeitschrift, 48, New Series 12 (1882) p. 429 ff. Views have been expressed on the problem by Georg Heinrici (*Das Neue Testament und die urchristliche Überlieferung*, Theol. Abhandlungen C. Weizsaecker gewidmet, Freiburg i. B., 1892, pp. 321–352; *Die Entstehung des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1899; *Der literarische Charakter der neutestamentlichen Schriften*, Leipzig, 1908) and Gustav Krüger (*Die Entstehung des Neuen Testaments*,[2] Freiburg i. B. u. Leipzig, 1896; *Das Dogma vom neuen Testament*, Giessen, 1896). Much may be expected from Paul Wendland's "Die urchristlichen Litteraturformen," a contribution to Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*. G. Misch's *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, I., Leipzig, 1907, is instructive.

it accordingly in our studies, we should commit the same mistake as an art-critic who proposed to treat a collection of fossils and ancient sculpture as if it contained nothing but works of art. We must not assume that the New Testament is literature from cover to cover. Whether it began as literature in its single parts is a question to be inquired about. The inquiry resolves itself into these questions: Did Primitive Christianity begin by being literary? When did it become so? What were the stages it went through in the process?

2. These questions, I think, have more than a purely academic interest: they contribute to a thorough appreciation of what Primitive Christianity really was. But in order to answer them we must come to an understanding about the meaning of our term "literature" and about the various forms in which literature may find expression.

The service here rendered us by the inscriptions, papyri, and ostraca is incalculable. Being themselves non-literary texts they remind us that a thing is not necessarily literature because it has been committed to writing and preserved in written form. Being also popular texts they accustom us, when we come to literature, to distinguish the popular from the artistic.

What then is literature? Literature is something written for the public (or at least for *a* public) and cast in a definite artistic form.

A man, however, who draws up a lease or an application to some public official, or who writes a receipt or a letter, is not engaged in literature. Lease, application, receipt, letter, and a host of similar documents, are non-literary. They are the

products not of art but of life; their destiny is not for the public and posterity but for the passing moment in a workaday world. This it is that makes the thousands of non-literary texts, on stone, papyrus, or pottery, such delightful reading. In large measure they are records of life, not works of art: records testifying of work, joy, and sorrow, and never intended for us, though a bountiful fate, willing that we after-comers should enter into pure human contact with the past, has made them ours.

There is one special class of these records of human life and work which the new discoveries have brought to light again in astonishing plenty and most delightful freshness. These are ancient non-literary letters, exchanged by private persons on terms of intimacy, and preserved not in late copies but in their originals, on lead, papyrus, or earthenware fragment. What would have been impossible in the seventies and eighties of the last century is possible now, and a history of ancient letter-writing might really be written. Conceived most comprehensively, it would cover a period of several thousand years; restricted to ancient letter-writing in Greek and Latin it would yet run to more than one thousand.

To think of "literature" or to speak of "epistolary literature" in connexion with these hundreds of ancient original letters would be utterly perverse[1] (or only possible if we were to employ the word "literature" in a secondary and colourless sense with regard to non-literary writing). The epistolary *literature* of antiquity is something altogether different. That is represented by the literary letter, the artistic letter,

[1] R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 98 f., protests, with great justice, against the vagueness of the modern terms employed to discriminate between literary *genres*.

the *epistle*,[1] of which we shall have to speak later on. On the contrary, we must banish all thought of literature, of conscious artistic prose, when we turn the pages of the letters that have come down to us. They are texts from which we can learn what is non-literary and pre-literary. And that is precisely what we must learn if we are to understand the New Testament historically.

3. Let us then from this abundance select a few specimens characteristic of the thousand years between Alexander the Great and Mohammed, beginning with the oldest Greek letter in existence and coming down to the letters of Egyptian Christians in the time before Islam.

The little collection [2] will make admirably clear to us the essential nature of the letter and the forms it assumed in antiquity. The illustrations will give some idea of the inimitable individuality of each single original. We should give a false picture if we selected only the choicest specimens, so we have been careful to include some unimportant examples of average letters.

The collection has moreover a secondary purpose,

[1] I employ this word technically to distinguish the artistic letter from the real letter.

[2] Cf. also the collection of letters in *Bibelstudien*, p. 208 ff. (a different selection in *Bible Studies*, p. 21 ff.); Paul Viereck, Aus der hinterlassenen Privatkorrespondenz der alten Ägypter, Vossische Zeitung, 3 January, 1895, first supplement; Erman and Krebs, *Aus den Papyrus der Königlichen Museen*, p. 209 ff. (also 90 ff., etc.); R. Cagnat, Indiscrétions archéologiques sur les Égyptiens de l'époque romaine, Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1901, p. 784 ff.; Léon Lafoscade, *De epistulis (aliisque titulis) imperatorum magistratuumque Romanorum quas ab aetate Augusti usque ad Constantinum Graece scriptas lapides papyrive servaverunt*, Thesis, Paris, 1902; Friedrich Preisigke, Familienbriefe aus alter Zeit, Preussische Jahrbücher, 108 (April to June 1902) p. 88 ff.; E. Breccia, Spigolature papiracee, Atene e Roma, 5 (1902) col. 575 ff.; and most especially *Epistulae privatae Graecae quae in papyris aetatis Lagidarum servantur*, ed. Stanislaus Witkowski, Lipsiae, 1907.

as will appear in the fourth chapter. It is to bring home to us certain types of the ancient soul.

1

Letter from Mnesiergus, an Athenian, to his housemates, 4th century B.C., leaden tablet from Chaïdari, near Athens, now in the Berlin Museum, discovered by R. Wünsch, deciphered by him and A. Wilhelm (Figures 14 and 15).

This letter is the oldest Greek letter hitherto known, and of the greatest importance especially for the history of epistolary forms. We are indebted for this valuable specimen to the careful labours of Richard Wünsch[1]; it was definitively deciphered and explained in masterly fashion by Adolf Wilhelm.[2] By permission of the Imperial Austrian Archaeological Institute I am enabled to reproduce here a facsimile of the same size as the original. The tablet was originally folded together and perhaps fastened with string and seal. On the outside of the tablet is the address (Figure 14), which was written after the lead had been folded :—

Φέρεν[3] *ἰς τὸν κέραμ-*	To be taken to the earthen-
ον τὸγ χυτρικόν·	ware pottery market;[4] to
ἀποδόναι[3] *δὲ Ναυσίαι*	be delivered to Nausias or to
ἢ Θρασυκλῆι ἢ θ' υἱῶι.	Thrasycles or to his son.

On the inside, and with the lines running in the opposite direction, is the salutation[5] and the text

[1] *Inscriptiones Graecae*, III. Pars III. Appendix inscriptionum Atticarum: defixionum tabellae in Attica regione repertae, 1897, p. ii f.

[2] Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, 7 (1904) p. 94 ff.

[3] On the infinitive absolute cf. p. 75, n. 4 above.

[4] At Athens.

[5] In the commentaries on the letters of St. Paul the salutation which serves as introduction to the body of the letter is generally spoken of as the *address*. That is not correct: the address, as shown by this letter, the oldest that has come down to us, was written on the outside or on the cover of the folded

FIG. 14.

5

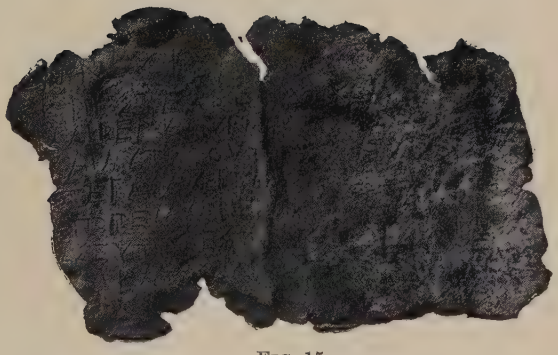

FIG. 15.

The Oldest Greek Letter yet discovered, Address (Fig. 14) and Text (Fig. 15): Mnesiergus of Athens to his Housemates. Leaden tablet, 4th cent. B.C. Now in the Berlin Museum. By permission of the Imperial Austrian Archaeological Institute.

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of the letter proper (Figure 15). It seems that Mnesiergus was in the country and had probably been surprised by a sudden frost :—

Μνησίεργος
ἐπέστελε τοῖς οἴκοι
χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν[1]
καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως ἔφασ[κ]ε
[ἔχειν].
Στέγασμα εἰ[2] *τι βόλεστε*
ἀποπέμψαι ἢ ὥας ἢ διφθέρας
ὡς εὐτελεστά⟨τα⟩ς καὶ μὴ
σισυρωτὰς
καὶ κατύματα : τυχὸν[3] *ἀπο-*
δώσω.

Mnesiergus sendeth to them that are at his house greeting and health and he saith it is so with him. If[2] ye be willing, send me some covering, either sheepskins or goat-skins,[4] as plain as ye have, and not broidered with fur, and shoe-soles : upon occasion I will return them.

The contents of this letter, the earliest that we possess, are not particularly striking, it is true ; but whoever thinks them trivial must also regard as trivial St. Paul's request for the cloak that he left at Troas with Carpus (2 Tim. iv. 13).

letter, and in St. Paul's case was no doubt much shorter than the salutation. Not one of St. Paul's letters preserves it.—On the ancient form of salutation used in this letter (and on the salutations generally) cf. Gustav Adolf Gerhard, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des griechischen Briefes. Erstes Heft, Die Anfangsformel, Diss. Heidelberg, Tübingen, 1903, p. 32.

[1] These two verbs occur in salutations in 2 Macc. i. 10, ix. 19.

[2] The sentence with *εἰ* is probably not, as Wilhelm supposes, the protasis to the concluding words, *τυχὸν ἀποδώσω*, but a request made into an independent sentence by aposiopesis, as vivid and colloquial as the well authenticated request in Luke xxii. 42, *Πάτερ, εἰ βούλει παρενέγκαι τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ*, "Father, if Thou wouldest remove this cup from Me!" [Professor Deissmann, it will be observed, deletes the comma before *remove*. It seems possible, however, without assuming an aposiopesis, to take *παρενέγκαι* or *ἀποπέμψαι* as an infinitive absolute = imperative (cf. *φέρειν, ἀποδόναι* in the address of this letter), and to regard it as the apodosis. I have therefore ventured to harmonise the translation of the letter with the A.V. and R.V. of Luke xxii. 42. TR.]

[3] This brief colloquial use of *τυχόν*, for which there are other examples, occurs also in 1 Cor. xvi. 6, with the meaning "it may be."

[4] [So Deissmann, according to Wilhelm's interpretation. It would also seem possible to translate: "either sheepskins or leathern garments, be they never so shabby and with no more hair on them." TR.]

2

Letter from Demophon, a wealthy Egyptian, to Ptolemaeus, a police official, *circa* 245 B.C., papyrus from mummy wrappings found in the necropolis of El-Hibeh, now in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Fund, discovered and published by Grenfell and Hunt[1] (Figure 16).

Δημοφῶν Πτολε-
μαίωι[2] *χαίρειν. ἀπό[σ]-*
τειλον ἡμῖν ἐκ παν-
τὸς τρόπου τὸν αὐ-
λητὴν Πετῶυν ἔχοντ[α]
τούς τε Φρυγίους αὐ-
λ[ο]ὺς καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς.
κ[αὶ]
ἐάν τι δέηι ἀνηλῶσαι
δός. παρὰ δὲ ἡμ[ῶ]ν κομι-
ε̣ῖ[3]*. ἀπόστειλον δὲ ἡ[μ]ῖν*
καὶ Ζηνόβιον τὸν μαλα-
κὸν[4] *ἔχοντα τύμπανον καὶ*
κύμβαλα[5] *καὶ κρόταλα.*
χρεί-
α γάρ ἐστι ταῖς γυναιξὶν
πρὸς
τὴν θυσίαν. ἐχέτω δὲ
καὶ ἱματισμὸν ὡς ἀσ-
τειότατον. κόμισαι δὲ

Demophon to Ptolemaeus, greeting. Send us by all means the piper Petoys with both the Phrygian pipes and the others. And if it is necessary to spend anything, pay it. Thou shalt receive it from us. And send us also Zenobius the effeminate, with tabret, and cymbals, and rattles. For the women have need of him at the sacrifice. And let him have also raiment as fair as may be. And fetch also the kid from Aristion and send it

[1] The Hibeh Papyri, No. 54.—For the photograph here reproduced in slightly reduced facsimile (Figure 16), by kind permission of the Egypt Exploration Fund, I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Grenfell.

[2] Ptolemaeus seems to have held some post in the police force of the nome of Oxyrhynchus.

[3] Wilcken's conjecture.

[4] The word is no doubt used in its secondary (obscene) sense, as by St. Paul in 1 Cor. vi. 9. It is an allusion to the foul practices by which the musicians eked out their earnings. Cf. the remarks in Chapter IV. on the lists of vices (p. 321, n. 1).

[5] St. Paul is thinking of cymbals such as these, employed for religious music, in 1 Cor. xiii. 1.

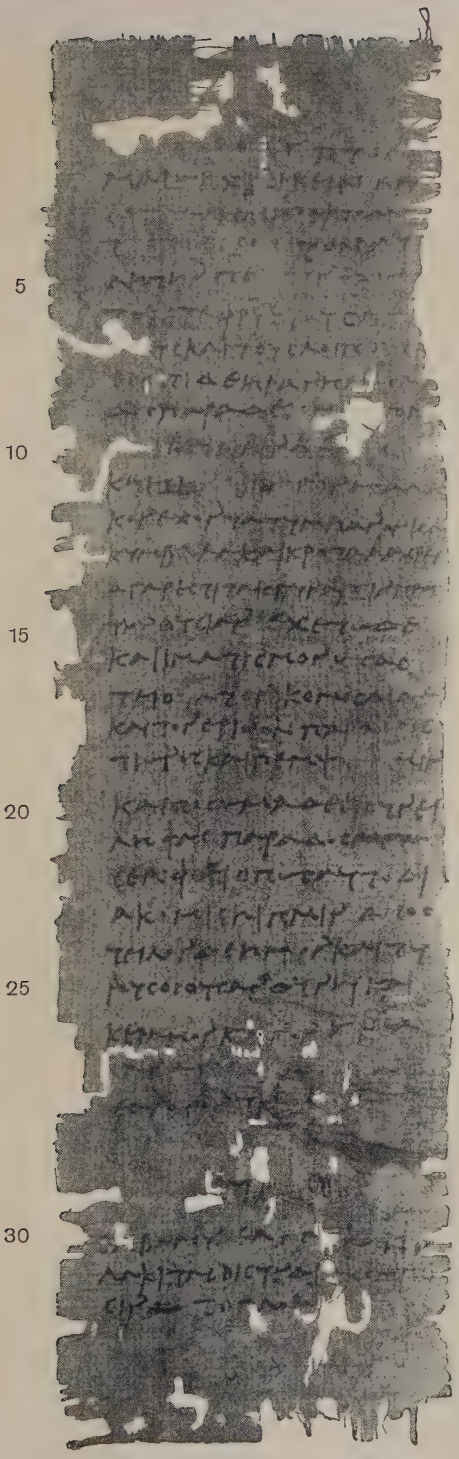

FIG. 16.—Letter from Demophon, a wealthy Egyptian, to Ptolemaeus, a police official, *circa* 245 B.C. Papyrus from Hibeh. Now in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Fund, by whose permission it is here reproduced.

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καὶ τὸν ἔριφον[1] παρὰ Ἀριστίωνος καὶ πέμψον ἡμῖν.
καὶ τὸ σῶμα[2] δὲ[3] εἰ συνείληφας παράδος [[αὐτὸ]][4] Σεμφθεῖ ὅπως αὐτὸ διακομίσηι ἡμῖν. ἀπόστειλον δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ τυροὺς ὅσους ἂν δύνηι καὶ κέραμον κα[ι]νὸν καὶ λάχανα π[αντ]οδαπὰ καὶ ἐὰν ὄψον τι ἔχηι[ς.]
ἔρρ[ωσο.]
ἐμβαλοῦ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ φυλακίτας οἳ συνδιακομιοῦσιν [[α]] τὸ πλοῖο[ν.]

to us. Yea, and if thou hast taken the slave, deliver him to Semphtheus that he may bring him to us. And send us also cheeses as many as thou canst, and new earthenware, and herbs of every kind, and delicacies if thou hast any.

Farewell.

Put them on board and guards with them who will help in bringing the boat over.

Endorsed:

Πτολεμαίωι. | To Ptolemaeus.

The letter gives us a glimpse of the domestic life of an obviously well-to-do family. A festival is coming on: mother and daughter insist that at the sacrifice (and sacrificial dance?) flutes and the rattle of castanets shall not be wanting, and of course the musicians must be nicely dressed. Then come anxieties about the festive meal, from the roast to the dessert, not forgetting the new crockery that must be bought for kitchen and table, and added to

[1] No doubt to furnish the roast meat at the feast, such as the brother of the Prodigal Son considered himself entitled to (Luke xv. 29).

[2] σῶμα means "slave," as frequently in the Greek Old and New Testaments (*Bibelstudien*, p. 158; *Bible Studies*, p. 160). This example is of exactly the same date as the oldest portions of the Septuagint, and comes from the land of the Septuagint.—The slave had run away from Demophon, as Onesimus did from Philemon (cf. St. Paul's letter to Philemon).

[3] δέ after καί and standing as the fourth word of the sentence, as in Matt. x. 18, John vi. 51, 1 John i. 3.

[4] The word enclosed in double brackets was erased by the writer of the letter.

this the annoyance of the runaway slave—really, as master of the house, there is much for Demophon to think of; and it is no light matter, the transport of man and beast, pottery, cheese, and vegetables. But there, friend Ptolemaeus, who is over the guards, will lend a few of his men who can help the boatmen, and money shall be no obstacle. Altogether the details of the proposed festival remind us of the slight but very lifelike touches with which Jesus pictures the feast at the return of the Prodigal Son.[1]

3

Letter from Asclepiades, an Egyptian landowner, to Portis, his tenant, B.C. — (Ptolemaic period), ostracon from Thebes, now in the possession of Ulrich Wilcken and published by him[2] (Figure 17).

This is a private receipt, written, like so many others,[3] in the form of a private letter. It is inserted here as a characteristic example of a letter written by some other person's orders.

[Ἀ]σκληπιά(δης) Χαρμάγοντος [(ρειν). Πόρτιτι Περμάμιος χαίρειν. Ἀπέχω[4] παρὰ σοῦ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον[5] μοι ἐκφόριον καὶ ἐπιγένη(μα)	Asclepiades, the son of Charmagon, to Portis the son of Permamis, greeting. I have received[4] from thee the fruit that falleth to me[5] and increase of the lot that I have

[1] Luke xv. 22 ff.

[2] *Griechische Ostraka*, II. No. 1027. The facsimile there given (Plate IIIa) is reproduced here (Fig. 17) by the kind permission of the author and Messrs. Giesecke and Devrient, Leipzig.

[3] Cf. examples above, pp. 105, 111.

[4] Cf. above, pp. 110 ff.

[5] A regular formula, as in the parable of the Prodigal Son, Luke xv. 12; cf. *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 57; *Bible Studies*, p. 230.

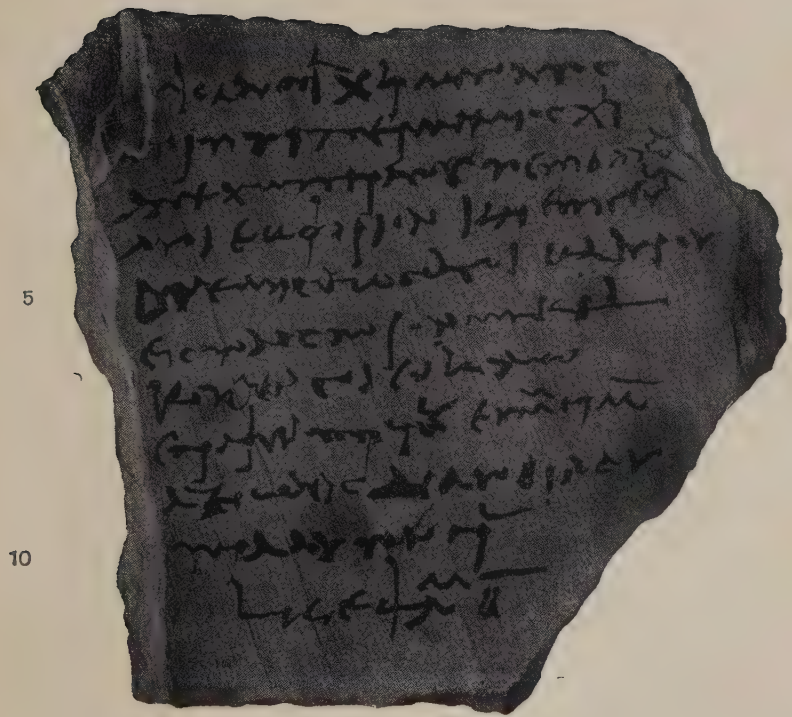

FIG. 17.—Letter from Asclepiades, an Egyptian landowner, to Portis. Ptolemaic Period. Ostracon from Thebes. Now in the possession of Ulrich Wilcken. Reproduced by permission of the owner and his publishers.

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οὗ ἐμίσθωσά σοι κλήρου
εἰς τὸν σπόρον τοῦ κε L
κοὐθέν σοι ἐγκαλῶ.
Ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ[1] αὐ(τοῦ)
Εὔμη(λος) Ἕρμα (. . . .)
ἀξιωθεὶς διὰ τὸ βραδύ-
τερα[2] αὐτὸν γρά(φειν).
L κε Φαμενὼθ β̄.

let to thee, for the sowing of the year 25, and I lay nothing to thy charge. Written for[1] him hath Eumelus, the son of Herma . . . ., being desired so to do for that he writeth somewhat slowly.[2] In the year 25, Phamenoth 2.

[1] This "for," meaning "as representative of," occurs in many texts of similar character, and is not without bearing on the question of *ὑπέρ* in the New Testament.

[2] This is no doubt a euphemism, but it helps to explain a habit of St. Paul, the artisan missionary. St. Paul generally dictated his letters, no doubt because writing was not an easy thing to his workman's hand. Then in his *large* handwriting (Gal. vi. 11), over which he himself makes merry (*Bibelstudien*, p. 264; *Bible Studies*, p. 348; Moulton and Milligan, The Expositor, Oct. 1908, p. 383), he himself adds the conclusion, which perhaps begins at verse 2 of chapter V. According to ancient procedure the autograph conclusion was proof of authenticity, cf. C. G. Bruns, Die Unterschriften in den römischen Rechtsurkunden, Philologische und Historische Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1876, pp. 41–138, especially pp. 69 f., 81, 83, 90, 121, 137. Wilcken called my attention to this important essay. Dziatzko, in the article quoted at p. 144 above, refers to the statement of C. Julius Victor (*Rhet. lat. min.* p. 448 Halm): observabant veteres carissimis sua manu scribere vel plurimum subscribere, "to very intimate correspondents the ancients used to write or, very often, sign the letter with their own hand." The hundreds of autograph signatures to papyrus letters are greatly in need of investigation at the present time. A study of them would lead to a better appreciation of that extremely important passage in 2 Thess. iii. 17, which some most strangely regard as a mark of spuriousness: "the salutation of Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every letter: so I write." The *token* (the last line or two in autograph) has the same significance as the *symbolum*, which in other cases was sometimes given to the bearer to take with him as proof of his commission; cf. the pre-Christian letter of Timoxenus to Moschion, preserved in the Passalacqua Papyrus (*Bibelstudien*, p. 212 f. [not given in *Bible Studies*]; Witkowski, *Epistulae privatae*, No. 25), and Letronne, Notices et Extraits, 18, 2, p. 407 f. In one of the letters of Plato (No. 13, *Epistolographi Graeci* rec. Rudolphus Hercher, Parisiis, 1873, p. 528) *ξύμβολον* actually has the same meaning as *σημεῖον* in St. Paul: a sign of authenticity contained in the letter itself.—From his own statement, just quoted, it follows of course that St. Paul appended an autograph conclusion to all his letters, even where he does not expressly say so. The recipients observed it at once by the difference in the handwriting. Cf. the remarks on letter No. 5 below, p. 158 f. In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians the autograph conclusion begins at x. 1.

4

Letter from Hilarion, an Egyptian labourer, to Alis, his wife, Alexandria, 17 June, 1 B.C., Papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, now in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Fund, discovered and published by Grenfell and Hunt [1] (Figure 18).

The letter is of a very vulgar type, although the writer makes efforts at the beginning, *e.g.* not to forget the iota adscript.[2]

Ἱλαρίων α[3] Ἄλιτι τῆι ἀδελφῆι[4] πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ Βεροῦτι τῆ κυρία[5] μου καὶ Ἀπολλωνάριν. γίνωσκε ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρέα σμέν. μὴ ἀγωνιᾶς, ἐὰν ὅλως εἰς-
πορεύονται[6] ἐγὼ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρέα μένω.
ἐρωτῶ[7] σε καὶ παρακαλῶ σε ἐπιμελήθ⟨ητ⟩ι τῶ παιδίω καὶ ἐὰν εὐθὺς ὀψώνι-

Hilarion to Alis his sister,[4] many greetings. Also to Berus my lady[5] and Apollonarin. Know that we are still even now in Alexandrea [*sic*]. Be not distressed if at the general coming in[6] I remain at Alexandrea. I pray[7] thee and beseech thee, take care of the little child. And as soon as

[1] The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, IV. No. 744.—A photograph was very kindly obtained for me by Dr. Grenfell, and from this was made the slightly reduced facsimile (Fig. 18) which is here reproduced by permission of the Egypt Exploration Fund. — The letter has also been published by Lietzmann, *Griechische Papyri*, p. 8 f., and Witkowski, *Epistulae privatae*, p. 97 f.

[2] Witkowski prints it wherever Grenfell and Hunt have inserted the iota subscript, which Hilarion did not use. I give the text without alteration, so as not to detract from its vulgar character.

[3] The α is a slip of the writer.

[4] Alis is Hilarion's wife. "Sister" might be a tender form of address, but is probably to be taken literally: marriages between brother and sister were not uncommon in Egypt. Cf. Egon Weiss, Endogamie und Exogamie im römischen Kaiserreich, Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Vol. 29, Romanistische Abteilung, p. 351 ff.

[5] A courteous form of address in letters, as in 2 John i. and v.

[6] Probably the return of Hilarion's fellow-workmen from Alexandria to Oxyrhynchus is referred to.

[7] ἐρωτάω, "I pray (thee)," generally explained as a Semiticism in the Greek Bible, is common in popular texts: *Bibelstudien*, p. 45; *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 23; *Bible Studies*, pp. 290, 195.

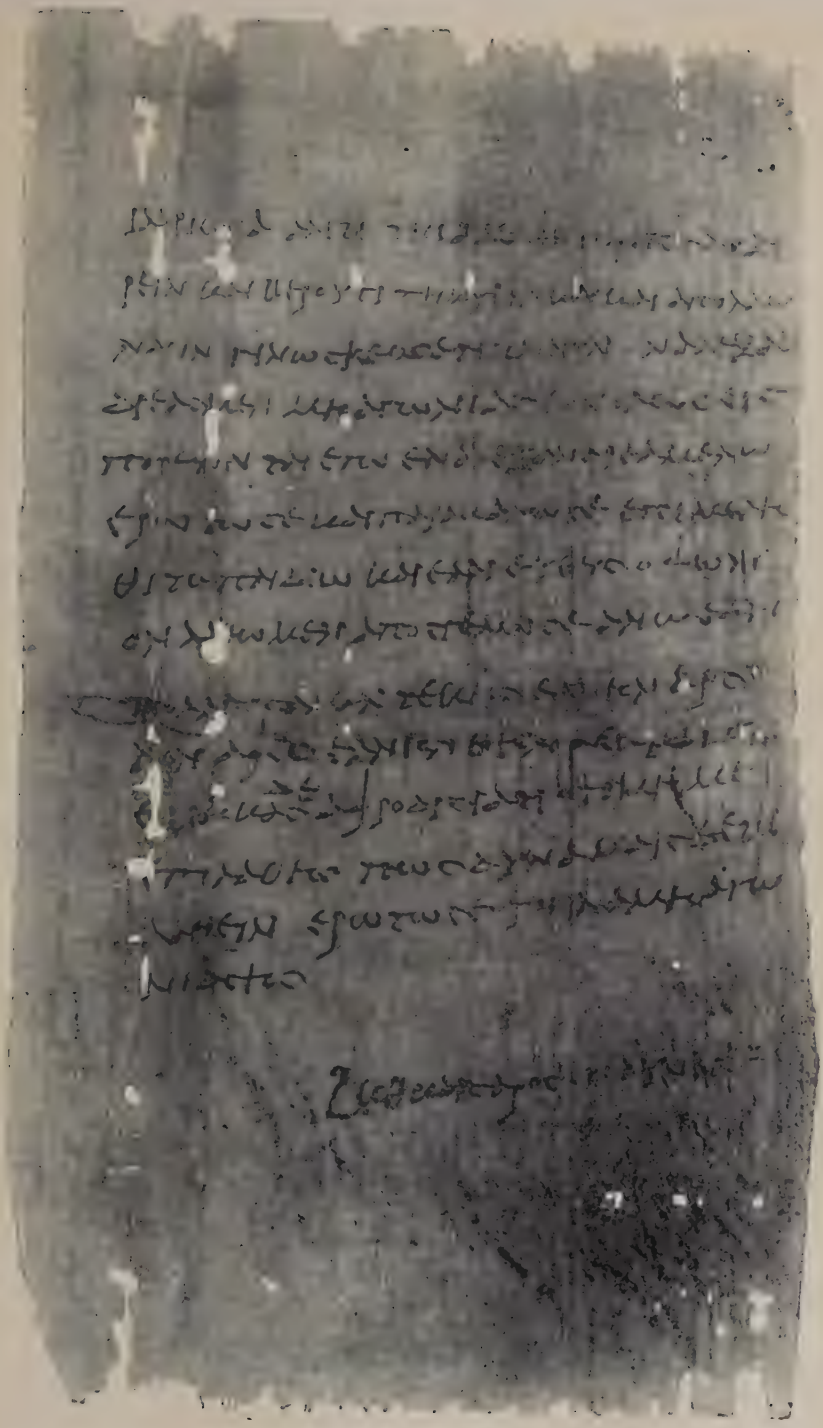

FIG. 18.—Letter from Hilarion, an Egyptian labourer, to Alis, his wife. Papyrus, written at Alexandria, 17 June, 1 B.C. Now in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Fund, by whose permission it is reproduced.

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ον λάβωμεν[1] ἀποστελῶ σε[2] ἄνω. ἐὰν
πολλὰ πολλῶν[3] τέκης, ἐὰν ἦν ἄρσε-
νον ἄφες, ἐὰν ἦν θήλεα ἔκβαλε.[4]
εἴρηκας[5] δὲ Ἀφροδισιᾶτι ὅτι μή με
ἐπιλάθης. πῶς δύναμαί σε ἐπι-
λαθεῖν; ἐρωτῶ[6] σε οὖν ἵνα μὴ ἀγω-
νιάσης.
L κθ Καίσαρος Παῦνι κγ.

we receive wages[1] I will send thee[2] up. If thou . . .[3] art delivered, if it was a male child, let it (live); if it was female, cast it out.[4] Thou saidst[5] unto Aphrodisias, "Forget me not." How can I forget thee? I pray[6] thee, therefore, that thou be not distressed. In the year 29 of the Caesar, Pauni 23.

Endorsed:

Ἱλαρίων Ἄλιτι ἀπόδος. | Hilarion to Alis. Deliver.

The situation in this letter is clear as to the chief facts. Hilarion is working for wages in the metropolis, Alexandria, and intends to remain there although his fellow-workmen are already about to return home. Anxiety is felt for him at home at Oxyrhynchus by his wife Alis, who is living with (her mother?) Berus and (her only child?) Apollonarin. She is expecting her confinement; gloomy thoughts arise within her:

[1] A regular formula, as in the New Testament: *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 94; *Bible Studies*, p. 266.

[2] Hilarion has written the accusative instead of the dative. He means, "I will send (them) up *to thee*."

[3] πολλαπολλων has not yet been explained. Witkowski thinks it implies a wish, *quod bene vertat*, something like "great, great luck!" Other conjectures in Grenfell and Hunt, and Lietzmann; cf. also U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1904, p. 662; A. Harnack, Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 29 (1904) col. 457.

[4] On the exposure of infants in antiquity Lietzmann quotes Justinus, *Apol.* I. 27 ff., who condemns the custom severely. See also J. Geffcken, *Zwei griechische Apologeten*, Leipzig und Berlin, 1907, p. 283; and especially Ludwig Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 361.

[5] No doubt Aphrodisias had been commissioned to convey this piteous injunction to the absent husband.

[6] See note 7 on previous page.

Hilarion has forgotten me, he sends neither letter nor money, and where is bread to come from for the growing family? She confides her trouble to her friend Aphrodisias, who is going to Alexandria, and through her Hilarion hears of his wife's sad case. He sends the letter (by his comrades who are returning home, or by Aphrodisias): words merely, no money (the wages are said to be not yet paid), and in spite of a tender line for the child, in spite of the sentimental "Howe'er can I forget thee?"[1] nothing but brutal advice in the main: if it is a girl that you are bringing into the world, expose it. Has custom blunted the fatherly instinct in him? Has poverty made him unfeeling towards his own flesh and blood? Is he, as his name implies, a gay dog, a good-for-nothing, to whom it is all one so long as he can have his pleasure in the great city? Or are we doing him an injustice, because we do not understand that mysterious *pollapollon*? But there is no explaining away the fact that a child is expected and is perhaps to be exposed. I have met with a striking parallel in Apuleius[2]: a man setting out on a journey orders his wife, who is in expectation of becoming a mother, to kill the child immediately if it should prove to be a girl.

In any case, therefore, the letter displays a sad picture of civilisation in the age which saw the birth of the great Friend of Children, a scene in which the fortunes of a proletarian family are reflected in their naked horror, a background of distinct contrast to what Jesus said of the value of children. In the time of poor Alis mothers innumerable, who found it difficult to be motherly owing to the scarcity of

[1] [There is a German song beginning "Wie könnt' ich Dein vergessen." TR.]
[2] *Metamorphoses*, ed. Eyssenhardt, x. 23.

daily bread, were waiting for that which to us—such is the extent of the moral conquests made by the Gospel—seems to be a thing of course. A century and a half later the Epistle to Diognetus (v. 6) boasts that the Christians do not expose their children.

5

Letter from Mystarion, an Egyptian olive-planter, to Stotoëtis, a chief priest, 13 Sept. 50 A.D., papyrus from the Fayûm, now in the Imperial Postal Museum at Berlin, published by Fritz Krebs[1] (Figures 19 and 20).

Μυσταρίων Στοτόητι τῶι ἰδίωι[2] πλεῖστα χαίρειν. Ἔπεμψα ὑμεῖν Βλάστον[3] τὸν ἐμὸν [τοὺς χάριν διχίλων[4] ξύλων εἰς ἐλαιῶνάς[5] μου. Ὅρα οὖν μὴ αὐτὸν [αὐτοῦ κατάσχῃς. οἶδας γὰρ πῶς ἑκάστης ὥρας χρήζωι.

Mystarion to his own[2] Stotoëtis, many greetings.

I have sent unto you my Blastus[3] for forked (?)[4] sticks for my olive-gardens.[5] See then that thou stay him not. For thou knowest how I need him every hour.

[1] *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*, No. 37 (with date and reading corrected, I. p. 353), cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 213 [not given in *Bible Studies*], where the old reading is followed. For the photographs from which, with the permission of the Imperial Postal Museum, the facsimiles (Figs. 19, 20) were made, I am indebted to the kind offices of W. Schubart. The illustrations reduce the size of the originals by about one quarter.

[2] ἴδιος, "his own," is used quite in the colourless Biblical sense (without any emphasis on "own"). Cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 120 f.; *Bible Studies*, p. 123.

[3] The epistolary use of the aorist. For this whole line cf. St. Paul's ἔπεμψα ὑμῖν Τιμόθεον, "I have sent unto you Timotheus," 1 Cor. iv. 17, and similar passages.

[4] Presumably equivalent to διχήλων, and with decolorisation of the meaning, in a general sense "cleft, forked." Hermann Diels (letter, Berlin W., 22 July, 1908) would rather take it as δισχιλίων, "two thousand."

[5] The New Testament word [Acts i. 12, "Olivet." TR.], so strangely rejected by Blass [*Grammar*, Eng. trans.[2] 32, 64, 85. TR.], cf. *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 36 ff.; *Bible Studies*, p. 208. On the translation of εἰς by "for," cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 113 ff.; *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 23; *Bible Studies*, pp. 117, 194; this use, found in both LXX and N.T., is not Semitic, but popular Hellenistic Greek.

(In another hand:) ἔρρωσο.	(*In another hand:*) Farewell.
L ια Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ	In the year 11 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus
Γερμ[α]νικο[ῦ] Αὐτοκράτορο[ς] μη(νὶ) Σεβα(στῶι) ιε̄	Germanicus Imperator in the month of August 15.

Endorsed in the first hand:

Στοτόητι λεσώνη[1] εἰς τὴν νῆσον τ[?].	To Stotoëtis, chief priest,[1] at the island (?).

I give this little text, belonging to the time of the Pauline mission, as an example of the letters of commendation which St. Paul mentions more than once (2 Cor. iii. 1; 1 Cor. xvi. 3) and himself employed (Rom. xvi.). In the wider sense, at least, it is a letter of recommendation. The Latin letter printed below (No. 12) is an example in the narrowest sense of the word.

The situation contained in the letter is extremely simple, but for all that the document has an important bearing on the disputed passage in 2 Thess. iii. 17.[2] St. Paul, we are told, has not in fact furnished all his letters with a salutation in his own hand, therefore the words "which is the token in *every* epistle" cannot be genuine. But the premise from which this argument starts is a sheer *petitio principii*. We must not say that St. Paul only finished off with his own hand those letters in which he expressly says that he did.[3] Mystarion's letter, with its greeting and the rest of the conclusion in a different writing, namely in Mystarion's own hand,

[1] "Lesonis" is a newly discovered title of the Egyptian priesthood, cf. Wilcken, Archiv f. Papyrusforschung, 2, p. 122; and particularly W. Spiegelberg, Der Titel λεσῶνις, Recueil de travaux rel. à la philol. égypt. et assyr. 1902, p. 187 ff.

[2] Cf. p. 153, n. 2 above.

[3] 2 Thess. iii. 17; 1 Cor. xvi. 21; Gal. vi. 11; Col. iv. 18.

was written only a few years before St. Paul's second letter to the Christians of Thessalonica, and it proves that somebody at that date closed a letter in his own hand without expressly saying so.[1] It must not be forgotten that we can have no proper conception of what a letter was like unless we have seen the original; the copies in books and most certainly the printed editions have taken more from the letters of St. Paul than is generally suspected,[2] while on the other hand they have facilitated the discussion of problems that originated in the study as mere hallucinations of overtasked brains. The soldier Apion, whose acquaintance we shall make in letters 9 and 10, had the unsophisticated man's natural feeling for the significance of the original handwriting of a letter: the mere sight of his father's handwriting makes him tender and affectionate. In much the same way a contrast of handwriting awakes in St. Paul a mood half jesting and half earnest.[3]

6

Letter from Harmiysis, a small Egyptian farmer, to Papiscus, an official, and others, 24 July, 66 A.D., papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, now in the Cambridge University Library, discovered and published by Grenfell and Hunt[4] (Figure 21).

This is a good example of a communication to the authorities couched in the form of a letter. The

[1] There is another good instance, I think, in a letter of the 2nd cent. A.D., Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 815; cf. Gregor Zereteli, Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 1, p. 336 ff., and the facsimile there given.

[2] In all probability, for instance, the date of writing and the address.

[3] Cf. Gal. vi. 11 ff., and *Bibelstudien*, p. 264; *Bible Studies*, p. 348.

[4] The Oxyrhynchus Papyri (II.) No. 246. A facsimile of lines 1–31 is given there in Plate VII. With the consent of the Egypt Exploration Fund I reproduce it here in slightly reduced form (Figure 21).

name of the addressee is politely placed at the beginning, as often in official correspondence.[1]

Παπίσκωι κοσμητεύσ[α(ντι)]
τῆς πόλεως καὶ στρα(τηγῶι)
Ὀξυ[ρυγχ(ίτου)]
καὶ Πτολεμα(ίωι) βασιλι-
κῶ[ι γρα(μματεῖ)]
καὶ τοῖς γράφουσι τὸν νο-
[μὸν]
παρὰ Ἁρμιύσιος τοῦ Πε-
[το-]
σίριος τοῦ Πετοσίριος μ[η-]
τρὸς Διδύμης τῆς Διογέ-
[νους]
τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Φθώχ[ιος]
τῆς πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην τ̣ρ̣-
[π(αρχίας).]
ἀπεγραψάμην τῶι ἐν[εσ-]
τῶτι ιβ L Νέρωνο[ς]
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος περὶ τὴν̣
αὐτὴν Φθῶχιν ἀπὸ γ[ο-]
νῆς ὧν ἔχω θρεμμάτω[ν]
ἄρνας δέκα δύο . καὶ νῦ[ν]
ἀπογράφομαι τοὺς ἐπ[ιγε-]
γονότας εἰς τὴν ἐνεστ[ῶσαν]
δευτέραν ἀπογραφὴν ἀ̣[πὸ]
γονῆς τῶν αὐτῶν θρεμ[μά-]
των ἄρνας ἑπτά, γίνον[ται]
ἄρνες ἑπτά. καὶ ὀμν[ύω]
Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον Καί-
σαρ̣[α]

To Papiscus, former cosmetes of the city and now strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, and Ptolemaeus, royal scribe, and the writers of the nome, from Harmiysis, the son of Petosiris (the son of Petosiris), his mother being Didyme, the daughter of Diogenes, of the men of the village of Phthochis which is towards the east of the province.[2] I enrolled[3] in the present 12th year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, nigh unto that same Phthochis, of the young of the sheep that I have, twelve lambs. And now I enrol those that have since been born, for the present second enrolment ; of the young of those same sheep seven lambs—they are seven lambs.[4] And I swear by Nero

[1] Cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 209, n. 2 [not in *Bible Studies*].

[2] [Or "toparchy" ; cf. 1 Macc. xi. 28. With regard to *νομός* cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 142 f. ; *Bible Studies*, p. 145. Tr.]

[3] Technical expression for making a return.

[4] *I.e.*, "total seven."

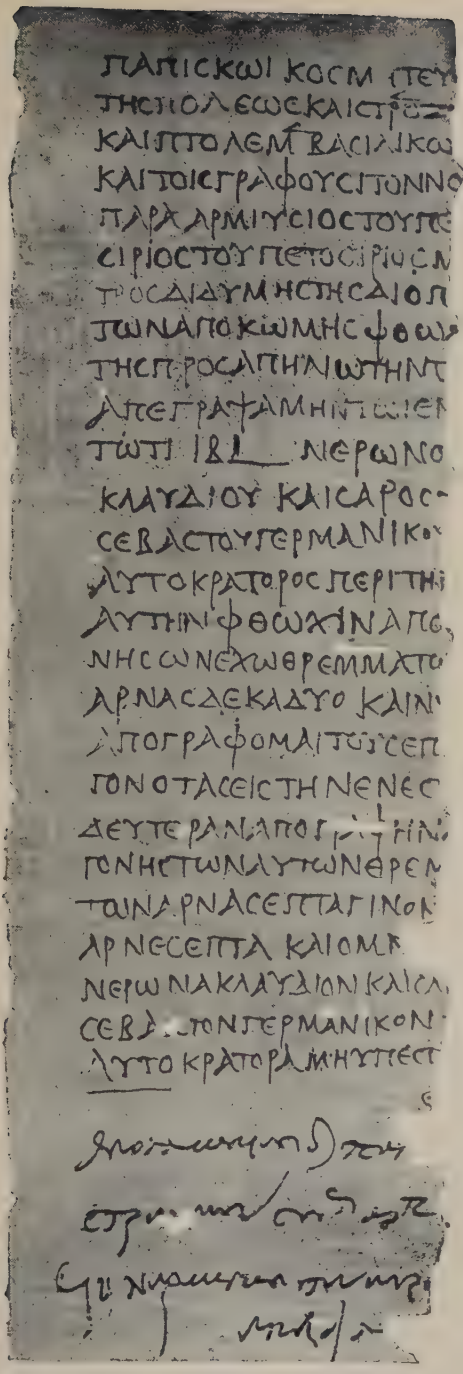

FIG. 21.—Letter from Harmiysis, a small Egyptian farmer, to Papiscus, an official, and others, 24 July, 66 A.D., lines 1–31. Papyrus from Oxyrhynchus. Now in the Cambridge University Library. By permission of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

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Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Αὐτοκράτορα μὴ ὑπεστά[λθ(αι).] ἔ[ρρω(σθε).]	Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator that I have kept back nothing. Farewell.

In another hand:

Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ π(αρὰ) Παπ[ίσκου] στρατηγοῦ σεση(μείωμαι) ἄρν(ας) ζ.	I Apollonius, as commanded by Papiscus the strategus, have noted 7 lambs.
L ιβ Νέρωνος τοῦ κυρ(ίο)ο[υ] Ἐπεὶφ λ.	In the year 12 of Nero the lord, Epiph 30.

There follow, in a third and fourth hand, the signatures of the other officials to the same effect.

The handwriting of this document is interesting on account of the clear, almost literary uncials of the main text, sharply distinguished from the cursive signatures of the attesting officials. We must imagine this state of things reversed in the case of the Epistle to the Galatians; the handwriting of the amanuensis of Gal. i. 1–vi. 10 (or –v. 1) was probably cursive, and the autograph signature of St. Paul the stiff, heavy uncials of a manual labourer; the contrast was just as great. In regard to contents this text is one of the most important[1] evidences that the title *Kyrios* ("lord") was applied to the emperor as early as the reign of Nero. It is not the farmer Harmiysis who employs it, but the officials use it three times over in their formal signatures.

[1] Cf. Chapter IV. (p. 355 ff.) below.

7

Letter from Nearchus, an Egyptian, to Heliodorus, 1st or 2nd cent. A.D., papyrus from Egypt, now in the British Museum, published by Kenyon and Bell [1] (Figure 22).

Νέαρχος α[
πολλῶν τοῦ κα[
καὶ μέχρι τοῦ πλεῖν ε̣ . [
μένων, ἵνα τὰς χε[ι]ρο̣τ̣[οι]-
ή[τους τέ-]
χνας ἱστορήσωσι, ἐγὼ παρ-
επ̣ο̣[ιησ]ά-[2]
μην καὶ ἀράμενος ἀνά-
πλο[υν π]αρ[α-][3]
γενόμενός τε εἴς τε Σοήνας
καὶ ὅθεν τ[υγ]χά-
νει Νεῖλος ῥέων καὶ εἰς
Λιβύην ὅπου
Ἄμμων πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
χρησμωδεῖ
[καὶ] εὖ⟨σ⟩τομα[4] ἱστόρ-
[η]σα καὶ τῶν φίλων
ἐ̣|μ[ῶν τ]ὰ ὀνόματα ἐνεχά-
ραξα τοῖς ἱ[ε-]
ροῖς ἀειμνή⟨σ⟩τως[5] τὸ
προσκύνημα

Nearchus . . . (to Heliodorus) . . ., greeting.

Since many . . . even unto taking ship,[6] that they may learn about the works made by men's hands, I have done after this sort and undertook a voyage up and came to Soëne[7] and there whence the Nile flows out,[8] and to Libya, where Ammon sings oracles to all men,[9] and I learnt goodly things,[10] and I carved the names of my friends[11] on the temples for a perpetual memory, the intercession . . .

[*Two lines washed out.*]

Endorsed:

Ἡλιοδόρω. | To Heliodorus.

[1] *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* (Vol. III.), London, 1907, No. 854 (p. 206); facsimile, Plate 28, here reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum (Figure 22). The letter is assigned by the editors to the first century; Grenfell and Hunt, as I was informed by Wilcken (letter, Leipzig, 13 October, 1907) would place it in the second century.

[2] Wilcken's reading, confirmed by Grenfell and Hunt.

[3] Ditto (omitting *καί*).

[For notes 4 to 11 see next page.

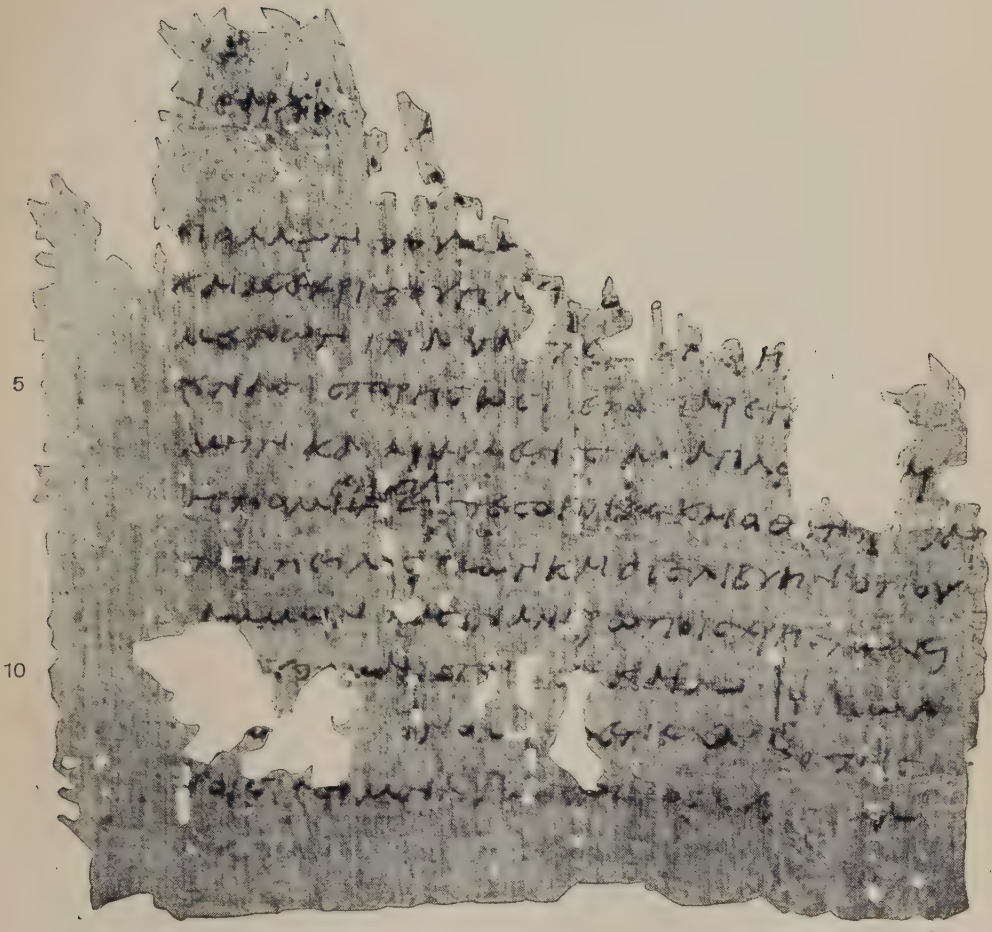

FIG. 22.—Letter from Nearchus, an Egyptian, to Heliodorus, 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. Papyrus from Egypt. Now in the British Museum. By permission of the Museum authorities.

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This little fragment of a letter about travel is of great interest to the historian of civilisation. It also gives a good picture of the social piety which was already known to us from the assurances of mutual intercession in other papyrus letters. Nearchus [1] does not neglect to pray for his friends at the seats of grace, and, as if to make his intercession permanent, he inscribes their names on the temple walls.

The writer seems to be a man of the middle class, but his style, despite faint echoes of the book-language, is on the whole non-literary.[2]

[1] Unfortunately nothing is known of the writer's identity. As moreover we have no exact data concerning the provenance of the papyrus, the utmost that we can do is to suggest, without answering, the question whether this fragment may have belonged to the correspondence of the Heliodorus who is mentioned below (p. 227).

[2] Eduard Norden, in a letter to me (Gross-Lichterfelde W., 3 September, 1908), disagrees with this view.

Continuation of notes to p. 162:—

[4] The papyrus has *εὔτομα*. The meaning would then be: "*and I visited regions easily traversed*" (in opposition to the difficult approach to the oasis). Hermann Diels (letter, Berlin W., 22 July, 1908) writes: "*εὔστομα* = *arcana, mysteria*, I take to be a reminiscence of the *Αἰγυπτιακά* of Herodotus (ii. 171), which then, as now, every traveller on the Nile had in his pocket."

[5] Grenfell and Hunt's reading.

[6] Perhaps: "*Since many* now make journeys and resolve them *even to a sea voyage*."

[7] = Syene.

[8] With regard to the supposed source of the Nile "between Syene and Elephantine," which occurs already in a story told to Herodotus (ii. 28) by the temple scribe at Sais, Wilcken refers me to Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 168_9, I. p. 243 f., and Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 3, p. 326.

[9] The oracle of Jupiter Ammon in the oasis of Siwah is referred to.

[10] This refers either to the impressions of the journey in general or specially to a favourable oracle of the god Ammon.

[11] Inscriptions of this kind, the work of pilgrims and travellers of the Ptolemaic and Imperial periods, still exist in great numbers, cf. the Egyptian inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. They generally contain the *proskynema*, a special intercession at the place of pilgrimage for absent friends and relatives. Let us hope that some of the proskynemata inscribed by Nearchus may yet be found.

8

Letter from Irene, an Egyptian, to a family in mourning, 2nd cent. A.D., papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, now in the Library of Yale University, U.S.A., discovered and published by Grenfell and Hunt[1] (Figure 23).

Εἰρήνη Ταοννώφρει καὶ Φίλωνι εὐψυχεῖν.
οὕτως ἐλυπήθην καὶ ἔκλαυσα[2] ἐπὶ τῶι εὐμοίρωι,[3] ὡς ἐπὶ Διδυμᾶτος ἔκλαυσα. καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἦν καθήκοντα ἐποίησα καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐμοί, Ἐπαφρόδειτος καὶ Θερμούθιον καὶ Φίλιον καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Πλαντᾶς. ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως οὐδὲν δύναταί τις πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα. παρηγορεῖτε οὖν ἑαυτούς.[4] εὖ πράττετε. Ἀθὺρ ᾱ.[5]

Irene to Taonnophris and Philo, good comfort.

I was as sorry and wept over the departed[3] one as I wept for Didymas. And all things, whatsoever were fitting, I did, and all mine, Epaphroditus and Thermuthion and Philion and Apollonius and Plantas. But, nevertheless, against such things one can do nothing. Therefore comfort ye one another. Fare ye well. Athyr 1.[5]

Endorsed:

Ταοννώφρει καὶ Φίλωνι. | To Taonnophris and Philo.

Philo and Taonnophris, a married pair at Oxyrhynchus, have lost a son by death, and Irene, a friend of the sorrowing mother,[6] wishes to express her

[1] The Oxyrhynchus Papyri (I.), No. 115. A translation is also given by Preisigke, p. 109. Text and notes in U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechisches Lesebuch*, I. 2³, Berlin, 1906, p. 398, and II. 2², 1902, p. 263. For the facsimile (Figure 23) I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Arthur S. Hunt.

[2] Preterite of the epistolary style.

[3] The word was first taken as a proper name, Εὐμοίρωι. But, as pointed out by E. J. Goodspeed, the article surely shows that the word is an adjective; cf. Wilcken, Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 4, p. 250. This interpretation is supported by the parallel τοῦ μακαρίου of the ancient letter-writer, cf. below d). 166).

[4] Equivalent, I think, to ἀλλήλους, as often in the N.T., *e.g.* Col. iii. 16.

[5] = 28 October.

[6] That is why Irene in the letter names the mother before the father: Preisigke, p. 109.

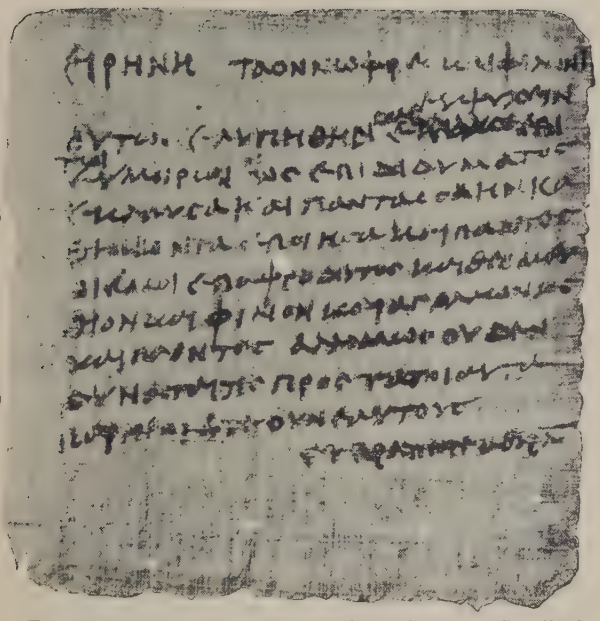

FIG. 23.—Letter from Irene, an Egyptian, to a Family in Mourning, 2nd cent. A.D. Papyrus from Oxyrhynchus. Now in the Library of Yale University. Facsimile kindly obtained by Dr. Arthur S. Hunt.

[p. 164

sympathy. She can fully understand the grief of her friends; she weeps over again the tears that she shed before for her own lost one, the departed Didymas[1]: personal sorrow has made her sympathetic with other people's trouble. She speaks therefore of her own tears first. But she must write more than that: it is to be a letter of consolation. Irene, who knows how to write a business letter quickly and surely,[2] experiences the difficulty of those whose business it is to console and who have no consolation to offer. And so she ponders over sentences to fill up the sheet: it will be a satisfaction to the mourners to hear that she and all her family have fulfilled all the duties of affection and decency that are customary in such cases.[3] But after these lines full of names, slowly written by great effort, the genuine feeling in her heart breaks through, that despairing resignation which speaks of inevitable fates. And then, illogical and truly womanly, the concluding injunction, "Comfort ye one another!" Who could help feeling for the helplessness of this woman, whose own sympathy was assuredly so true?

Poor Irene! It is certainly with no wish to do her injustice that I call attention to the fact that similar formulae of consolation were common to the age. An ancient model letter-writer gives the following formulary[4]:—

[1] Her husband (?) or, more probably, her son (?).

[2] Cf. her letter to the same family, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, No. 116. To judge from this, Irene was a landed proprietress.

[3] Funeral offerings? Prayers? One would gladly know more.

[4] Proclus, De forma epistolari, No. 21 (*Epistolographi Graeci*, rec. Hercher, p. 10). The authorship of this letter-writer has been sometimes attributed to Libanius, as well as to the Neo-Platonist Proclus (cf. Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*,[2] München, 1897, p. 452, who rejects both attributions). I regard the text as a Christian adaptation of ancient models; cf. the Biblical intrusions noticed in the next footnote and in the formulary for a letter of contrition (see below, p. 181 on the letter of Antonis Longus).

ἡ ἐπιστολή. λίαν ἡμᾶς ἡ ἀποβίωσις τοῦ μακαρίου τοῦ δεῖνος ἐλύπησε καὶ πενθεῖν καὶ δακρύειν ἠνάγκασε· τοιούτου φίλου γὰρ σπουδαίου καὶ πανάρετου ἐστερήθημεν. δόξα οὖν καὶ αἴνεσις τῷ ἐν σοφίᾳ καὶ ἀκαταλήπτῳ δυνάμει καὶ προνοίᾳ κυβερνῶντι θεῷ τὰς διεξόδους τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡνίκα συμφέρει παραλαμβάνοντι.

The letter. The death of N. N., now blessed, hath grieved us exceedingly and constrained us to mourn and weep; for of such an earnest and altogether virtuous friend have we been bereaved. Glory then and praise be to God, who in wisdom and incomprehensible power and providence governeth the issues to death, and, when it is expedient, receiveth the soul unto Himself.

If the second half of this formulary shows signs of Biblical influence,[1] the first half is obviously ancient and secular. Irene's letter exhibits very similar formulae, the resemblance of the opening lines being particularly striking. But it is not mere imitation; the no doubt familiar formulae are animated by the personality of the writer, and we shall be justified in regarding even the concluding words of resignation as an expression of real feeling. That this feeling was a widespread one,[2] and that it produced similar thoughts in another formulary for a letter of consolation,[3] need be no objection to the view we have taken.

St. Paul doubtless was thinking of such despairing souls in his letter to Thessalonica, when he inserted these words of comfort for the Christians in trouble for their dead[4]:—

[1] Cf. the whole tenor and especially LXX Psalm lxvii. [lxviii.] 20, τοῦ κυρίου αἱ διέξοδοι τοῦ θανάτου, "unto the Lord belong the issues from death," and John xiv. 3, παραλήμψομαι ὑμᾶς πρὸς ἐμαυτόν, "I will receive you unto Myself."

[2] Wilcken recalls a saying frequent in epitaphs, "No one is immortal."

[3] Demetrius Phalereus, Typi epistolares, No. 5 (*Epistolographi*, rec. Hercher, p. 2), ἐννοηθεὶς δὲ ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα πᾶσίν ἐστιν ὑποκείμενα . . ., "bearing in mind that such dispensations are laid upon us all."

[4] 1 Thess. iv. 13.

"But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope."

And then with all the realism of an ancient popular writer he unfolds a picture of the Christian's future hope, culminating in the certainty[1]:—

"And so shall we ever be with the Lord."

To which he immediately adds, in conclusion, the exhortation[2]:—

"Wherefore, comfort one another with these words,"

reminding us of the ending of Irene's letter of consolation,[3] except that behind St. Paul's words there is not the resignation of the "others" but a victorious certitude, triumphing over death.

9

Letter from Apion, an Egyptian soldier in the Roman army, to his father Epimachus, Misenum, 2nd cent. A.D., papyrus from the Fayûm, now in the Berlin Museum, published by Paul Viereck[4] (Figure 24).

This splendid specimen has been frequently translated.[5]

[1] 1 Thess. iv. 17.

[2] 1 Thess. iv. 18.

[3] Irene: παρηγορεῖτε οὖν ἑαυτούς. | St. Paul: ὥστε παρακαλεῖτε ἀλλήλους, etc. St. Paul doubtless adopted the exhortation from the epistolary formulae of the age (cf. also 1 Thess. v. 11, and later Heb. iii. 13). The model letter of consolation already quoted from Demetrius Phalereus, No. 5, also ends with the exhortation: καθὼς ἄλλῳ παρήνεσας, σαυτῷ παραίνεσον, "as thou hast admonished another, admonish now thyself."

[4] *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin* (II.), No. 423 (cf. II. p. 356). For the photograph here facsimiled by kind permission of the directors of the Royal Museums at Berlin, I am indebted to W. Schubart. The figure is about one-third smaller than the original.

[5] By Viereck in his article in the Vossische Zeitung; by Erman and Krebs, p. 214 f.; by Cagnat, p. 796; by Preisigke, p. 101 f.

25 ἀσπάζεταί σε Σερῆνος ὁ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ [Δα]ίμονος [καὶ . . . .]ς ὁ τοῦ [. . .]
ρος καὶ Τούρβων ὁ τοῦ Γαλλωνίου καὶ . [. . . .]νησο . [. . . . .]σεν [. . .]
[. . . .] . [. . .] . [

Ἀπίων Ἐπιμάχῳ τῶι πατρὶ καὶ
κυρίῳ[1] πλεῖστα χαίρειν. πρὸ μὲν πάν-
των εὔχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν[2] καὶ διὰ παντὸς
ἐρωμένον εὐτυχεῖν μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς
5 μου καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
μου. Εὐχαριστῶ[3] τῷ κυρίῳ[4] Σεράπιδι,
ὅτι μου κινδυνεύσαντος εἰς θάλασσαν[5]
ἔσωσε εὐθέως[6]. ὅτε εἰσῆλθον εἰς Μη-
σηνούς[7], ἔλαβα[8] βιάτικον[9] παρὰ Καίσαρος
10 χρυσοῦς τρεῖς. καὶ καλῶς μοί ἐστιν.
ἐρωτῶ[10] σε οὖν, κύριέ[1] μου πατήρ,
γράψον μοι ἐπιστόλιον πρῶτον
μὲν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας[11] σου, δεύ-
τερον περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου,
15 τρ[ί]τον, ἵνα σου προσκυνήσω τὴν
χεῖραν[12], ὅτι με ἐπαίδευσας καλῶς
καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐλπίζω ταχὺ προκό-
σαι[13] τῶν θε[ῶ]ν θελόντων[14]. ἄσπασαι[15]
Καπίτων[α πο]λλὰ[16] καὶ το[ὺς] ἀδελφούς
20 [μ]ου καὶ Σε[ρηνί]λλαν καὶ το[ὺς] φίλους μο[υ.]
Ἐπεμψά σ̲ο̲[ι εἰ]κόνιν[17] μ[ου] διὰ Εὐκτή-
μονος. ἔσ[τ]ι [δέ] μου ὄνομα Ἀντῶνις Μά-
ξιμος[18]. Ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι.
Κεντυρί(α) Ἀθηνονίκη[19].

The address on the back:

28 ε[ἰς] Φ[ιλ]αδελφίαν[20] Ἐπιμ⨯άχω ἀπὸ
Ἀπίωνος υἱοῦ.

Two lines running in the opposite direction have been added[21]*:*

Ἀπόδος εἰς χώρτην πρίμαν ⨯ Ἀπαμηνῶν Ἰο[υλι]α[ν]οῦ
Ἀν . [. .]
30 λιβλαρίω ἀπὸ Ἀπίωνος ὥσ τε Ἐπιμάχῳ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ.

[1] *Lord*, here and in l. 11, is a child's respectful form of address.

[2] A frequent formula in papyrus letters, cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 214 (not in *Bible Studies*), and the similar formula in 3 John 2, *περὶ πάντων εὔχομαί σε εὐοδοῦσθαι καὶ ὑγιαίνειν*, "I pray that in all things thou mayest prosper and be in health." Misunderstanding this formula, many commentators on the Third Epistle of St. John have assumed that Gaius, the addressee, had been ill immediately before.

[3] This is a thoroughly "Pauline" way of beginning a letter, occurring also elsewhere in papyrus letters (cf. for instance *Bibelstudien*, p. 210; it is not given in *Bible Studies*). St. Paul was therefore adhering to a beautiful

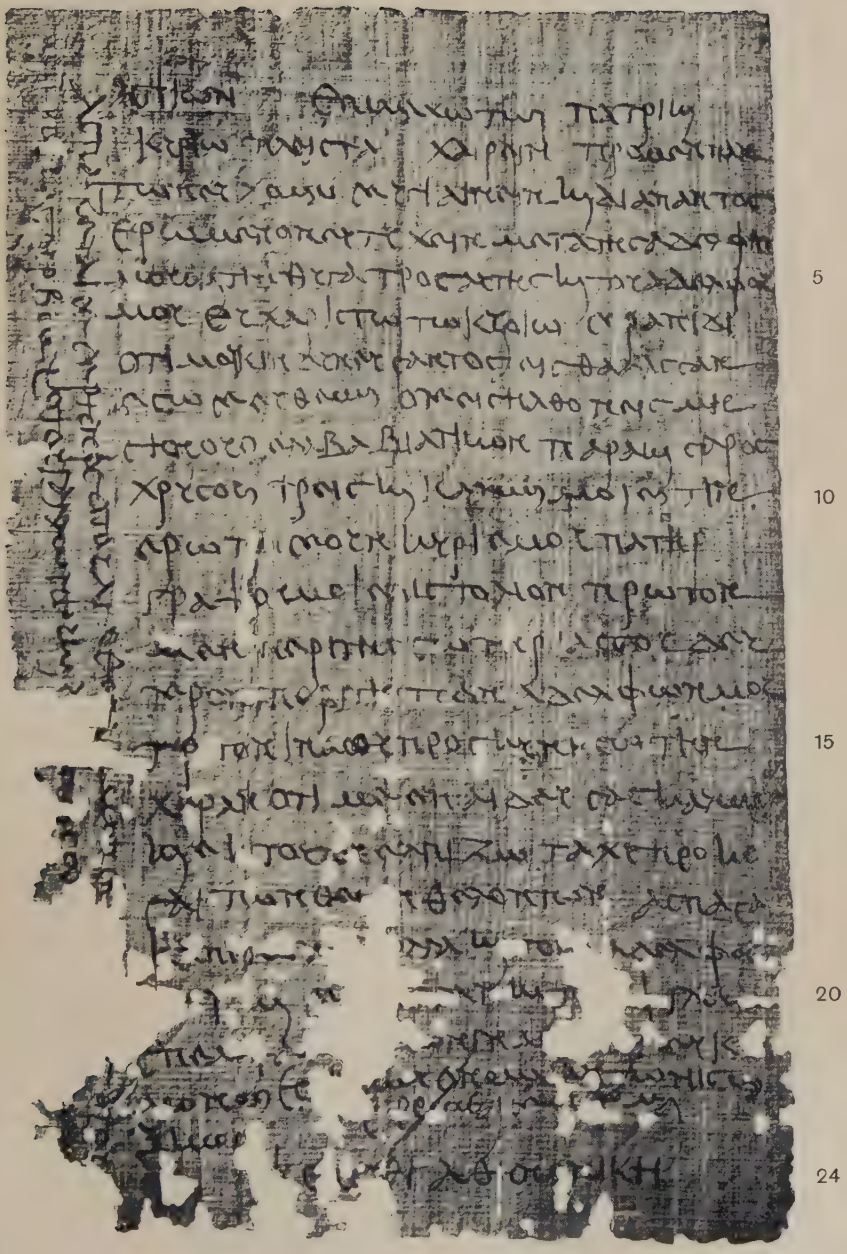

FIG. 24.—Letter from Apion, an Egyptian soldier in the Roman Army, to his father Epimachus, Misenum, 2nd cent. A.D. Papyrus from the Fayûm. Now in the Berlin Museum. By permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums.

Apion to Epimachus his father and lord,[1] many greetings. Before all things I pray that thou art in health,[2] and that thou dost prosper and fare well continually together with my sister and her daughter and my brother. I thank[3] the lord[4] Serapis that, when I was in peril in the sea,[5] he saved me immediately.[6] When I came to Miseni[7] I received as viaticum[9] (journey-money) from the Caesar three pieces of gold. And it is well with me. I beseech thee therefore, my lord[1] father, write unto me a little letter, firstly of thy health, secondly of that of my brother and sister, thirdly that I may do obeisance to thy hand[12] because thou hast taught me well and I therefore hope to advance quickly, if the gods will.[14] Salute[15] Capito much[16] and my brother and sister and Serenilla and my friends. I sent [*or* "am sending"] thee by Euctemon a little picture[17] of me. Moreover my name is Antonis Maximus.[18] Fare thee well, I pray. Centuria Athenonica.[19] There saluteth thee Serenus the son of Agathus Daemon, and . . . the son of . . . and Turbo the son of Gallonius and . . .

The address on the back:

To Philadelphia[20] for Epim X achus from Apion his son.

Two lines running in the opposite direction have been added[21]*:*

Give this to the first Cohort X of the Apamenians to (?) Julianus An . . .

the Liblarios, from Apion so that (he may convey it) to Epimachus his father.

secular custom when he so frequently began his letters with thanks to God (1 Thess. i. 2; 2 Thess. i. 3; Col. i. 3; Philemon 4; Eph. i. 16; 1 Cor. i. 4; Rom. i. 8; Phil. i. 3).

[4] Serapis is called *lord* in countless papyri and inscriptions.

[5] Cf. St. Paul's "perils in the sea," 2 Cor. xi. 26, *κινδύνοις ἐν θαλάσσῃ*. The Roman soldier writes more vulgarly than St. Paul, *εἰς θάλασσαν* instead of *ἐν θαλάσσῃ*.

[6] Cf. St. Peter in peril of the sea, Matt. xiv. 30 f., "beginning to sink, he cried, saying, *Lord, save* me. And *immediately* Jesus stretched forth His hand . . ." (*ἀρξάμενος καταποντίζεσθαι ἔκραξεν λέγων· κύριε, σῶσόν με, εὐθέως δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα . . .*). One sees the popular tone of the evangelist's narrative: he and the Roman soldier are undoubtedly following the style of popular narratives of rescue.

[7] There are other instances of this plural form of the name of the naval harbour, generally called *Misenum*, near Naples.

[For notes 8 to 21 see next page.

Apion, son of Epimachus, of the little Egyptian village of Philadelphia, has entered the Roman army as a soldier,[1] and after the farewells to father, brothers

[1] Preisigke thinks (p. 101 ff.) as a marine.

Continuation of notes to pp. 168–9 :—

[8] This form is one of the many vulgarisms found also in the New Testament, cf. *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 19; *Bible Studies*, p. 191.

[9] The viaticum is aptly compared by Preisigke with the marching allowances in the German army. It consists of three pieces of gold (*aurei*) = 75 drachmae. Alfred von Domaszewski writes to me (postcard, Heidelberg, 6 August, 1908): "The viaticum (cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VIII. No. 2557) is a stipendium."

[10] Again the "Biblical" word.

[11] σωτηρία here means "welfare" in the external (not in the religious) sense, as in Acts xxvii. 34, Heb. xi. 7.

[12] χῆραν = χεῖρα, with vulgar ν appended, like χεῖραν in John xx. 25, Codices ℵ* AB; other examples in Blass, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch*,[2] p. 27 [Eng. trans. p. 26].—By *hand* I think Apion means his father's *handwriting*, which will recall his father's presence. A specially fine touch in this letter of fine feeling.

[13] προκόσαι no doubt = προκόψαι, "to advance," as in Gal. i. 14. The soldier is thinking of promotion.

[14] The pious reservation "if the gods will" is frequent in pagan texts, cf. *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 80; *Bible Studies*, p. 252.

[15] The writers of papyrus letters often commission greetings to various persons, and often convey them from others (l. 25), just as St. Paul does in most of his letters.

[16] Cf. the same epistolary formula in 1 Cor. xvi. 19.

[17] The reading here used to be σ[οι τὸ ὀθ]όνιν, "the linen," which was understood to refer to Apion's civilian clothes. Wilcken has re-examined the passage in the original, and made the charming discovery that Apion sent his father his [εἰ]κόνιν (= εἰκόνιον), "little picture" (results communicated to me in letters, Florence, 20 April, 1907, Leipzig, 5 May, 1907). It is just like German recruits getting themselves photographed as soon as they are allowed out of barracks alone.

[18] On entering the Roman army Apion, not being a Roman, received a Roman name. *Antonis* is short for *Antonius*. The passage has an important historical bearing on the subject of changing names, cf. Harnack, *Militia Christi*, Die christliche Religion und der Soldatenstand in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten, Tübingen, 1905, p. 35.

[19] The name of his company, given no doubt as part of the correct address to be used in answering.

[20] Philadelphia in the Fayûm.

[21] The cohort mentioned in these instructions for delivery was stationed in Egypt (Preisigke, p. 102). The letter therefore went first of all from the garrison of Misenum to the garrison of this cohort (Wilcken: Alexandria), and the Liblarios (= *librarius*), *i.e.* accountant to the cohort, was then to forward it, as occasion should serve, to the village in the Fayûm.

and sisters, and friends, has taken ship (probably at Alexandria) for Misenum. Serenus, Turbo, and other recruits from the same village accompany him. The voyage is rough and dangerous. In dire peril of the sea the young soldier invokes his country's god, and the lord Serapis rescues him immediately. Full of gratitude, Apion reaches his first destination, the naval port of Misenum. It is a new world to the youth from the distant Egyptian village! Put into the centuria with the high-sounding name "Athenonica," with three pieces of gold in his pocket as viaticum, and proud of his new name Antonis Maximus, he immediately has his portrait painted for the people at home by some artist who makes a living about the barracks, and then writes off to his father a short account of all that has happened. The letter shows him in the best of spirits; a rosy future lies before Apion: he will soon get promotion, thanks to his father's excellent training. When he thinks of it all, of his father, and his brother, and his sister with her little daughter, and Capito and his other friends, his feelings are almost too much for him. If only he could press his father's hand once again! But father will send him a note in reply, and his father's handwriting will call up the old home. The letter is just about to be closed when his countrymen give him their greetings to send, and there is just room for them on the margin of the papyrus. Finally the letter must be addressed, and that is a little troublesome: in the army there are rules and regulations for everything, but to make up for it the soldier's letter will be forwarded by military post, and by way of the Liblarios' room of the first Apamenian cohort it will reach the father in safety.

Have I read too much between the lines of this letter? I think not. With letters you must read what is between the lines. But nobody will deny that this soldier's letter of the second century, with its fresh naïveté, rises high above the average level.

We possess further the original of a second, somewhat later letter by the same writer, addressed to his sister, which was also found in the Fayûm, and is now in the Berlin Museum. I believe I am able to restore a few lines additional to those already deciphered.

10

A second letter from the same soldier to his sister Sabina, 2nd cent. A.D., papyrus from the Fayûm, now in the Berlin Museum, published by Fritz Krebs [1] (Figure 25).

Ἀν[τώνι]ος Μάξιμος Σαβίνῃ τῇ ἀ[δ]ελφῇ [2] πλεῖστα χαίρειν.	Antonius Maximus to Sabina his sister,[2] many greetings.
πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὔχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν, καὶ ᾽γὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑγιαίν[ω]. Μνίαν σου ποιούμενος [3] παρὰ τοῖς [ἐν]θάδε θεοῖς [4]	Before all things I pray that thou art in health, for I myself also am in health. Making mention of thee [3] before the

[1] *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin* (II.), No. 632, published by Fritz Krebs; partly translated by Erman and Krebs, p. 215, and by Preisigke, p. 103. For the facsimile (Figure 25) I am indebted to the kindness of W. Schubart.

[2] The *sister* was named in the first letter. Her daughter, not being named in the second letter, had probably died meanwhile. It is not likely that Sabina was a second sister of the writer, because in the first letter only one sister is mentioned. The father too seems not to have been alive at the time of the second letter.

[3] Assurance of intercession for the receiver at the beginning of the letter is a pious usage with ancient letter-writers. In exactly the same way St. Paul writes *μνείαν σου ποιούμενος*, Philemon 4; cf. 1 Thess. i. 2, Eph. i. 16, Rom. i. 9 f., 2 Tim. i. 3; and see *Bibelstudien*, p. 210 (not in *Bible Studies*).—The participial clause can also be taken with *ὑγιαίνω* (so Wilcken).

[4] See note 1 on next page.

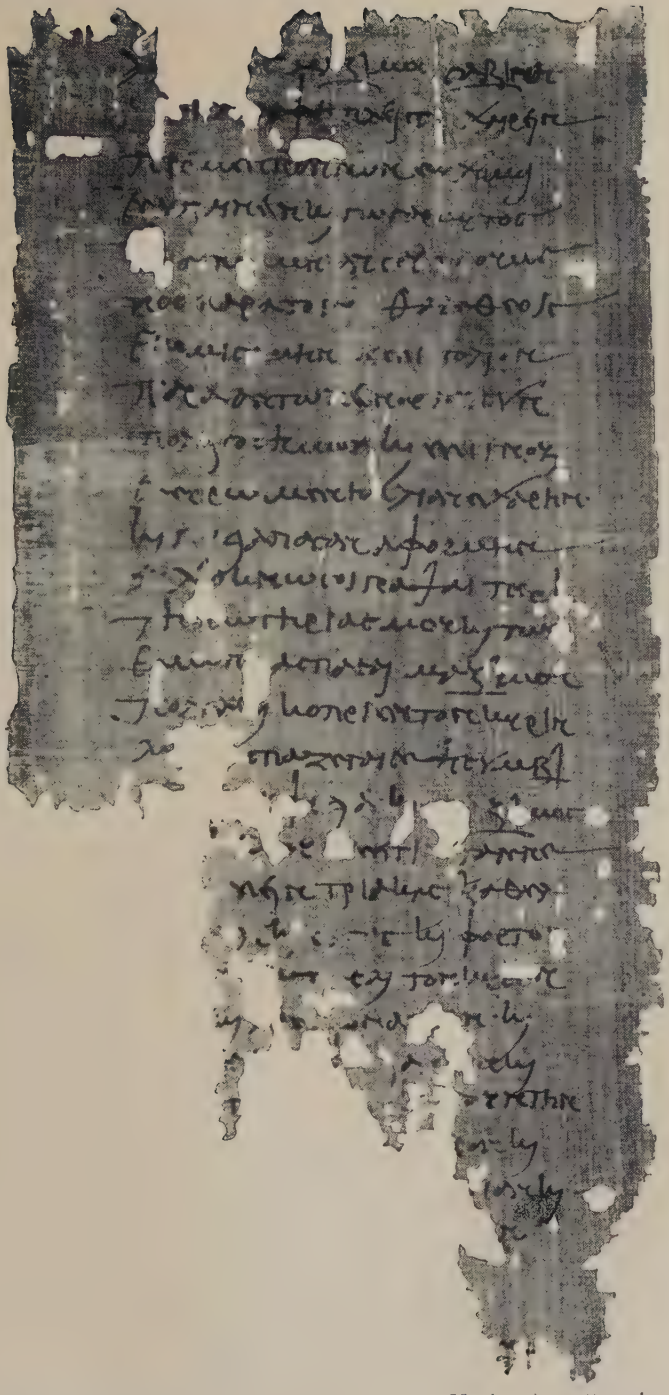

FIG. 25.—Letter from Apion (now Antonius Maximus), an Egyptian soldier in the Roman Army, to his sister Sabina, 2nd cent. A.D. Papyrus from the Fayûm. Now in the Berlin Museum. By permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums. ($\frac{1}{3}$ of the size of the original.)

[p. 172

ἐκομισάμην [ἓ]ν[2] ἐπι[σ]τό-
λιον
παρὰ Ἀντωνε[ί]νου τοῦ συν-
πολ[ε]ίτου ἡμῶν. καὶ ἐπι-
γνούς
σε ἐρρωμένην λίαν ἐχάρην.[3]
καὶ ἐγὼ διὰ πᾶσαν ἀφορμὴν
ο[ὐ]χ ὀκνῶ σοι γράψαι περὶ
τῆ[ς] σωτηρίας μου καὶ τῶν
ἐμῶν. Ἄσπασαι Μάξιμον[4]
πολλὰ καὶ Κοπρῆν[5] τὸν
κῦρίν
μ[ου. ἀ]σπάζεταί σε ἡ
σύμβι-
ός [μου Α]ὐφιδία καὶ [Μ]ά-
ξιμος
[ὁ[6] υἱός μ]ου, [οὗ] ἐστι[ν]
τὰ γενέ-

gods here[1] I received a[2] little letter from Antoninus our fellow-citizen. And when I knew that thou farest well, I rejoiced greatly.[3] And I at every occasion delay not to write unto thee concerning the health of me and mine. Salute Maximus[4] much, and Copres[5] my lord. There saluteth thee my life's partner, Aufidia, and Maximus my[6] son, whose

[1] Where Antonius Maximus was at the time is not known. Alfred von Domaszewski suggests Alexandria to me (postcard, Heidelberg, 6 August, 1908). The soldier now serves the gods of the place where he is garrisoned, as formerly he had served the lord Serapis of his native country; and this is not without analogies, cf. the worship of local gods in the Roman army, von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, Trier, 1895, p. 54 ff.

[2] ἓν = the indefinite article, a popular usage often found in the New Testament, for which, according to Blass, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch*,[2] p. 145 [Eng. trans. p. 144], Hebrew afforded a precedent. Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 27, explains it as an Aramaism. As a matter of fact this usage of popular Greek, which has been still further developed in Modern Greek, is parallel to the Semitic, Teutonic, and Romance usages.

[3] λίαν ἐχάρην is an epistolary formula like ἐχάρην λίαν in 2 John 4 and 3 John 3.

[4] Maximus is probably the sister's son, who would then be named after his uncle.

[5] Copres is probably the brother-in-law.

[6] So I have restored lines 18–21. I have altered nothing except πειν to πειπ in line 19. Επειπ is the month Ἐπείφ; for the spelling with final π cf. the examples in Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I. p. 809. καθ' Ἕλληνας, "according to the Hellenic (*i.e.* not Egyptian) calendar," is a technical formula; cf. the 2nd cent. horoscope, *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, No. 139, καθ' Ἕλληνας Μεσορὴ ε, and the editors' note; also Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I. p. 792 ff. The nominative τριακάς is grammatically unimpeachable, for it is a predicate and not a statement of time ("on the thirtieth"). Even in the latter case,

[σια Ἐ]πεὶπ τριακὰς καθ' Ἕλ-	birthday is the 30th Epip
20 [ληνα]ς, καὶ Ἐλπὶς καὶ Φορτου-[1]	according to Greek reckoning, and Elpis and Fortunata.
[νᾶτα]. Ἄσπ[α]σαι τὸν κύριον	Salute my lord . . .

There follow 6 *mutilated lines, obviously containing more salutations.*

28 [ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχο]μαι.	Fare thee well, I pray.

On the verso the address :

[Σαβίνη] ἀ[δε]λφ[ῇ] ἀπ[ὸ] Ἀντ[ω]νίου Μαξίμ[ο]υ ἀδελφ[οῦ].	To Sabina his sister, from Antonius Maximus her brother.

I imagine the situation in this second letter to be as follows :—

Years have passed. Apion, who has long ago discarded this name and now uses only his soldier-name Antonius Maximus, has taken a wife, called Aufidia. She presents him with two daughters, Elpis and Fortunata (the parents delight in beautiful names with a meaning), and at last the longed-for son and heir. His birthday, according to the Greek calendar, is 30 Epiph (24 July), and the soldier's child receives his father's splendid soldier-name, Maximus. Changes too have taken place at home, in the far-away little village of Philadelphia, in

however, the nominative is occasionally left, *e.g.* Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 55, II_{10} (161 A.D.), 64_{14} (216–217 A.D.). For the prominence given to the birthday cf. for instance Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 333, 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D. (*Bibelstudien*, p. 215 ; not in *Bible Studies*).—W. Schubart informed me by letter (Berlin, 6 June, 1907) that my conjectures fit in well with the traces of letters remaining and with the size of the lacunae in the papyrus; he approves also, in spite of doubts suggested by the handwriting, the reading πειπ.

[1] Krebs wrote ἐλπίς and φόρτου. I regard both as proper names; of course one could also conjecture *Fortunatus* (cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 17). As the son Maximus has been already named, with special stress laid on his birthday, one is inclined to assume here that the writer had two *daughters*.

Egypt. The sister Sabina has lost her little daughter; Epimachus, father and lord, has also died; but Sabina and her husband Copres have got a little boy instead, who is named Maximus in honour of his soldier uncle: is not uncle's portrait, left them by grandfather, hanging on the wall? Sabina is the link between her brother and his old home. He writes as often as he can, and when he cannot write he remembers his sister daily before the gods of his garrison in brotherly intercession. But this is not his only connexion with home. An old friend in Philadelphia, Antoninus, has just written, and was kind enough to assure him of Sabina's being well.

That is the occasion of the letter to the sister. Written in a perfectly familiar strain, simply to impart family news and to convey all sorts of greetings, it nevertheless, like that other letter of richer content to the father, gives us a glimpse of the close net of human relationships, otherwise invisible, which the giant hands of the Roman army had woven with thousands of fine, strong threads and spread from coast to coast and from land to land over the enormous extent of the Mediterranean world at the time of the infancy of Christianity. In judging of the Roman army of the second century it is not without importance to know that among the human materials of which that mighty organism was composed, there were such attractive personalities as our friend Apion. Another soldier's letter (No. 12), given below, also permits favourable conclusions to be drawn.[1]

[1] Other soldiers' letters, sometimes highly characteristic, are forthcoming among the papyri. Preisigke, p. 99 ff., translates the unblushing begging-letter of a soldier to his mother, 3rd cent. A.D., Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 814.

11

Letter from a prodigal son, Antonis Longus, to his mother Nilus, Fayûm, 2nd cent. A.D., papyrus, now in the Berlin Museum, published by Fr. Krebs [1] and W. Schubart [2] (Figure 26).

'Αντῶνις [3] Λόνγος Νειλοῦτι
[τ]ῇ μητρὶ π[λ]ῖστα χαίρειν. καὶ δι-
ὰ πάντω[ν] εὔχομαί σαι [4] ὑγ̣ει̣αίνειν. Τὸ προσκύνη-
μά σου [ποι]ῶ κατ' α̣ἰκάστην ἡμαίραν παρὰ τῶ
κυρίω [Σερ]άπειδει.[5] Γει̣νώσκ̣ειν σαι θέλω,[6] ὅ-
τι̣ οὐχ [ἥλπ]ιζον,[7] ὅτι ἀναβένις εἰς τὴν μητρό-
πολιν.[8] χ[ά]ρειν τοῦτο [9] οὐδ' ἐγὸ εἰσῆθα [10] εἰς τὴν πό-
λιν. α̣ἰδ̣[υ]σοπ̣ο̣[ύ]μην [11] δὲ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Καρανίδα[ν].[12]
ὅτι σαπρῶς παιρ̣ι̣πατῶ. Α̈ἴγραψά [13] σοι, ὅτι γυμνός
εἰμει. π̣αρακα̣[λ]ῶ [14] σαι, μήτηρ, δ̣[ι]αλάγητί μοι.[15] Λ̣οι-
πὸν [16] οἶδα τ̣ί̣ [ποτ'] [17] αἰμαυτῶ παρέσχημαι. παιπαίδ̣-
δευμαι [18] καθ' ὃν δ̣ὶ̣ [19] τρόπον. οἶδα, ὅτι ἡμάρτη̣κ̣α.[20]
Ἤκουσα παρὰ το[ῦ Ποστ]ο̣ύμου [21] τὸν εὐρόντα [22] σα̣ι̣
ἐν τῶ Ἀρσαινοείτη [23] καὶ ἀκ̣α̣ι̣ρ̣ίως πάντα σοι δι-
ήγηται. οὐκ οἶδες, ὅτι θέλω [24] πη̣ρ̣ὸς γενέσται,[25]
εἰ̣ [26] γνοῦναι,[27] ὅ̣π̣ως̣ [28] ἀνθρόπω [28] [ἔ]τ̣[ι] ὀφείλω ὀβολόν ;
[. . . . .]ο[. . . . .]σὺ αὐτὴ ἐλθέ̣.
[. . . . .]χανκ [. . .]ον ἤγουσα, ὅτι . .
[. . . . .] . λησαι[. .] παρακαλῶ σαι
[. . . . .] . . . α[.] . αἰγὼ σχεδν
[. . . . .] ω̣ παρακαλῶ σ̣α̣ι̣
[. . . . .]ωνου θέλω αἰγὼ
[. . . . .]σει . . . . . οὐκ ἐ̣.
[. . . . .] . . . ἄλλως ποι[.]

Here the papyrus breaks off. On the back is the address:
[. . . . .] μ̣ητρεὶ ἀπ' Ἀντωνίω Λόνγου νεἰοῦ.

[1] *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin* (III.), No. 846.

[2] *Ibid.* Heft 12, p. 6. Some conjectures by me are given below. The photograph used for the facsimile (Fig. 26) here given by the kind permission of the directors of the Royal Museums was obtained for me by W. Schubart.

[For notes 3 to 28 see pp. 178 and 179.

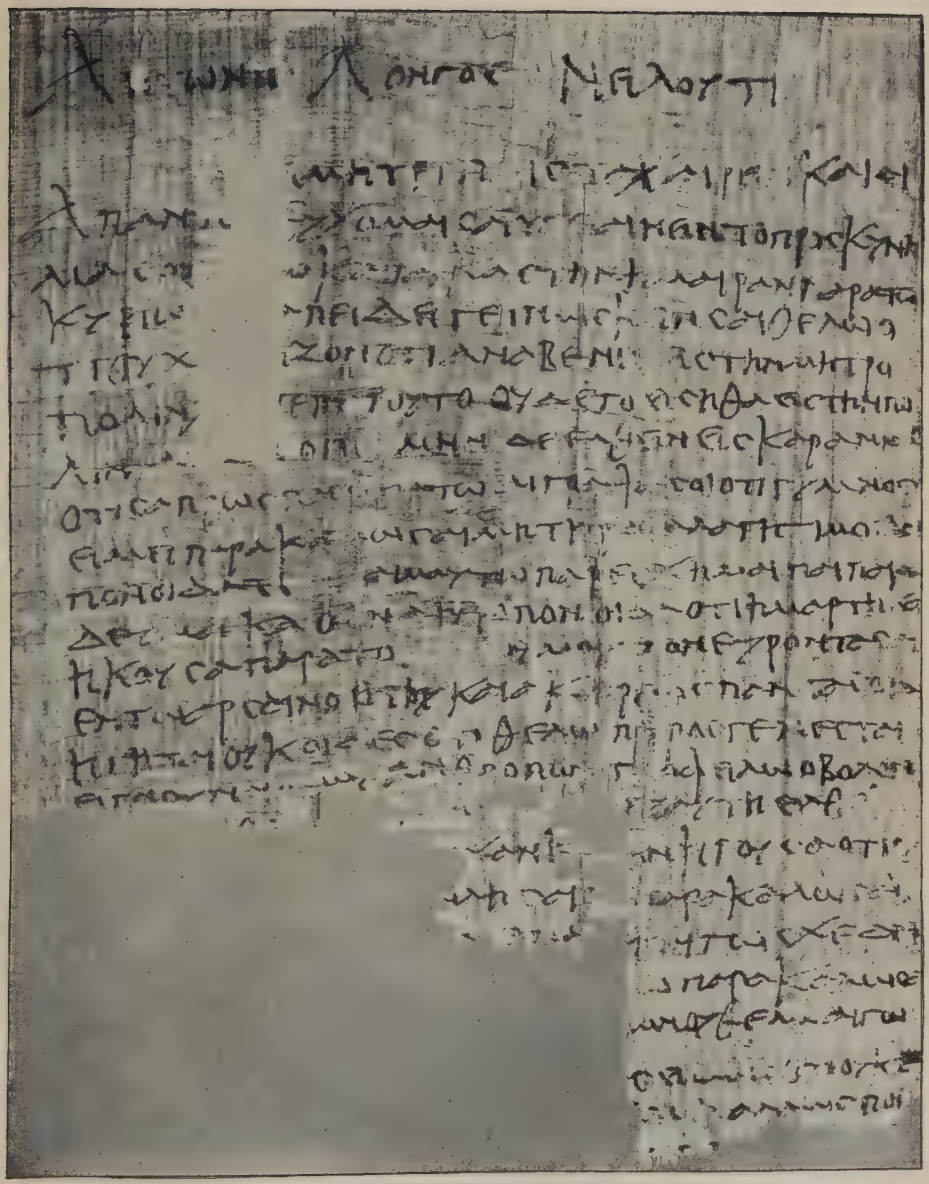

FIG. 26.—Letter from a Prodigal Son, Antonis Longus, to his mother Nilus, 2nd cent. A D. Papyrus from the Fayûm. Now in the Berlin Museum. By permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums.

[p. 176

There can be no doubt that this letter[1] is one of the most interesting human documents that have come to light among the papyri. This priceless fragment, rent like the soul of its writer, comes to us as a remarkably good illustration of the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke xv. 11 ff.).[2] Others may improve on the first attempt at interpretation.

Antonis[3] Longus to Nilus his mother many greetings. And continually do I pray that thou art in health. I make supplication for thee daily to the lord Serapis.[5] I would thou shouldst understand[6] that I had no hope that thou wouldst go up to the metropolis.[8] And therefore I came not to the city. But I was ashamed to come to Caranis,[12] because I walk about in rags. I write [*or* "have written"[13]] to thee that I am naked. I beseech thee,[14] mother, be reconciled to me.[15] Furthermore, I know what I have brought upon myself. I have been chastened[18] every way. I know that I have sinned.[20] I have heard from Postumus,[21] who met thee in the country about Arsinoë and out of season told thee all things. Knowest thou not that I had rather be maimed than know that I still owe a man an obol? . . . . come thyself! . . . . I have heard that . . . . I beseech thee . . . . I almost . . . . I beseech thee . . . . I will . . . . not . . . . do otherwise

Here the papyrus breaks off. On the back is the address:

[. . . . .] the mother, from Antonius Longus her son.

[1] Partly translated by Preisigke, p. 99, who also calls the writer a "prodigal son."

[2] If this letter had happened to be preserved in some literary work there would of course be a bundle of monographs, several pounds in weight, proving the parable to be derived from the letter, and many a doctoral dissertation would have been made out of it.

[For notes 3 to 21 see pp. 178 and 179.

Antonius Longus, of Caranis in the Fayûm, has quarrelled with his (widowed?)[1] mother Nilus and left the village. The cause of the dissension seems to have lain with the son—loose living, and running up debts. It fares ill with him in the strange country; he is in such wretched plight that his clothes fall from him in rags. In such a state, he

[1] Otherwise there would surely have been some mention of the father.

Continuation of notes to pp. 176–7.

[2] *Antonis*, short for *Antonius*, cf. letter 9 above.

[4] *σαι* = *σε*. Numerous repetitions of this word and similar cases are not specially noted.

[5] This sentence, occurring in innumerable papyrus letters, is the stereotyped form of assurance of mutual intercession.

[6] Epistolary formula, occurring also in St. Paul, Phil. i. 12 (with *βούλομαι*). Other like formulae are frequent in the Pauline Epistles.

[7] *ἤλπιζον* = *ἤλπιζον*, with the vulgar aspirate, as in the New Testament instances *ἀφελπίζω* and *ἐφ' ἐλπίδι* (Blass, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch*,[2] p. 17 [Eng. trans. p. 15]). W. Schubart examined the original expressly and assured me by letter (Berlin, 14 June, 1907) that my conjectured restoration of the text is quite feasible.

[8] The metropolis is perhaps Arsinoë.

[9] = *χάριν τούτου* (as Schubart also pointed out in a letter to me). In the papyri this prepositional *χάριν* often stands before its case; cf. for instance a passage, somewhat similar to the present one, in the letter of Gemellus to Epagathus, 104 A.D., *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, No. 116$_{9ff.}$, *ἐπὶ* [=*ἐπεὶ*] *βουλεύωμαι* [*εἰς π*]*όλιν ἀπελθεῖν χάριν* [*τοῦ*] *μικροῦ καὶ χάριν ἐκί*[*νου*] *τοῦ μετυώρου*.

[10] = *ἐγὼ εἰσῆλθα*.

[11] I at first conjectured *ἐν*[*ε*]*κοπ*[*τό*]*μην*, "I was hindered," as in Rom. xv. 22. From the photograph Wilcken and I came to the conjecture given above = *ἐδυσωπούμην*, "I was ashamed." This word, which gives excellent sense, is found more than once in translations of the Old Testament; in the letter of Gemellus to Epagathus, 99 A.D., *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, No. 112$_{12}$; and in another letter, Oxyrhynchus Papyri, No. 128$_4$, 6th or 7th cent. A.D. Further particulars in the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*. W. Schubart, writing to me from Berlin, 3 October, 1907, proposed after fresh examination of the original *κατ*[*ε*]*σκοπούμην*. But that, I think, would not make sense. Schubart's reading, however, is a warning to be cautious in accepting mine.

[12] Caranis (a village in the Fayûm) was probably the writer's home and the residence of his mother.

[13] Refers probably to the present letter.

[14] This verb, which occurs several times here, is used exactly as in the New Testament.

[15] Cf. Matt. v. 24, *διαλλάγηθι τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου*, "be reconciled to thy brother."

[16] Adverbial, without article, as in 2 Tim. iv. 8, 1 Thess. iv. 1.

says to himself with burning shame,[1] it is impossible for him to return home. But he must go back—he realises that, for he had soon come to his senses: all this misery he has brought upon himself by his own fault, and it is the well-deserved punishment. Full of yearning for home he remembers his mother in prayer daily to the lord Serapis, and hopes for

[1] The word, if rightly read, is extraordinarily expressive. An ancient lexicographer says, *δυσωπεῖσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑφορᾶσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ μεθ' ὑπονοίας σκυθρωπάζειν*, "the word *δυσωπεῖσθαι* means 'to stand with downcast eyes,' 'to be fearful,' and figuratively 'to look sad and gloomy'" (see the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*). The position reminds one of Luke xviii. 13, says Heinrich Schlosser (postcard to the author, Wiesbaden, 2 July, 1908).

Continuation of notes to pp. 176–7.

[17] The restoration of the text is uncertain.

[18] The word is used exactly in the "Biblical" sense of "chasten," which according to Cremer, *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch*,[9] p. 792, is "entirely unknown to profane Greek."

[19] = *δὴ*. Virtually *καθ' ὃν δὴ τρόπον* = *καθ' ὅντινα οὖν τρόπον*, 2 Macc. xiv. 3, 3 Macc. vii. 7. The reading *δίτροπος*, "with two souls," can hardly be entertained. Wilcken makes a good suggestion : *δεῖ* = *δεῖ*.

[20] Cf. the Prodigal Son, Luke xv. 18, 21, "Father, I have sinned."

[21] It is best to assume some proper name here. I at first thought of [Δι]δύμου, but I now prefer the reading adopted above, although the space is somewhat small for so many letters. The name Postumus occurs often in the Berlin papyri, but must remain doubtful here.

[22] The construction is grammatically incorrect, but such cases are frequent in letters. Preisigke (p. 99) translates the sentence differently.

[23] "Nome," "district," must be understood.

[24] *θέλω* with following *ἤ* (papyrus *εἰ*), "I had rather . . . than . . . ," is used exactly like this in 1 Cor. xiv. 19.

[25] The first editors read *παρασγενεσται*, which I at first took for *παρασιαίνεσθαι* (**σιγαίνω* = *σιαίνω*, as *ὑγιγαίνω* = *ὑγιαίνω*, Karl Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, p. 91 f.). With the photograph to help me I read *πηρος*. Schubart tells me (letter, 3 October, 1907) this reading is possible.

[26] = *ἤ*.

[27] = *γνῶναι*.

[28] This reading was also approved by Schubart (letter, 3 October, 1907) after inspecting the original. *ὅπως* is used vulgarly like *πῶς* = *ὡς* = *ὅτι* (Blass, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch*,[2] p. 235 f. [Eng. trans. pp. 230–1]; Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, p. 19), *e.g.* Mark xii. 26, *ἀνέγνωτε . . ., πῶς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός* (quotation follows), and many other passages. I find this use of *ὅπως* beginning in Luke xxiv. 20.

an opportunity of re-establishing communication with her. Then he meets an acquaintance of his, Postumus (?). He hears how Postumus (?) had met his mother in the Arsinoïte nome, as she was returning home from the metropolis, Arsinoë, (to Caranis,) and how the poor woman had hoped to find her son at the metropolis. Unfortunately Postumus (?) recounted to the disappointed mother the whole scandalous story of the runaway once more, reckoning up his debts for her edification to the last obol.

That is the occasion of the letter: gratitude to the mother for having looked for him, as he had not ventured to hope, in the metropolis—and anger at Postumus (?) the scandal-monger. The letter is dashed off in a clumsy hand and full of mistakes, for Antonius Longus has no practice in writing. The prodigal approaches his mother with a bold use of his pet name *Antonis*, and after a moving description of his misery there comes a complete confession of his guilt and a passionate entreaty for reconciliation. But in spite of everything, he would rather remain in his misery, rather become a cripple, than return home and be still one single obol in debt to the usurers. The mother will understand the hint and satisfy the creditors before the son's return. And then she is to come herself and lead her son back into an ordered way of life — — — — — — "I beseech thee, I beseech thee, I will . . . . ." —no more than this is recoverable of the remainder of the letter, but these three phrases in the first person are sufficiently characteristic. Antonius has a foreboding that there is still resistance to be overcome.[1]

[1] A somewhat different explanation of the letter is attempted by Ad. Matthaei, in the Preussische Jahrbücher, January 1909, p. 133 f.

Astute persons and models of correct behaviour will tell us that the repentance of this black sheep was not genuine; that sheer poverty and nothing else wrung from him the confession of sin and the entreaty for reconciliation; that the lines assuring his mother of his prayers to Serapis were mere phrasing. But was not the prodigal's confession in the Gospel parable also dictated by his necessity? Jesus does not picture to us an ethical virtuoso speculating philosophically and then reforming, but a poor wanderer brought back to the path by suffering. Another such wanderer was Antonius Longus the Egyptian, who wrote home in the depths of his misery: "I beseech thee, mother, be reconciled to me! I know that I have sinned."

We see very plainly how genuine and true to life it all is when we compare the tattered papyrus sheet with a specimen letter of contrition, ship-shape and ready for use, as drafted by an ancient model letter-writer[1]:—

ἡ ἐπιστολή. οἶδα σφαλεὶς κακῶς σε διαθέμενος. διὸ μεταγνοὺς τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ σφάλματι συγγνώμην αἰτῶ. μεταδοῦναι δέ μοι μὴ κατοκνήσῃς διὰ τὸν κύριον. δίκαιον γάρ ἐστι συγγινώσκειν πταίουσι τοῖς φίλοις, ὅτε μάλιστα καὶ ἀξιοῦσι συγγνώμης τυχεῖν.

The letter. I know that I erred in that I treated thee ill. Wherefore, having repented, I beg pardon for the error. But for the Lord's sake[2] delay not to forgive me. For it is just to pardon friends who stumble, and especially when they desire to obtain pardon.[3]

The person who calls himself "I" in this letter is a lay-figure, and not even a well-made one; when

[1] Proclus, De forma epistolari, No. 12 (*Epistolographi Graeci*, rec. Hercher, p. 9). Cf. the note on letter No. 8 above, p. 165, n. 4.

[2] This formula is undoubtedly Christian (1 Cor. iv. 10; 2 Cor. iv. 11; Phil. iii. 7, 8).

[3] Probably a faint echo of Luke xvii. 4.

Antonis Longus says "I do this or that" a man of flesh and blood is speaking, and it would make no difference to the inward truth of his touching confessions if his "I know that I have sinned" were as much a current formula as the "I know that I erred." The prodigal had gone through experiences enough to animate even formulae into confessions.

12

Letter from Aurelius Archelaus, beneficiarius, *to Julius Domitius, military tribune*, Oxyrhynchus, 2nd cent. A.D., papyrus, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, discovered and published by Grenfell and Hunt [1] (Figure 27).

This letter is of great interest in various respects: as a good example of an ancient letter of recommendation,[2] as an early Latin letter, as a specimen of vulgar Latin [3] of the date of the Muratorian Canon. Scholars of repute have even considered it to be a Christian letter—and if that were so its value, considering its age, would be unique.

I have retained the remarkable punctuation by means of stops. The clear division of the words should also be noticed.[4]

[1] The Oxyrhynchus Papyri (I.) No. 32. The facsimile there given (Plate VIII.) is reproduced here (Figure 27) by permission of the Egypt Exploration Fund. The last part of the letter, which was discovered later, is given by Grenfell and Hunt in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part II. p. 318 f. It comprises lines 22–34.

[2] Cf. p. 158 above.

[3] Observe the marked use of parataxis, and cf. p. 128 ff. above.

[4] The two little fragments to the right below (on a level with ll. 20, 21) read respectively]*st.*[and]*quia*[.

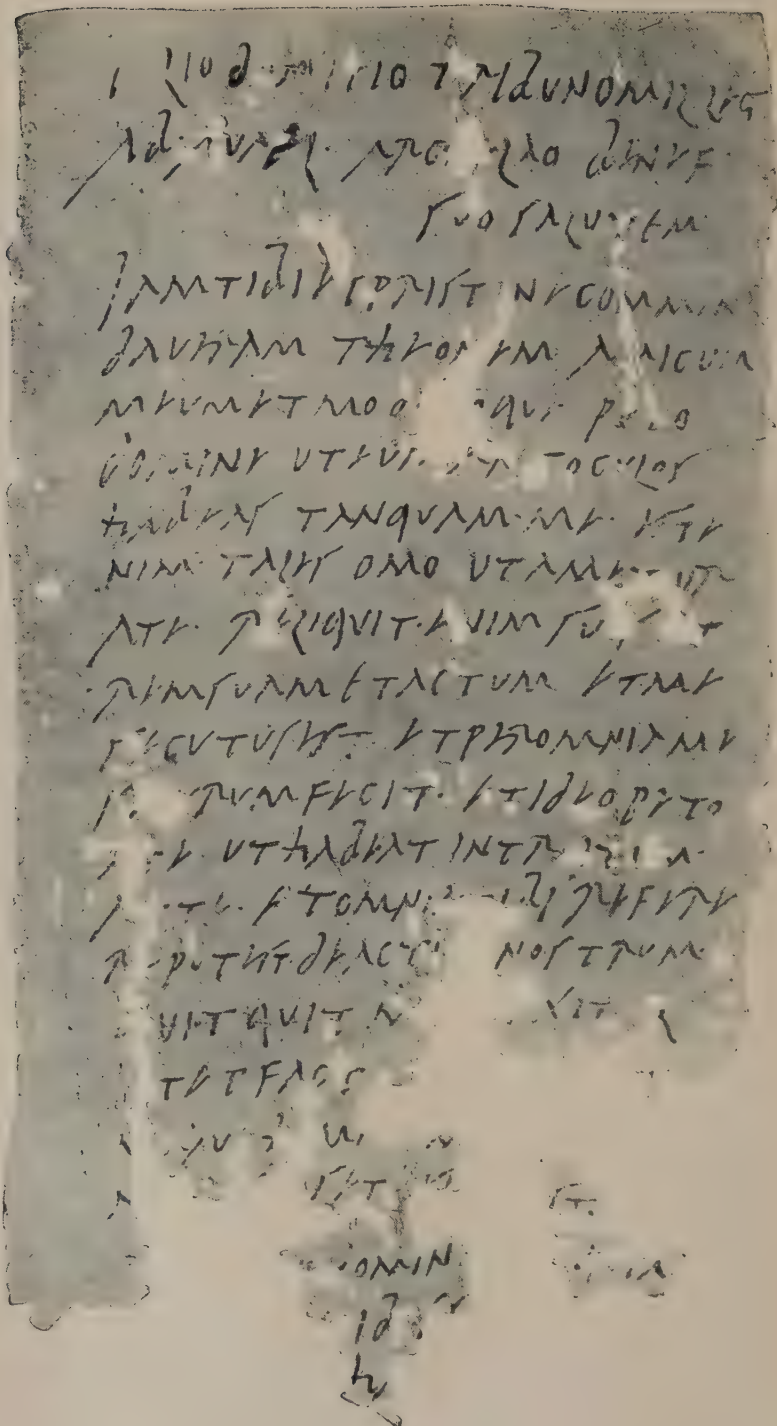

FIG. 27.—Letter from Aurelius Archelaus, *beneficiarius*, to Julius Domitius, military tribune, lines 1–24, 2nd cent. A.D. Papyrus from Oxyrhynchus. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. By permission of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

I[u]lio Domitio[1] *tribuno*
mil(itum) leg(ionis)
ab· Aurel(io) Archelao be-
nef(iciario)
suo salutem·
iam tibi et pristine commen-
daueram Theonem amicum
meum et mod[o qu]oque peto
domine[2] *ut eum ant' oculos*
habeas[3] *tanquam· me·*[4] *est e-*
nim· tales omo[5] *ut ametur*
a te· reliquit· enim su[o]s [e]t
rem suam et actum et me
secutus est[6] *. et per omnia*
me
se[c]urum fecit· et ideo peto
a te· ut habeat intr[o]itum·
at te[7] *. et omnia tibi refere-*
re potest· de actu[m] nos-
trum[8] *.*
quitquit m[e d]ixit· [i]l-
[lu]t et fact[um . . . . .][. .]
amaui h[o]min[e]m [. . . . .]
m[. . . . .] set[10] *de· [. . . . .]*
a[. . . . .] . domin[e. . . . .]
[11] *m[. . . . .]..id es[t. . . . .]*
c[. . . . .] hab[. . . . .]
h[. . . . .] et [. . . . .]

To Julius Domitius,[1] military tribune of the legion, from Aurelius Archelaus his *beneficiarius*, greeting.

Already aforetime I have recommended unto thee Theon my friend, and now also I pray, lord,[2] that thou mayest have[3] him before thine eyes as myself.[4] For he is such a man that he may be loved by thee. For he left his own people, his goods and business, and followed me.[6] And through all things he hath kept me in safety. And therefore I pray of thee that he may have entering in unto thee.[7] And he is able to declare unto thee all things concerning our business.[8] Whatsoever he hath told me, so it was in very deed.[9] I have loved the man

[1] The subordinate politely places the name of his superior officer first, cf. p. 160 above. Alfred von Domaszewski (postcard, Heidelberg, 6 August, 1908) refers to the forms of an official report; *actus* (l. 16) he takes to be "conduct of my office," the writer's conscience being not quite easy on that score. In line 26 my correspondent would conjecture *suc]cessoris*, supposing the soldier about to be relieved of his post.

[2] *Lord* is a polite form of address.

[3] For this phrase, which recurs in l. 31 f., cf. πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν λαμβάνειν, 2 Macc. viii. 17, 3 Macc. iv. 4, and the Tebtunis Papyri, No. 28_{18} (*circa* 114 B.C.), with Crönert, *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, 20 (1903) col. 457; πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τιθέναι, Epistle of Aristeas, 284, and Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 362 Vst. (215 A.D.); and actually πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχειν in an inscription at Talmi, Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 210_8 (*circa*

[For notes 4 to 11 see next page

tor . ṭ . . [. . .] i̯co̯[. . . . . .]
illum· ut [. . .]upse[. . . . .
inter (?)-]
cessoris u[t i]llum co[mmendarem (?)]
estote felicissi[mi domine mul-][12]
ṭis annis cum [tuis omnibus (?)]
ben[e agentes]
hanc epistulam ant' oculos[13] *habeto domine puta[t]o̯*
me tecum loqui[14]
uale

. . . . lord . .[11] . . that is . . . . have . . . . and . . . . (fr)iend . . . . him as . . . . mediator that I would recommend (?) him. Be ye most happy, lord, many years, with all thine, in good health. Have this letter before thine eyes,[13] lord, and think that I speak with thee.[14] Farewell.

On the verso the address:[15]

IOVLIO DOMITIO TRIBVNO MILITVM LEG(IONIS)
ab· Aurelio· Archelao· b(eneficiario)

To Julius Domitius, military tribune of the legion, from Aurelius Archelaus, *beneficiarius.*

247 A.D.). Another inscription of the reign of Hadrian, from Pergamum, Athenische Mitteilungen, 24 (1899) p. 199, should be compared. I note these passages, because people might easily scent a Hebraism here.

[4] Cf. St. Paul, Philemon 17, προσλαβοῦ αὐτὸν ὡς ἐμέ, "receive him as myself."

[5] = *talis homo.* With *omo* cf. *odie*, in the Muratorian Canon, l. 11.

[6] Cf. Matt. xix. 27 = Mark x. 28 = Luke xviii. 28, "Lo, we have left all, and have followed Thee." Cf. also Matt. iv. 20, 22.

[7] Cf. St. Paul, 1 Thess. i. 9, ὁποίαν εἴσοδον ἔσχομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, "what manner of entering in we had unto you."

[8] = *de actu* (or *acto*) *nostro.* Cf. *ad nobis*, Muratorian Canon, l. 47. For the whole sentence cf. St. Paul, Col. iv. 7, τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ πάντα γνωρίσει ὑμῖν Τυχικός, "all my affairs shall Tychicus make known unto you."

[9] The conjectured restoration of the text is uncertain. Grenfell and Hunt: "Whatever he tells you about me you may take as a fact."

[10] Hugo Koch, writing to me from Braunsberg, 25 November, 1908, conjectured a relative clause with the subjunctive here. He quoted Ambrosius, *De Obitu Theodosii*, c. 34 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 16, col. 1459), "*dilexi virum*, qui magis arguentem quam adulantem probaret."

[11] Here begins the second and more recently discovered fragment.

[12] Grenfell and Hunt conjecture *to-* instead of *mul-*.

[13] See p. 183, n. 3.

[14] This pretty observation should be compared with the ancient comparison of a letter to a conversation, quoted below, p. 218, n. 1.

[15] The address is written on fragment I.

The situation in this letter is quite clear, and needs no reconstruction. It is only necessary to say something about the theory, first advanced by N. Tamassia and G. Setti in collaboration,[1] and approved by P. Viereck,[2] that the letter was written by a Christian. In support of it we are referred to the various "Biblical" and especially "New Testament" echoes it contains, the chief being a striking parallel to the words of St. Peter, "Lo, we have left all, and have followed Thee." In conscious or unconscious recollection of these Gospel words, we are told, Archelaus writes of Theon that he had left his own people, his possessions, and business, and had followed him—so that Archelaus at least must be regarded as a Christian.[3] There is certainly something alluring about this theory, but nevertheless I am not able to accept it. If Archelaus were a Christian it is extremely unlikely, I think, that he would have profaned St. Peter's words by applying them to the relations of an ordinary human friendship. The double concept of leaving and following is employed by St. Peter in the deepest sense of evangelical self-denial and refers to the disciples and the Master. But the expression "leave and follow" is quite likely to have been one of the stock phrases used in ancient letters of recommendation; in the Gospel it acquires ethical status. The other "Biblical" and particularly "Pauline" echoes are explainable in the same way. Archelaus was not acquainted with the Pauline

[1] Due Papiri d'Oxirinco. An offprint from the Atti del R. Istit. Veneto di Scienze, etc., t. 59, Venezia, 1900. I know this paper only from Viereck's review (see next note).

[2] Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 21 (1901) col. 907 f.

[3] Viereck, col. 907.

Epistles,[1] but Paul and Archelaus were acquainted with the complimentary phraseology employed in ancient letter-writing.

To the historian of manners this letter of Aurelius Archelaus is a speaking testimony to the noble, unreserved humanity that was possible in the Roman army of the second century, even in the relations between a subordinate and his superior.

13

Letter from Harpocras, an Egyptian, to Phthomonthes, 29 December, 192 A.D., ostracon from Thebes, now in the author's collection, deciphered by U. Wilcken (Figure 28).

A delivery-order in letter-form, perfectly simple and unassuming, but interesting in style and language.

Ἁρποκρᾶς Φθομώ(ν)θη χαίρειν.	Harpocras to Phthomonthes, greeting.
Δὸς Ψενμ(ών)θη Παὼ[2] καὶ Πλήνι Παουώσιο(ς)	Give to Psenmonthes, the son of Pao, and to Plenis, the son of Pauosis,
ἀπὸ[3] Φμαῦ γεωργοῖς λίμνης	of Phmau, husbandmen of the lake,
ƒ[4] ϵ	5 (artabae)
εἰς πλήρωσιν ƒ λϵ γ(ίνονται)	of wheat, to make up the 35 (artabae) of wheat.
ƒ λϵ.	They are 35 (artabae)
L λγ// Τῦβ(ι) γ̄.	of wheat. In the year 33, Tybi 3.
/ καὶ ἤδη ποτὲ[5] δὸς τῇ ἐμῇ[6] παιδίσκῃ[7]	And now at length give to my maid
τὰς τοῦ ƒ γ ϵ |	the $3\frac{3}{4}$ artabae of wheat.

[1] What a significance for the history of the canon would attach to quotations from St. Paul found in an unknown person's letter in the second century! How pleased we should be to be able to believe the letter Christian!

[2] So read by Hermann Diels (letter to the author, Berlin W., 22 July, 1908).

[3] The same ἀπό that has been so often misunderstood in Heb. xiii. 24; cf. my little note in Hermes, 33 (1898) p. 344. As on the ostracon people *at* Phmau are meant, so no doubt in the Epistle to the Hebrews οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ("they of Italy," A.V., R.V.) means people *in* Italy.

[4] Contraction for πυροῦ, "wheat." [5] ἤδη ποτέ is used as in Rom. i. 10.

[6] ἐμός unemphatic as, for example, in Rom. x. 1.

[7] Meaning, as in the New Testament, a "female slave."

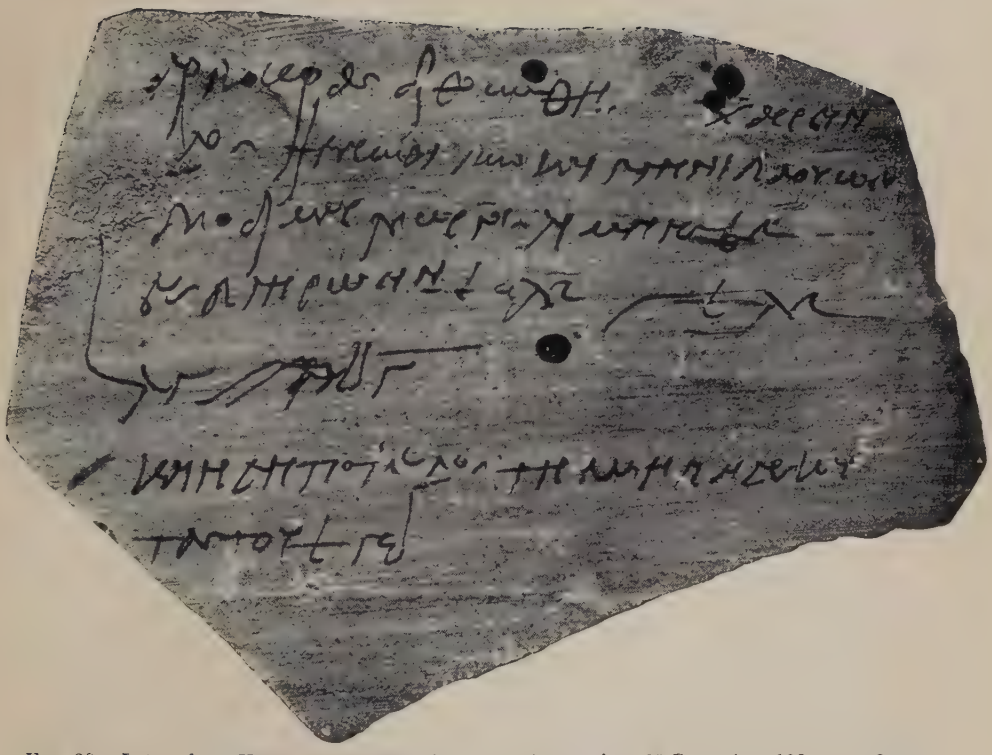

FIG. 28.—Letter from Harpocras, an Egyptian, to Phthomonthes, 29 December, 192 A.D. Ostracon from Thebes. Now in the Author's collection.

[p. 186

14

Letter from Theon, an Egyptian boy, to his father Theon, 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D., papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, discovered and published by Grenfell and Hunt [1] (Figure 29).

This letter, written in a schoolboy's uncial hand, is of the highest importance for a variety of reasons: it is at once a picture of ancient family life, a portrait of a naughty boy drawn by himself, and a specimen of the most uncultivated form of popular speech. Blass's [2] remark, that the boy "violates" grammar, is about as true as if I were to call a sloe-hedge a violation of the espalier. At the outset Theon *had* no grammar to suffer humiliation and violence at a later stage of his career. He had merely the language of the streets and the playground, and that language the rogue speaks also in his letter. The spelling too is "very bad," says Blass—as if the boy had been writing an examination exercise; but from this "bad" (really on the whole phonetic) spelling the Greek scholar can learn more than from ten correct official documents. The style I recommend to the consideration of all who are specialists in detecting the stylistic features characteristic of the Semitic race.

Θέων Θέωνι τῶ πατρὶ χαιρειν.
καλῶς ἐποίησες.[3] *οὐκ ἀπένηχές*[4] *με μετ' ἐ-*
σοῦ[5] *εἰς πόλιν. ἡ*[6] *οὐ θέλις*[7] *ἀπενέκκειν*[8] *με-*
τ' ἐσοῦ[5] *εἰς Ἀλεξανδρίαν, οὐ μὴ γράψω σε ἐ-*

[1] The Oxyrhynchus Papyri (I.) No. 119, cf. II. p. 320. See also U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1898, p. 686; F. Blass, Hermes, 34 (1899) p. 312 ff.; Preisigke, p. 110 f. Grenfell and Hunt, it seems, did not adopt all Blass's suggestions. I follow their readings. For the facsimile (Figure 29) I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Arthur S. Hunt.

[2] Page 312.

[3] = *ἐποίησας.* [5] = *σου*, formed like *ἐμοῦ*, common. [7] = *θέλεις.*

[4] = *ἀπήνεγκες.* [6] = *εἰ.* [8] = *ἀπενεγκεῖν.*

πιστολήν, οὔτε λαλῶ σε, οὔτε νύγένω[1] σε
εἶτα. ἂν[2] δὲ ἔλθης εἰς Ἀλεξανδρίαν, οὐ
μὴ λάβω χεῖραν[3] παρά [σ]ου, οὔτε πάλι[4] χαίρω
σε λυπόν.[5] ἂμ μὴ[6] θέλης ἀπενέκαι[7] μ[ε],
ταῦτα γε[ί]νετε.[8] καὶ ἡ μήτηρ μου εἶπε Ἀρ-
χελάω, ὅτι ἀναστατοῖ με· ἄρρον[9] αὐτόν.
καλῶς δὲ ἐποίησες.[10] δῶρά μοι ἔπεμψε[ς][11]
μεγάλα, ἀράκια. πεπλάνηκαν ἡμῶς[12] ἐκε[ῖ],
τῇ ἡμέρα ιβ ὅτι[13] ἔπλευσες.[14] λυπὸν[5] πέμψον εἶ[ς]
με, παρακαλῶ σε. ἂμ μὴ[6] πέμψῃς, οὐ μὴ φά-
γω, οὐ μὴ πείνω.[15] ταῦτα.
ἐρῶσθέ[16] σε εὔ[χ](ομαι).

Τῦβι ιῃ.

On the verso the address:

ἀπόδος Θέωνι [ἀ]πὸ Θεωνᾶτος υἱῶ.

Theon to Theon his father, greeting. Thou hast done well.[17] Thou hast not carried me with thee to the town. If thou wilt not carry me with thee to Alexandria, I will not write thee[18] a letter, nor speak thee,[18] nor wish thee[18] health. But if thou goest[19] to Alexandria, I will not take hand from thee, nor greet thee again henceforth.[20] If thou wilt not carry me, these things come to pass. My mother also said to Archelaus, "he driveth me mad[21]: away with him."[22] But thou hast done well.[17] Thou

[1] = *ὑγιγένω* (= *ὑγιγαίνω* from *ὑγιαίνω*, Karl Dieterich, *Untersuchungen*, p. 91 f. and p. 179, n. 25 above).

[2] = *ἐὰν*.

[3] = *χεῖρα*.

[4] = *πάλιν* as in the oldest Christian papyrus letter extant (No. 16 below, II$_{13 f.}$)

[5] = *λοιπόν*.

[6] = *ἐὰν μὴ* as in the letter of the Papas Caor (No. 19 below).

[7] = *ἀπενέγκαι*.

[8] = *γίνεται*.

[9] = *ἄρον*.

[10] = *ἐποίησας*.

[11] = *ἔπεμψας*.

[12] = *ἡμᾶς*.

[13] = *ὅτε*?

[14] = *ἔπλευσας*.

[15] = *πίνω*.

[16] = *ἐρρῶσθαί*.

[17] Ironical.

[18] The word in the original has the form of the accusative. This is not an outrage on grammar, but a symptom that the dative was beginning to disappear in the popular language.

[19] That is to say: alone, without taking the son.

[20] *λοιπόν*, as used frequently in St. Paul's letters.

[21] The "New Testament" *ἀναστατόω*, cf. p. 80 above.

[22] *ἄρον* is used exactly like this in John xix. 15.

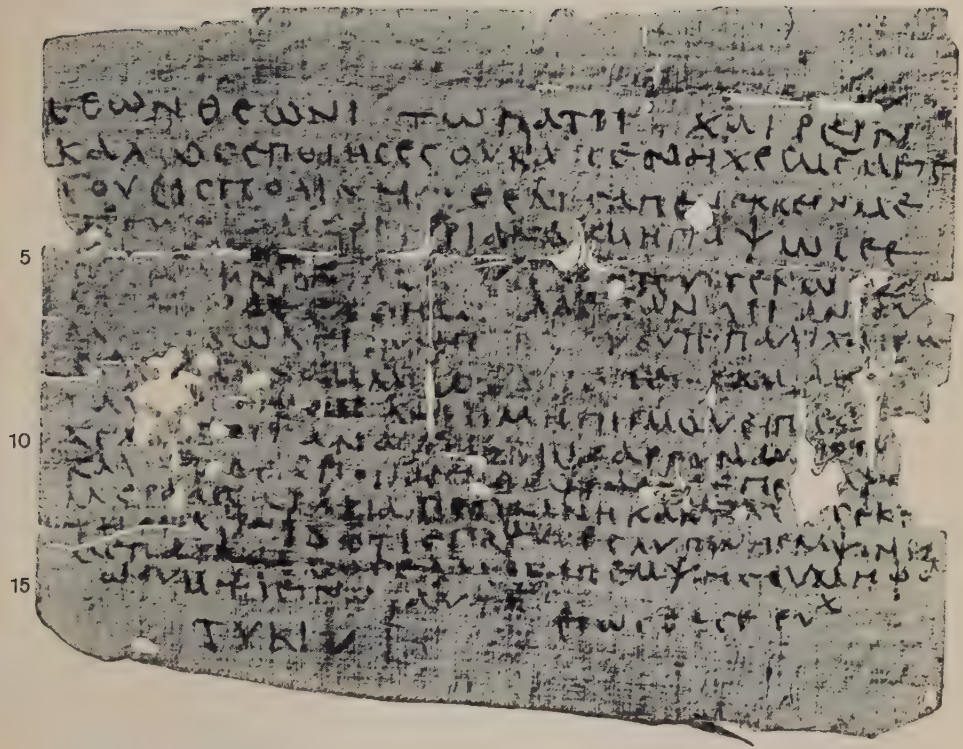

FIG. 29.—Letter from Theon, an Egyptian boy, to his father Theon, 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D. Papyrus from Oxyrhynchus. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Facsimile kindly obtained by Dr. Arthur S. Hunt.

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hast sent me great[1] gifts—locust-beans.[2] They deceived[3] us[4] there on the 12th day, when thou didst sail. Finally,[5] send for me, I beseech thee. If thou sendest not, I will not eat nor drink.[6] Even so.[7] Fare thee well, I pray. Tybi 18.

On the verso the address:

Deliver to Theon from Theonas[8] his son.

A nice handful, this boy! He has wrought his mother to such a pitch that she is almost beside herself and has but one wish: "Away with him!" And the father is no better treated. Little Theon is determined at all costs to share in the journey to Alexandria planned by Theon the elder. There have already been several scenes about it, and the father, who has no need of the urchin on his long journey, can think of no other way out of the difficulty but to start on the voyage to the capital, Alexandria, under the pretext of a little trip "to the town" (probably Oxyrhynchus).[9] This was on 7 January. The weak father's conscience pricks him for his treachery, and so he sends a little present to console the boy he has outwitted—some locust-beans

[1] Blass and Preisigke take "great" with the word which I have translated "locust-beans." Our interpretation makes the irony clearer.

[2] Perhaps something like the husks which the Prodigal Son (Luke xv. 16) would fain have eaten.

[3] πλανάω, as frequently in the New Testament.

[4] *Us* = probably Theon and (his brother?) Archelaus. [5] See p. 188, n. 20.

[6] This recalls the curse under which the Jewish zealots bound themselves, "that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul" (Acts xxiii. 12, 21). Wetstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum*, II. p. 615, quotes similar formulae from Rabbinic sources.

[7] After ταῦτα we must probably understand γίνεται (cf. l. 9). Cf. the abrupt ταῦτα in inscriptions: Eduard Loch, *Festschrift . . . Ludwig Friedlaender dargebracht von seinen Schülern*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 289 ff.; R. Heberdey and E. Kalinka, Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. d. Wissensch. zu Wien, Phil.-hist. Classe, 45 (1897) 1 Abh. pp. 5 f., 53.

[8] *Theonas* is the pet-form of the name Theon.

[9] I surmise that Theon's home was some little place on the Nile (cf. ἔπλευσες, l. 13), south of Oxyrhynchus, which would then be "the town" referred to.

for him to eat, which the father perhaps thought would be a treat for him so early in the year. But he was mistaken there. As day after day goes by and the father does not return from "the town," the victim sees through the plot. He knows now why he was not allowed to go with his father this time to "the town"; he sees now why he received the fine present —fine present indeed, why the poor people eat those locust-beans[1]! Burning with rage, he sits down to write on 13 January. Having found out that his father was to stop somewhere en route, he composes this blackmailing letter we have before us. Impudent, ironical, with childish wilfulness he pours out his threats. He will stop doing everything that a well brought-up child should do to its parents—wishing them good-day, shaking hands, wishing them health, writing nice letters. Worst threat of all, he will starve to death of his own free will. That will bring daddy round, the device has never failed yet. And still with all his defiant naughtiness Theon can contrive a tolerable joke. His mother had cried in desperation to (his brother?) Archelaus, "He drives me mad, away with him," and Theon is quick-witted enough to turn this into an argument with his father for travelling to Alexandria after all! The same derisive artfulness is apparent in the address. On the outside of a letter bristling with impudence he has mischievously written as the name of the sender *Theonas*, the father's pet name for his pampered child.

Did Theon the elder, to whom such a letter could be written, do what the naughty boy wanted at last? The outlines which the son has unconsciously drawn of his father's portrait certainly do not encourage us to answer the question in the negative.

[1] Cf. Blass, p. 314.

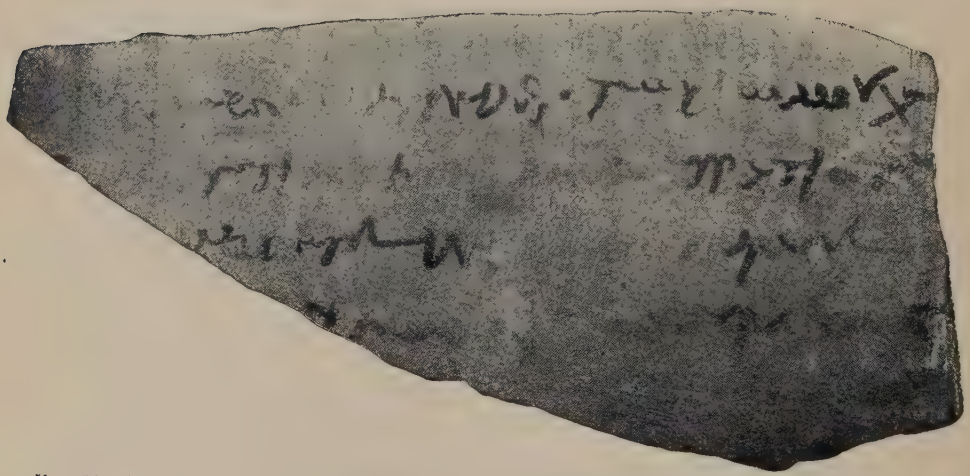

FIG. 30.—Letter from Pacysis, an Egyptian, to his son, about the 3rd cent. A.D. Ostracon from Thebes. Now in the Author's collection.

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15

Letter from Pacysis, an Egyptian, to his son, about the 3rd cent. A.D., ostracon from Thebes, now in the author's collection, deciphered by U. Wilcken[1] (Figure 30).

Πακῦσις Πατσέβθιο(ς) τῶ υἱῶ μου χ(αίρειν).	Pacysis, the son of Patsebthis, to my son, greeting.
Μὴ ἀντιλογήσης. μετὰ στρατιώτου[2]	Contradict not. Ye have dwelt
[*ὠι ?*]*κήσατε* ⟨*ἐ*⟩*κεῖ. μ*[*ηδ*]*ὲ παραδέ-*	there with a soldier. But re-
[*ξῃ αὐτὸ*]*ν, ἕως ἔλθω πρὸς ἡμᾶς*[3]	ceive him not till I come to
5 [ ]. . . . . *ἔρρωσο.*	you. . . . . Farewell.

In its wretchedly sorry state this greatly faded ostracon is a typical example of a poor man's letter in ancient times. Theon, the father whose acquaintance we made in the last letter, was obviously better off, but would he, we wonder, ever have been able, like Pacysis, in dealing with his son to use such a wholesomely rough expression as "Contradict not"?

[1] Wilcken examined the ostracon on two occasions, once in the autumn of 1904, and again at the beginning of 1907. Not all that was visible in 1904 can be read now.

[2] The punctuation is doubtful. I at first thought of reading *μὴ ἀντιλογήσῃς μετὰ στρατιώτου*, "dispute not with a soldier," when *μετὰ* would be used as it is frequently in the New Testament and elsewhere after *πολεμέω*.

[3] *ἡμᾶς* must certainly mean *ὑμᾶς*; this confusion, of which there are countless instances in MSS. of the New Testament, arose in consequence of both words being pronounced alike, *imas*.

16

Letter from an Egyptian Christian at Rome to his fellow-Christians in the Arsinoïte nome, between 264 (265) and 282 (281) A.D., papyrus from Egypt (probably the Fayûm), formerly in the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney at Didlington Hall, Norfolk, published by Grenfell and Hunt[1] (Figure 31).

This papyrus is at present the oldest known autograph letter in existence from the hand of a Christian, and in spite of being badly mutilated it is of great value.

From external characteristics the fragment was dated between 250 and 285 A.D. by Grenfell and Hunt, who deciphered and first published it, and their chronology has been brilliantly confirmed by an observation of Harnack's.[2] He found that the "pope Maximus" mentioned in the letter was Bishop Maximus of Alexandria, who was in office from 264 (265) to 282 (281) A.D.

Little has yet been done towards the restoration of the text. Two other texts contained on the same precious fragment have from the first somewhat diverted attention from the letter itself. A few lines from the beginning of the Epistle to the Hebrews have been written above the second column of the letter in an almost contemporary hand,[3] while on the back Dr. J. Rendel Harris was the first to recognise a fragment of Genesis i. 1–5 in Aquila's

[1] The Amherst Papyri, Part I. No. 3a, with a facsimile in Part II. Plate 25, which I here reproduce by the kind permission of the late Lord Amherst of Hackney. The reproduction (Fig. 31) is about half the size of the original.

[2] Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1900, p. 987 ff. Harnack thinks there is much to be said for the theory that the papyrus contains two letters. Then, I think, we should have to assume that the fragment was a leaf of the writer's letter copy-book (cf. below, p. 227, the remarks on Rom. xvi.). But the most probable assumption is that we have only one letter here.

[3] See the facsimile.

translation preceded by the Septuagint parallel in a handwriting of the age of Constantine.

So far as I know C. Wessely[1] is the only one who has attempted to restore the missing parts of the letter. My own attempt, here given,[2] agrees in several places independently with his. I feel obliged to point out that parts of the attempted restoration of the text are extremely hypothetical. But combined effort is necessary for the solution of such tasks, and I should be the first to discard these conjectures in favour of better ones.

Column I

contains the remains of 10 lines, not deciphered by Grenfell and Hunt. A re-examination of the original is greatly to be desired, but merely from the facsimile I should not venture to say anything.

Column II

κ̣[. . . . .]ν̣ου̣ν̣ σ̣ου̣ ησ ἀνν[ώνης][3]
. . [. . . . ἐξο]δ̣ιάσαι τὴν κριθὴν[. . .]
ἐκ τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ [αὐτοῦ] λόγου [καὶ] μὴ τὸ α̣ὐ̣τ̣[ὸ]
φροντ̣[ίσωσι]ν οἷο̣ν καὶ εἴ̣ρητω[4] . [. .]ο
5 ἐ̣ν̣θηκ[ῶν ἀπο]σ̣τελλομένων πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἀ[πὸ] τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας. καὶ
προφάσε[ις] καὶ ἀναβολὰς καὶ ἀνα-
δόσις[5] ποιη[σά]μενος οὐχ οἴομαι αὐτ[ὸ]ν
τα̣ῦτα [δίχα] αἰτίας οὕτος[6] πεφρονι-
10 κέ̣ναι[7]. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἂν νῦν αὕτη ἡ περισ-
σ̣ό̣τ̣η̣ς̣ ἡ συμβεβηκυῖαν[8] μὴ ποιήσαι̣
λ̣ό̣γ̣ον, ἰς τὸ καλῶς ἔ̣χει̣ν̣ τ̣[ελ]εῖ̣ν εὖ

[1] *Patrologia Orientalis*, Tome IV. Fascicule 2, p. 135 ff.

[2] Cf. also a short notice in the Supplement to the Allgemeine Zeitung (Munich), 1900, No. 250.

[3] This conjecture is not certain, but U. Wilcken agrees with me in thinking it probable. The Latin *annona* often appears as a borrowed word in Greek papyri.

[4] = εἴρητο.

[5] = ἀναδόσεις.

[6] = οὕτως.

[7] = πεφρονηκέναι.

[8] = συμβεβηκυῖα.

ἀνέχομαι. εἰ δὲ ε[. . . .] ἄρτοις[1] πά-
λι[2] πεπράσιν[3] ο [[ἐν]] εισ [.]υ διὰ μ[ι]κρὸν γε-
νέσθαι πρὸς τὴν [. .]ε[. . .]ν Νῖλον
καὶ τὸν πατέρα Ἀπολλῶνιν εἰς
Α . . τ . . . . . α . ἐπέστειλάν τε
παραχρ[ῆμ]α τὸ ἀργύριον ἐξοδιασ-
θῆναι ὑμῖν. ὃ καὶ καταγάγειται[4]
ἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδριαν ὠνησάμε-
νον[5] ἀόνας[6] παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινο-
[ε]ίτη. τοῦτο γὰρ συνεθ[έ]μην Πρει-
μειτείνω, ὥστε τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτ[ῶ] ἰς
τ[ὴν] Ἀ[λε]ξάνδριαν ἐξωδιασθῆναι.[7]
[(ἔτους).]// Παῦνι ῆ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης.[8]

Column III

Καλῶς οὖν ποιήσαντ[ες, ἀδελφοί,]
ὠνησάμενο[ι][9] τὰ ὀθόν[ια. ἔπειτά τι-]
νες ἐξ ἡμ[ῶ]ν[10] τὸν α[. . . . . λαβέτωσ-][11]
αν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐξορμ[ήσαντες πρὸς]
Μάξιμον τὸν πάπα[ν[12] καὶ . . . . .][13]

[1] = ἄρτους? [2] = πάλιν, as in Theon's letter above, No. 14.
[3] = πεπρά⟨κα⟩σιν? [4] = καταγάγετε. [5] = ὠνησάμενοι?
[6] Grenfell and Hunt cite from Epicharmus ἀών as the name of a fish. They observe—very rightly—that this is not likely to be the word here. We may assume with Wessely that ὀθόνας was the word intended (cf. column III). Hermann Diels writes to me (Berlin W., 22 July, 1908): "ὀθόνας is suggested by the sense, but there is not room enough for it. Is it possible that the word there was ἀόνας (*vestimenta*), the same which has hitherto defied explanation in Bacchylides 17 (16), 112?" [7] = ἐξοδιασθῆναι.
[8] This and the corresponding line in column III are written in another hand than the body of the letter. Cf. above, pp. 153, 158 f.
[9] After καλῶς ποιεῖν we have here as in Theon's letter (No. 14 above) not the infinitive, but a paratactic participle; similar constructions in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, No. 113$_{6f.}$ and 116$_{5f., 14}$ (both letters of the 2nd cent. A.D.). The use is, however, much older, as shown by the letter (Hibeh Papyri, No. 82$_{17ff.}$ *c.* 238 B.C.) quoted above, p. 83, note 6.
[10] = ὑμῶν.
[11] This conjecture is not free from doubt, as the writer generally divides words differently.
[12] For the title πάπας, "pope," cf. Harnack's observations on the letter, p. 989 ff., and see Caor's letter, No. 19 below.
[13] Wessely here conjectures the name *Primitinus*. But this, in the orthography of the writer, would be too long.

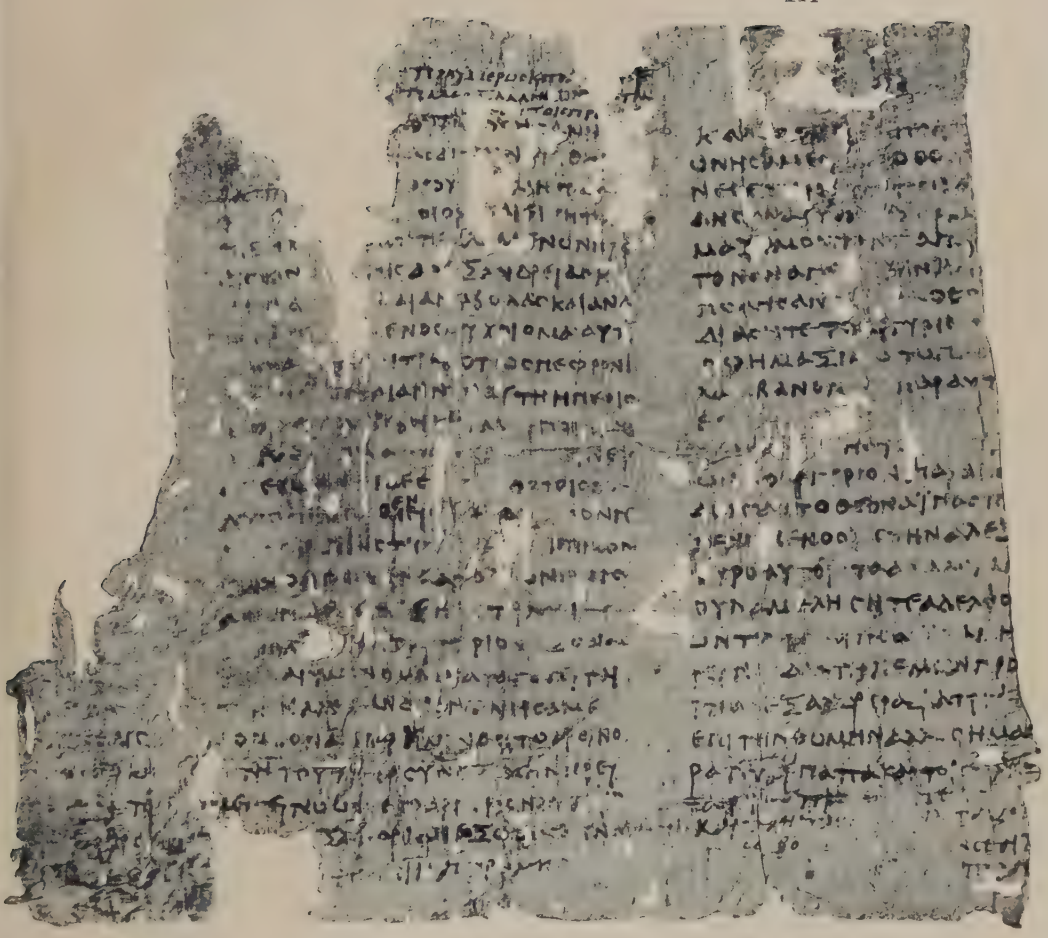

FIG. 31. The Oldest Christian Letter extant in the Original. Letter from an Egyptian Christian to his fellow-Christians in the Arsinoïte nome. Papyrus, written at Rome between 264 (265) and 282 (281) A.D. By permission of Lord Amherst of Hackney, the late owner.

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τὸν ἀναγν[ώσ]την. καὶ [ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρία]
πωλήσαντ[ες] τὰ ὀθό[νια ἐκεῖνα ἐξο-]
διάσητε τὸ ἀργύριον [Πρειμειτεί-]
νω ἢ Μαξίμω τῶ πάπ[α ἀποχὴν ἀπο-]
λαμβάνοντ[ε]ς παρ' αὐτ[οῦ. αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν]
ἐπιθήκ[ην, τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ ὑφ' ὑμῶν]
πωλο[υμέ]νου ἄρ[του καὶ τῶν ὀθονί-]
ων τὸ ἀργύριον, παρακα[1][ταθέσθω παρα-]
δοὺς αὐτὸ Θεονᾶ[2], ἵνα σὺν [Θεῶ[3] παρα-]
γενόμενος ἰς τὴν Ἀλεξ[άνδρειαν]
εὗρο[4] αὐτὸ ἰς τὰ ἀναλώμα[τά μου. μὴ]
οὖν ἀμελήσητε, ἀδελφο[ί, διὰ ταχέ-]
ων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἵνα μὴ[Πρειμει-]
τεῖνος διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν προ[θεσμίαν ἐν]
τῇ Ἀλεξανδρεία διατρίψῃ [πλεῖν μέλλων]
ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡμᾶς [ὠφέλησε πα-]
ράτευξιν[5] πάπα καὶ τοῖς κατ' α[ὐτὸν ἀγιω-]
τάτοις[6] προ[εστῶσι[7]], τείσ[ω αὐτῶ χάριν]
καὶ πάντα σ[ύμφω]να τάξο[8] ὑ[μῖν καὶ Ἀ-]
γαθοβού[λω. ἐρρ]ῶσθαι ὑ[μᾶς εὔχομαι.]
]απαλα.[

[1] Grenfell and Hunt read παρακῳ, but to judge from the facsimile παρακα would also be possible.

[2] = Θεωνᾶ.

[3] For this conjecture cf. l. 16 of the letter of Psenosiris, No. 17 below, ὅταν ἔλθῃ σὺν θεῷ. The formula σὺν θεῷ, "with God," occurs frequently elsewhere. The writer of this letter fulfils almost literally the injunction in the Epistle of St. James iv. 13 ff. not to say, "To-day or to-morrow we will go into such a city . . . and trade, and get gain," without adding, "If the Lord will and we live."

[4] = εὕρω, cf. l. 24 τάξο. The writer often confuses ο and ω.

[5] παράτευξις is a new word, "intercourse, personal relations," perhaps also "intercession" (cf. ἔντευξις, *Bibelstudien*, pp. 117 f., 143 f.; *Bible Studies*, pp. 121, 146).

[6] For ἁγιώτατος cf. Jude 20. The superlative is common in both secular and ecclesiastical use.

[7] For προεστώς, "chief man," "ruler," in early ecclesiastical use cf. Joh. Caspar Suicerus, *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*[2] II., Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1746, col. 840; for the later Egyptian use see quotations in W. E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca*, p. 113 of the lithographed part.

[8] = τάξω, cf. l. 16 εὕρο. σύμφωνος is common in the papyri in such contexts. The phrase σύμφωνα διατάττω is quoted in the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* from Plato, *Legg.* 5. 746 E.

Column II

. . . of the corn . . . deliver the barley[1] . . . from the same account, and that they should not be careful of that same which had also been said . . . when the stores [of money] were sent to him[2] from Alexandria. And though I made excuses and delays and puttings off, I think not that he[3] thus desired these things[4] without cause. And even if now this superfluity[5] which hath happened should not make a reckoning [possible], for the sake of [my own] good feelings[6] I will gladly endure[7] to pay. But if . . . they have again sold loaves, . . . in a little while happen to . . . Nilus[8] and [my ?] father Apollonis[9] in A . . . And they have written that the money shall be delivered unto you immediately. Which also bring ye down to Alexandria, having bought linen among you in the Arsinoïte [nome]. For I have covenanted this with Primitinus, that the money shall be delivered unto him at Alexandria. [Year]//, Pauni 8,[10] from Rome.

Column III

Ye shall do well,[11] therefore, brethren, having bought the linen cloth. Then let some of you take the . . . and set forth

[1] Hence we may conclude that dealings in corn are in the background of this letter.

[2] *I.e* Primitinus, who was then also in Rome.

[3] Primitinus.

[4] Payment of the money in Alexandria instead of Rome.

[5] The letter was dated or signed in the beginning of June; this suggests that the harvest was unusually good, and business correspondingly heavy.

[6] Cf. the last lines of column III. The writer wants to have his conscience clear towards Primitinus.

[7] The word is no doubt used playfully. Wilcken proposes: "yet I will gladly make the sacrifice for the sake of decency."

[8] If the reading "Nilos" is not certain, I should expect a female name, say "Nilūs" (cf. letter 11, above). The preceding word would then be [ἀδ]ε[λφὴ]ν, "sister."

[9] *Apollonis* is short for *Apollonius*. Harnack assumed that "Father" was the title of the provincial bishop, and took Apollonius to be the bishop of the particular church in the Arsinoïte nome (p. 991; cf. also his *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, II. 2, p. 180). This does not seem to me very probable. I rather think that the writer is speaking of his real father (and possibly of his sister just before).

[10] = 2 June.

[11] In the Greek text the verb is in the participle, through the carelessness of the writer in haste.

with it[1] unto Maximus the Papas and . . . the Lector. And having sold that linen cloth in Alexandria, deliver the money unto Primitinus or[2] Maximus the Papas, receiving a quittance from him. But the gain, the price of the bread sold by you and the money for the linen cloth, let him commit and deliver it up unto Theonas,[3] in order that I, being come with God to Alexandria,[4] may find it [ready] against my charges. Neglect not, therefore, brethren, to do this speedily, lest Primitinus, on account of the time appointed of me,[5] should tarry in Alexandria, being about to sail for Rome,[6] but that, as he hath profited us by dealings with the Papas and the most holy rulers who are before him, I may pay him thanks and determine all things in agreement for you and Agathobulus.[7] Fare ye well, I pray . . . . . .[8]

Let us now attempt to make out the situation in this venerable document. A hint will be sufficient reminder that, so far as the restored portion of the text is concerned, the attempt must remain questionable.

We might place as a motto at the head of this, the earliest Christian letter of which the original has come down to us, the words which Tertullian[9]

[1] Or: "Then let some of you take the . . . with you (*αὐτοῖς*) and set forth unto . . ."

[2] If Primitinus has not yet arrived at Alexandria.

[3] Theonas is therefore probably the financial agent of the Papas. Harnack suggests very plausibly that he might be the Theonas who succeeded Maximus as Papas of Alexandria, 282 (281)–300 A.D.

[4] The writer therefore intends presently to go from Rome to Alexandria.

[5] The date arranged with Primitinus for the payment of the money.

[6] Primitinus is therefore at present in Alexandria, but intends to return to Rome, where, according to column II, he had already been before.

[7] If our conjectural restoration of the text is correct in principle, Agathobulus would be eminently interested in the settlement of the money matters discussed in the letter. Perhaps he as well as the writer was the confidential agent of the Arsinoïte Christians at Rome.

[8] The letters *απαλα* defy all attempts at certain restoration. Can it be that the Papas is once more named here? The conclusion of the letter containing the good wishes seems to have been inserted at the right, which at a later date was quite usual, cf. my note in *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung* I. p. 101, and the letters of Psenosiris, Justinus, and Caor which follow below.

[9] *Apol.* 42, "Navigamus . . . et rusticamur et mercatus proinde miscemus."

wrote two generations earlier: "We do business in ships . . . we follow husbandry, and bear our part in buying and selling." The Christians of the generation before the great tempest of Diocletian persecution, whom we can here watch going about their work from our hidden post of observation, took their stand in the world, not alone praying for their daily bread, but also trading in it; "they bought, they sold."

Christians,[1] living somewhere in the fertile Arsinoïte nome[2] of Egypt, have far away at Rome[3] a confidential agent whose name we do not know, but whose letter and Greek we have before us in the original: rude clumsy characters in the main text of the letter, a somewhat more flowing hand in the concluding lines (perhaps in the agent's autograph), the spelling uncultivated as of the people, the syntax that of the unlearned. This agent is supported perhaps by another, Agathobulus.[4] They are entrusted with the dispatch of certain business connected with corn.[5]

An almost contemporary letter written from Rome by one Irenaeus to his brother Apolinarius, who also resided in the Arsinoïte nome,[6] gives us a vivid picture of the kind of business. The man landed in Italy on the 6th of the month Epiph, finished unloading the corn-ship on the 18th Epiph, went on 25th Epiph to Rome, "and the place received us as God willed."[7] After that, it is true,

[1] Column III_{17} (III_1).
[2] $II_{21f.}$
[3] $II_{25.}$
[4] $III_{25.}$
[5] $II_{2.}$
[6] Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 27.
[7] This phrase has led people to regard the letter as a Christian one. The question, in spite of Wilcken's decision in the negative (Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 4, p. 208 f.), is still open; the other letters of the same circle of correspondents do not prove that Irenaeus was a pagan. It is not altogether

Irenaeus had to wait day after day for the conclusion of his business: "to this present day not one (of us) has finished this business of the corn."

Such no doubt was the sort of work that the writer of our letter had to do, and he was dealing just now with a man named Primitinus,[1] to whom he had to pay money.[2] That cannot very well be money for corn, for it is to be assumed that the people of Egypt sold corn rather than bought it. Primitinus might be a shipowner, claiming the cost of freightage of the corn. In that case it is not surprising that he is now in Rome, now in Alexandria.[3] At the present time he is expected at Alexandria or is already there,[4] but will return to Rome before long.[5] First, however, he will receive his money at Alexandria: so he had arranged at Rome with the writer of the letter.[6] The latter would have preferred some other mode of settlement, and had therefore at first tried all sorts of expedients,[7] but he came at last to the conviction that Primitinus had his good reasons,[8] and the writer of the letter is now greatly concerned to keep his agreement with the man. For to him, the Alexandrian shipowner, the Christians of the Arsinoïte nome are indebted for their close relations with the Papas of Alexandria, Maximus, the Lector ——, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries in the great city.[9] And although the good harvest has greatly stimulated the trade in corn, and the settlement of the bill might still perhaps be postponed to some quieter time,[10] he

impossible that Irenaeus also was an agent of the Christian corn-merchants of the Arsinoïte nome: he speaks of a number of colleagues. The letter is dated 9 Mesore (2 August).

[1] II$_{22f.}$ III$_{8f. 18f.}$ [2] II$_{22ff.}$ [3] II$_{5. 6.}$ III$_{20. 21.}$ [4] III$_{8f. 20.}$
[5] III$_{20f.}$ [6] II$_{22ff.}$ [7] II$_{6ff.}$ [8] II$_{8f.}$
[9] III$_{21ff.}$ [10] II$_{10ff.}$

presses for immediate payment: he wants his conscience to be easy,[1] is anxious to keep true to his contract[2] and not appear ungrateful.[3]

If, however, the Arsinoïtes do send people[4] on the journey to Alexandria, to pay Primitinus, as good business men they must not neglect to make a little money at the same time. They must take with them home-grown linen[5] and sell it in the capital[6]; then, after Primitinus is paid,[7] there will remain a tidy balance,[8] which, with the profit from other ventures,[9] they must hand over to the Papas Maximus,[10] that is in reality to his steward Theonas,[11] to hold as a deposit for the use of the writer of the letter when he presently returns, God willing, to Alexandria.[12] This is perhaps not the first time that they have laid up such "stores"[13] at Alexandria.

To the ecclesiastical historian this is the most interesting part of the letter: Egyptian provincial Christians employ the highest ecclesiastic in the country as their confidential agent in money affairs! The link between the Christian corn-sellers in the Fayûm and their agent in Rome is no casual exchanger, intent on his share of profit, but the Papas of Alexandria! This is certainly not a bad indication of the way in which the scattered churches held together socially, and of the willingness of the ecclesiastical leaders to help even in the worldly affairs of their co-religionists.

And so this oldest of Christian letters preserved in the original, although it contains, thank God, not a

[1] II_{12}. [2] $II_{22ff.}$ III_{24}. [3] III_{23}. [4] $III_{2f.}$
[5] $II_{21\ (?)}$. $III_{2f.}$ [6] $III_{6f.}$ [7] $III_{7ff.}$ [8] III_{11}.
[9] Cf. in $II_{13ff.}$ the hints, now unfortunately very obscure, of the sale of bread.
[10] $III_{9ff.}$ [11] $III_{13f.}$ [12] $III_{14ff.}$ [13] $II_{5f.}$

word of dogma, is still an extraordinarily valuable record of Christianity in the days before Constantine —quite apart from its external value as an historical document, which Harnack has already demonstrated to satisfaction. Certainly this papyrus was not unworthy of the impressive lines from the Greek Old and New Testaments which were afterwards written on it, and inscribed with which it has come down to our own day.

17

Letter from Psenosiris, a Christian presbyter, to Apollo, a Christian presbyter at Cysis in the Great Oasis, beginning of the 4th cent. A.D., papyrus from the Great Oasis, now in the British Museum, published by Grenfell and Hunt[1] (Figure 32).[2]

This "original document from the Diocletian persecution" was made the subject of a special investigation by me in 1902.[3] The copious literature to which the precious fragment has given rise since then has been already noted,[4] and I will only add here that I have been confirmed in my theory of the letter by the agreement of almost all the subsequent writers.[5] I here reprint the text with a few improvements, which do not affect my explanation of the letter, and with the corresponding

[1] *Greek Papyri*, Series II., Oxford, 1897, No. 73.

[2] This reproduction is almost of the exact size of the original.

[3] *Ein Original-Dokument aus der Diocletianischen Christenverfolgung*, Tübingen und Leipzig, 1902 (translated under the title *The Epistle of Psenosiris*, London, 1902; Cheap Edition, 1907).

[4] Page 37, n. 3.

[5] Grenfell and Hunt have meanwhile published a new example of the word that they print with a small letter instead of a capital, πολιτική, "harlot" (The Oxyrhynchus Papyri [VI.], No. 903_{37}, 4th cent. A.D.). But this does not affect the possibility of my reading, Πολιτική, a proper name.

alterations in the translation, and refer for the rest to my own little book and the other literature.[1]

Ψενοσίρι πρεσβ[υτέ]ρω
Ἀπόλλωνι
πρεσβυτέρω ἀγαπητῶ ἀδ-
ελφῶ
ἐν K(υρί)ω χαίρειν.
πρὸ τῶν ὅλων πολλά σε
ἀσπά-
ζομαι καὶ τοὺς παρὰ σοὶ
πάντας
ἀδελφοὺς ἐν Θ(ε)ῶ. γιν-
ώσκειν
σε θέλω, ἀδελφέ, ὅτι οἱ
νεκρο-
τάφοι ἐνηνόχασιν ἐνθάδε
εἰς τὸ ἔγω τὴν Πολιτικὴν
τὴν
πεμφθεῖσαν εἰς Ὄασιν ὑπὸ
τῆς
ἡγεμονίας. καὶ [τ]αύτην
πα-
ραδέδωκα τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ
πι-
στοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νεκροτά-
φων εἰς τήρησιν, ἔστ' ἂν ἔλ-
θη ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς Νεῖλος. καὶ
ὅταν ἔλθη σὺν Θεῶ, μαρ-
τυρή-
σι σοι περὶ ὧν αὐτὴν πεποι-
ήκασιν. δ[ή]λω[σ]ον [δέ]
μοι
κ[αὶ σὺ] περὶ ὧν θέλεις
ἐνταῦ-

To (*sic*) Psenosiris presbyter, to Apollo presbyter, his beloved brother in the Lord, greeting.

Before all things I salute thee much and all the brethren with thee in God. I would have thee know, brother, that the grave-diggers have brought here to the inward (country)[2] Politica, who hath been sent into the Oasis by the government. And I have delivered her unto the good and faithful of these grave-diggers in keeping, till her son Nilus come. And when he come, with God, he shall witness to thee concerning what things they have done unto her. But do thou also declare unto me concerning what things thou wouldest

[1] On 4 October, 1906, I examined the papyrus in the British Museum, and convinced myself that Grenfell and Hunt were right in reading *εξ αυτων* in l. 13, and *Ψενοσιρι* in l. 1, and that l. 9 reads not *εις το εσω* but (as Wilcken had pointed out meanwhile) *εις το εγω*. This might be the name of a place, *εἰς Τοεγώ*, but it is more probably a clerical error for *εἰς τὸ ἔσω*.

[2] Or (improbably) "here to Toëgo."

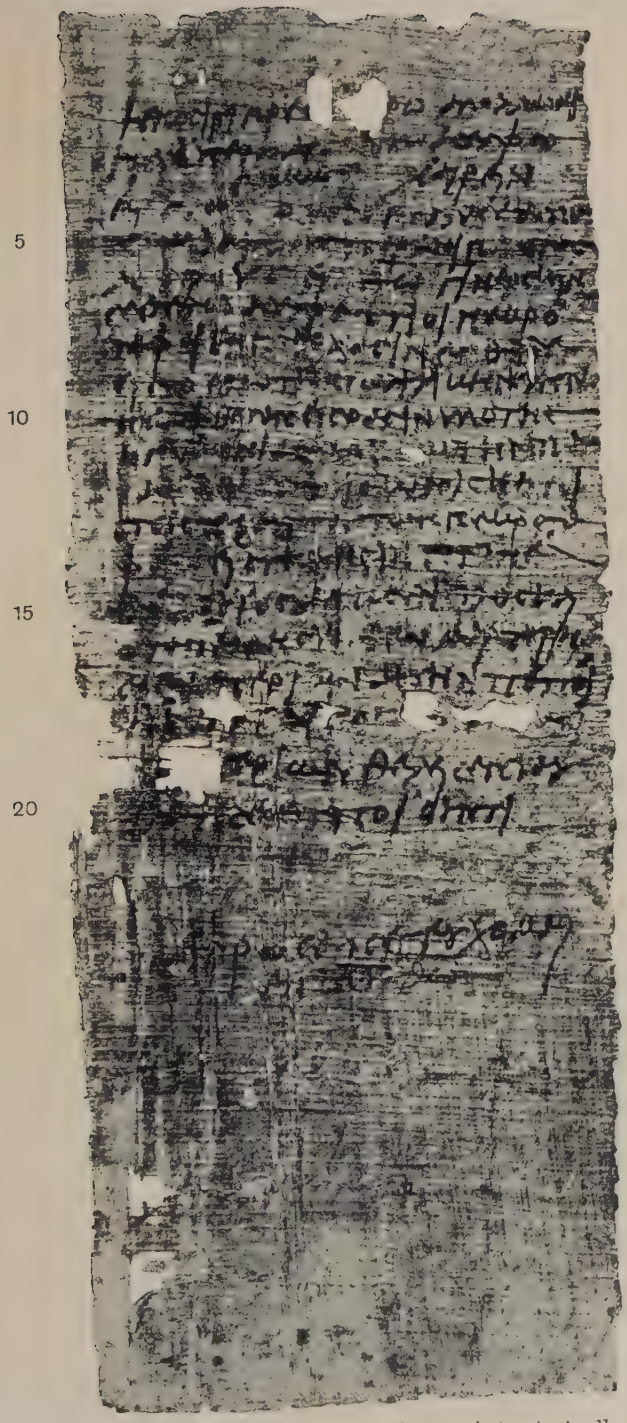

FIG. 32.—Letter from Psenosiris, a Christian presbyter, to Apollo, a Christian presbyter at Cysis (Great Oasis). Papyrus, beginning of the 4th cent. A.D. (Diocletian persecution). Now in the British Museum.

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20 θα ἡδέως ποιοῦντι. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι ἐν Κ(υρί)ω Θ(ε)ῶ.	have done, and gladly will I do them. Fare thee well, I pray, in the Lord God.

On the verso the address:

Ἀπόλλωνι Χ παρὰ Ψενοσίριο[ς]	To Apollo Χ from Psenosiris
πρεσβυτέρω Χ πρεσβυτέρου ἐν Κ(υρί)ω.	presbyter Χ presbyter in the Lord.

18

Letter from Justinus, an Egyptian Christian, to Papnuthius, a Christian, middle of the 4th cent. A.D., papyrus from Egypt, now in the University Library, Heidelberg, published by Deissmann[1] (Figure 33).[2]

I give here only the text and translation of the letter, which is typical of the popular religion of Egypt in the age of Athanasius and Pachomius, and for the rest refer to my edition, which gives a detailed commentary.

[Τῶ κυρίω μου καὶ ἀγαπητῶ] [ἀδελφῶ Παπνουθίω Χρηστο-] [φόρου Ἰουστῖνος χαίρειν.] .[. . . . . .] 5 ἦ[ν ἔδει γρα]φῆν[α]ι π[ρὸς τὴν] σὴν χρ[ηστότ]ηταν, κύριε μου ἀγαπητέ. πιστεύομεν γὰρ τὴν πολιτία[ν σ]ου ἐνν οὐρανῶ.	To my lord and beloved brother Papnuthius, the son of Chrestophorus—Justinus, greeting. . . . which it behoved [me] to write to thy goodness, my beloved lord. For we believe thy citizenship in heaven.

[1] *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, I. (Die Septuaginta-Papyri und andere altchristliche Texte), Heidelberg, 1905, No. 6 (pp. 94–104).

[2] This reproduction reduces the size of the original about one-third. On the left is the text of the letter, on the right a part of the verso with the address.

ἐγῖθεν θεοροῦμέν σε τὸν
δεσπότην καὶ κενὸν (π)ά-
[τ]ρω[να].
ἵνα οὖν μὴ πολλὰ γράφω
καὶ
φλυαρήσω, ἐν γὰρ [πο]λλῇ
λαλιᾷ οὐκ ἐκφεύξοντ[αι]
(τ)ὴ(ν) ἁμαρτίᾱ, παρακαλῶ
[ο]ὖν,
δέσποτα, ἵνα μνημον[ε]ύης
μοι εἰς τὰς ἁγίας σου εὐ-
χάς, ἵ-
να δυνηθῶμεν μέρος τῶν
(ἁμ-)
αρτιῶν καθαρίσεως. εἷς
γάρ
ἰμει τῶν ἁμαρτουλῶν[2]. πα-
ρακα-
λῶ καταξίωσον δέξεσθαι
τὸ μικρὸν ἐλέου διὰ τοῦ
ἀδελ-
φοῦ ἡμῶν Μαγαρίου.
πολλὰ
προσαγωρεύ(ω) πάντες τοὺς
ἀ-
δελφοὺς ἡμῶν ἐν κ̄ω̄. ἐρρω-
μένον σε ἡ θί-
α πρόνοια φυλάξα[ι]
ἐπὶ μέγιστον χρό-
νον ἐν κ̄ω̄ X̄ω̄,
κύριε ἀγαπητ[έ].

Thence we consider thee the master and new patron. Lest therefore I should write much and prate—for in much speaking they shall not escape sin[1] —I beseech thee, therefore, master, that thou rememberest me in thy holy prayers, that we may be able [to obtain] a part in the purifying from sins. For I am one of the sinners.[2] Count [me] worthy, I beseech, and accept this little oil through our brother Magarius. I greet much all our brethren in the Lord. The divine Providence keep thee in health for a very great time in the Lord Christ, beloved lord.

On the verso the address:

[τῷ κυρίῳ] μου καὶ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ Παπνουθίῳ Χρηστο-
φόρ[ου] παρ / Ἰουστίνου.

To my lord and beloved brother Papnuthius, the son of Chrestophorus, from Justinus.

[1] Justinus is here quoting the Septuagint (Prov. x. 19) in a form of considerable textual interest.

[2] This confession of sin can hardly be so genuinely felt as the *peccavi* of the prodigal son Antonis Longus (letter No. 11, above).

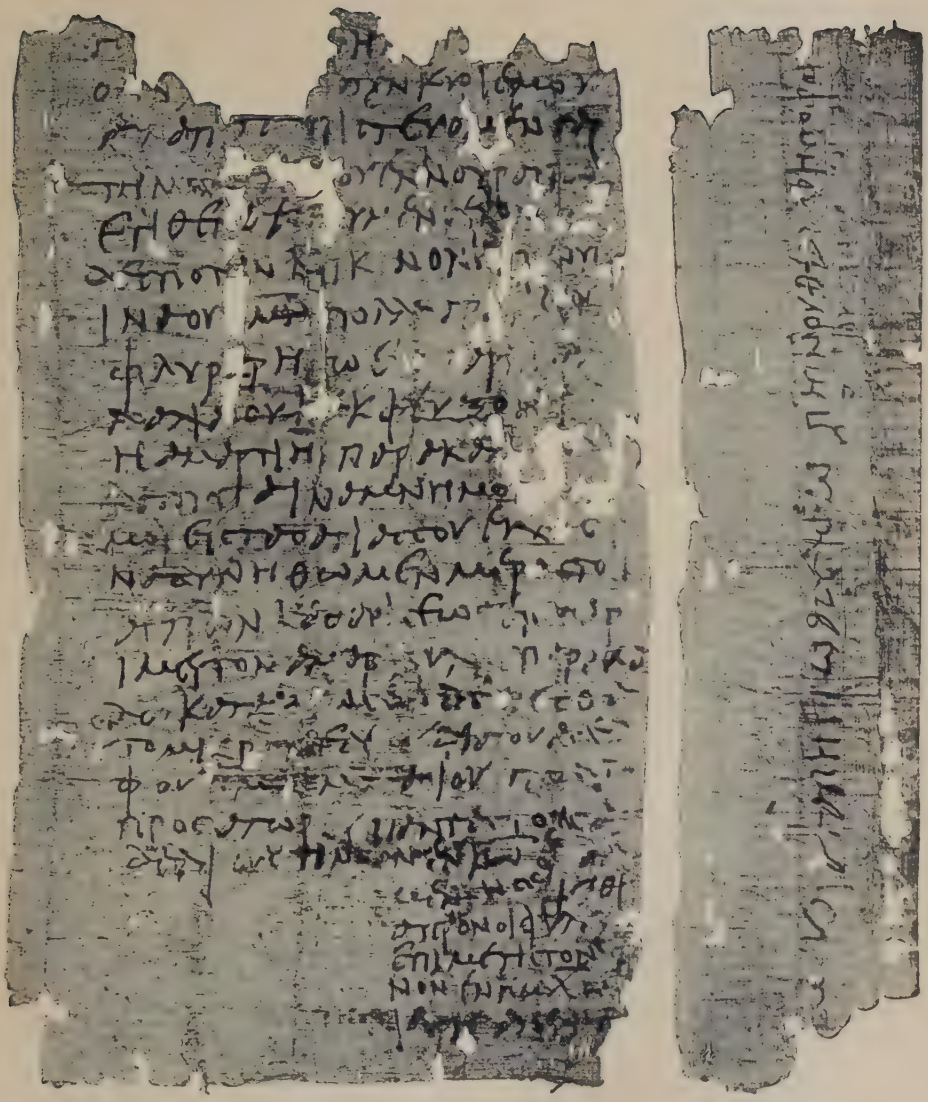

FIG. 33.—Letter (with Address) from Justinus, an Egyptian Christian, to Papnuthius, a Christian. Papyrus, middle of the 4th cent. A.D. Now in the University Library, Heidelberg.

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19

Letter from Caor, Papas of Hermupolis, to Flavius Abinnaeus, an officer at Dionysias in the Fayûm, c. 346 A.D., papyrus from Egypt, now in the British Museum, published by Kenyon [1] (Figure 34).

This little letter is one of the finest among the papyri. The situation resembles that in St. Paul's letter to Philemon, and the letter from the Papas to the officer can also be compared in contents with that beautiful little letter of the Apostle's, though the Papas is not fit to hold a candle to St. Paul.

Τῶ δεσπότη μοv καὶ ἀγα-	To my master and beloved
πητῶ	
ἀδελφῶ Ἀβιννέω πραι [2]	brother Abinneus the Praepo-
Κάορ [3] *πάπας Ἑρμουπό-*	situs—Caor, Papas of Hermu-
λεως χαίειν. [4]	
ἀσπάζωμαι [5] *τὰ πεδία* [6] *ϙου*	polis, greeting. I salute thy
πολλά.	
γινόσκιν [7] *σε θέλω, κύριε,*	children much. I would have
π[ερὶ] Παύλω τοῦ στρα-	thee know, lord, concerning
τιότη [8]	
περὶ τῆς φυγῆς, συνχωρῆσε [9]	Paul the soldier, concerning

[1] *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, Catalogue with Texts, Vol. II., London, 1898, p. 299 f., No. 417. The facsimile is on Plate 103, and is here reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum authorities (Fig. 34).

[2] Abbreviation for *πραιποσίτω*. The title *πραιπόσιτος κάστρων* is the Latin *praefectus castrorum*.

[3] I at first suspected an abbreviation *καστρ* = *κάστρων*. But Kenyon informed me (by postcard, London, W.C., 8 June, 1907) that the letters were certainly not *καστρ*. Both Wilcken (letter, Leipzig, 5 May, 1907), Schubart and Carl Schmidt (postcard, Berlin 29 June, 1907) read from the facsimile *καορ*. The two latter conjecture that *-ορ* is the Egyptian god's name *Hor* (as is commonly assumed, though not with certainty, to be the case in the name of *Origen*).

[4] = *χαίρειν*.

[5] = *ἀσπάζομαι*.

[6] = *παιδία*.

[7] = *γινώσκειν*.

[8] = *Παύλου τοῦ στρατιώτου*.

[9] = *συνχωρῆσαι*. Wilcken read from the facsimile *συνχώρησον*.

αὐτοῦ τοῦτω τὸ ἄβαξ,[1]
ἐπειδὴ ἀσχολῶ ἐλθῖν[2]
πρὸ[ς]
σὲν[3] αὐτεημερέ.[4] καὶ
πάλειν,[5]
ἂμ μὴ[6] παύσεται,[7] ἔρχεται
εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου ἄλλω
ἄβαξ.[8]
ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχο-
μαι πολλοῖς χρό-
νοις,[10] κύριε μου
ἀδελφέ.

his flight. pardon him this once, seeing that I am without leisure to come unto thee at this present. And, if he desist not, he will come again into thy hands[9] another time. Fare thee well, I pray, many years,[10] my lord brother.

The letter forms part of the correspondence of Flavius Abinnaeus, a Christian officer, who about the middle of the fourth century A.D. was praefectus castrorum of the camp of auxiliary cavalry at Dionysias in the Arsinoïte nome. Important alike in respect to the history of civilisation, of language, and of the Christian religion, this correspondence consists of some sixty original papyrus letters, some long, some short, some at London and some at Geneva, and still, in spite of excellent provisional publications by

[1] = *αὐτῶ τοῦτο τὸ ἅπαξ*. This is a still older example of the substantival use of *ἅπαξ* which occurs in the inscription of King Silco (Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 201; cf. p. 134, n. 1 above), which R Lepsius took to be a Copticism. See Dittenberger's notes, 7 and 10. Wilcken considers it to be popular Greek.

[2] = *ἐλθεῖν*.

[3] = *σέ*. This *σέν* is not a clerical error, but a vulgar use.

[4] = *αὐθημερόν*, or *αὐτημερόν*?

[5] = *πάλιν*.

[6] This *ἂμ μὴ* = *ἐὰν μὴ* occurs twice in the bad boy Theon's letter to his father Theon (2nd or 3rd cent. A.D.), Oxyrhynchus Papyri, No. 119$_{8, 14}$; cf. above, letter No. 14.

[7] This is Wilcken's reading from the facsimile. Kenyon read at first *πεύδεται* = *ψεύδεται*. According to the corrigenda in Vol. III. of the *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* Grenfell and Hunt also read *παύσεται*.

[8] = *ἄλλο ἅπαξ*, cf. n. 1 above.

[9] *I.e.* he will not desert again while executing an order, but will return to you.

[10] *χρόνος*, "year," is late Greek.

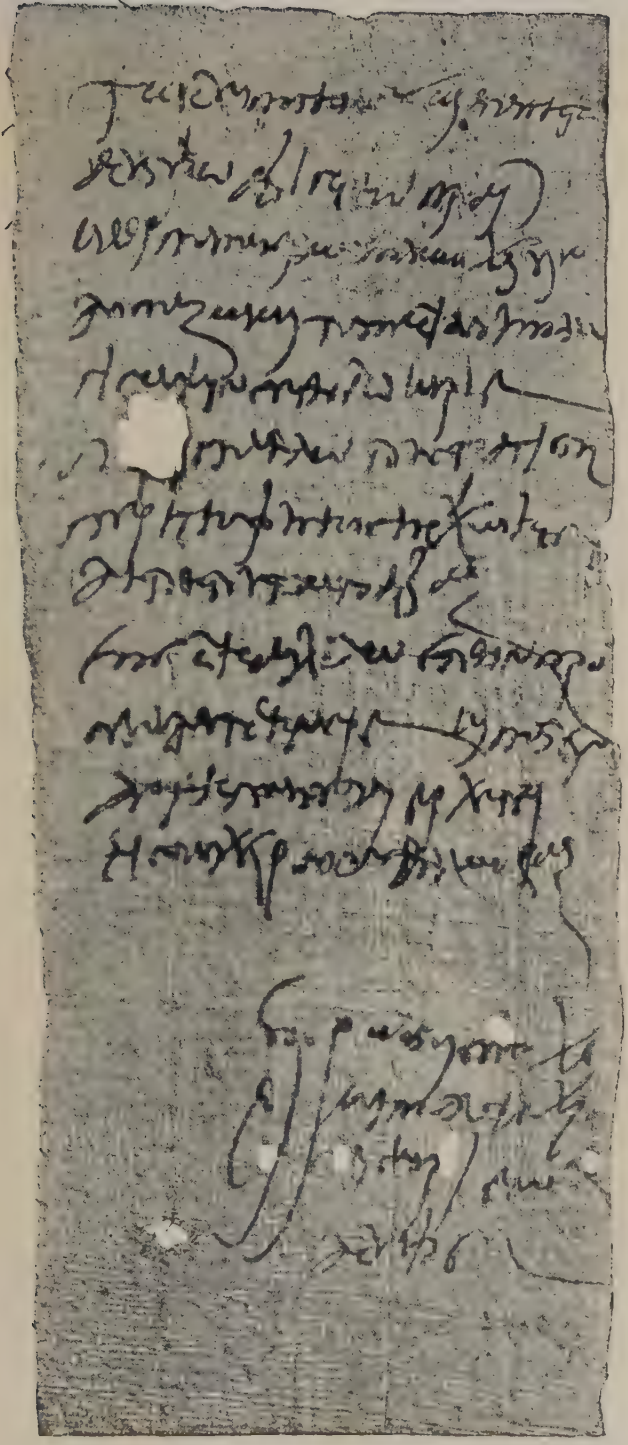

FIG. 34.—Letter from Caor, Papas of Hermupolis, to Flavius Abinnaeus, an officer at Dionysias in the Fayûm. Papyrus, *circa* 346 A.D. Now in the British Museum. By permission of the Museum authorities.

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Kenyon[1] and Nicole,[2] awaiting a collective edition.[3] The earliest dated letter in this priceless collection was written in the year 343, the most recent in 351 A.D.

Among the numerous unknown persons who have come to life again as correspondents of Abinnaeus in this collection one of the most remarkable is the writer of the present letter, Caor, Papas of Hermupolis. Like Kenyon[4] I at first took him to be a bishop, understanding the word *Papas* in the same way as in the Christian letter from Rome.[5] But I was unable to answer the difficult question, which Hermupolis could then be meant? Lines 9 and 10 would suit neither Hermupolis Magna nor Hermupolis Parva, the only sees of this name; such an expression as we have there could only be used by somebody who lived not far from the residence of the addressee. I talked the matter over with my friend Wilcken, and he reminded me that several other letters in the correspondence of Abinnaeus were written from a village called Hermupolis, in the south-west of the Fayûm, which is mentioned in the papyri from the Ptolemaic age down to the seventh century A.D.[6] It then seemed to me that the obvious thing was to identify the Hermupolis of our papyrus with this village, and to regard the Papas not as a bishop but as a simple priest. The word *Papas* was applied in early times

[1] *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, Vol. II. pp. 267–307; and 307 ff.

[2] *Les Papyrus de Genève*, Nos. 45–65.

[3] Wilcken's valuable notes should not be forgotten, Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 1, p. 162; 3, p. 397.

[4] Page 299.

[5] Letter No. 16, above.

[6] Details in Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, *The Tebtunis Papyri*, Part II., London, 1907, p. 376.

to village priests,[1] so there is no difficulty in so understanding it here. This degradation of the writer of the letter in no way detracts from the value of the letter. Of the bishops of the fourth century we already knew more than enough; in Caor, who calls himself "pope," but is no pope, we rejoice to meet a representative of village Christianity, and we range him beside Psenosiris, presbyter in the Oasis a generation earlier.

Whether the "Pope" of Hermupolis was master of the Greek language seems to me to be a doubtful question. The good man was certainly not learned; indeed, his syntax is so rudimentary and his orthography so autocratic that many a rude soldier's letter shows to advantage beside this of the Papas.

[1] In the Theologische Literaturzeitung, 27 (1902) col. 360, Harnack notes the earliest passage known to him: in the *Martyrium Theodoti* a Galatian village-priest is called *Papas*. This passage is no doubt older than our papyrus. (H. D[elehaye], however, in the Analecta Bollandiana, 27, p. 443, considers that the *Martyrium* is not so old.) Cf. further the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, *s.v.* Πάπας. The differentiation, there shown to be as old as Eustathius of Thessalonica (*Opuscula*, p. 38, l. 58, about 1200 A.D.), between πάπας the distinguished bishop and παπᾶς the insignificant presbyter is probably mere learned trifling. The history of the meaning of the word *Papas* is highly interesting. The question is, whether the grand word (for bishop or even archbishop or pope) degenerated, so that it could be applied to every presbyter, or whether an originally vulgar word was gradually ennobled. Looking merely at the comparative frequency of the word in its two meanings, one would be inclined to suppose that degeneration had occurred. But the facts of the case were probably the other way round: the word πάπας, a native of Asia Minor (A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie erläutert*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 147), was probably first adopted from the popular Christianity of Asia Minor, and rose only gradually to its narrower and more distinguished meaning. Cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechisches Lesebuch*, II. 2 (Erläuterungen),[2] Berlin, 1902, p. 260; and A. Margaret Ramsay in Sir W. M. Ramsay's *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, p. 27. If we now possess more examples of the grand meaning than of the other, that is because documents of popular Christianity have not been preserved in such numbers as those of the higher class (cf. the conclusion of this chapter, p. 242 f.). There is therefore philological justification for the old saying that the pettiest priestling conceals a popeling. [The German proverb says, "Es ist kein Pfäfflein so klein, Es steckt ein Päpstlein drein"—"No priestling so mean But hides a popeling, I ween." TR.]

Perhaps the man's mother-tongue and language for ordinary occasions was Coptic[1]; Greek he had learnt in a very vulgar form, and, good or bad, he made the best use he could of it. But I cannot help feeling that this violence to grammar, which would be unendurable in a book, is really not so bad in a letter, especially in this letter: it merely serves to strengthen the tone of unaffected sincerity.

What is the letter all about? Paul, one of the soldiers of the garrison under Abinnaeus, has been entrusted with some commission to execute,[2] and has failed to return to his commanding officer. After more or less vagabondage the deserter tires of the business and would like to go back. But how is he to set about it? how escape the punishment that is certainly in store for him? Then at Hermupolis he makes a village-priest his confidant and intercessor, promising by all that is sacred that he will behave better in future. The Papas is in some doubt about the case; perhaps he knows the ecclesiastical ordinances dating from the concordat between church and state, by which deserters are to be visited with ecclesiastical penalties, and he is not sure whether the man's good resolutions may be trusted. But the pastor triumphs over the man of ecclesiastical discipline, and he good-naturedly gives the deserter this note to take with him. If his Greek is not unexceptionable, his command of the epistolary formulae of an age of growing formalism is at least as good as that of the polite and unctuous Justinus.[3] Without further argument he throws into the scale for Paul his

[1] Cf. the use of ἄπαξ, perhaps (?) under Coptic influence.

[2] This seems a fair inference from lines 11 and 12.

[3] Note the formal resemblances between the letters of Caor and Justinus (No. 18 above), and compare the stereotyped nature of the formulae in the correspondence of Abinnaeus as a whole.

personal friendship with Abinnaeus and his children, and then at once ventures to ask for a pardon. "This once" is delightful, and the pastor, foreseeing the weakness of the flesh, must have smiled as he wrote "if he desist not." The officer, who knows the fellow, is intended to smile too, in spite of his wrath, and it may be that Paul will after all go scot free.

This little genre painting gains in interest when we remember that the treatment of deserters was a problem that occupied the early church and even led to a conciliar decree. In the year 314 the Council of Arles determined "that those who throw down their arms in time of peace shall be excommunicate."[1] Caor the Papas of Hermupolis, however, solved the problem in his own way—and, I think, not badly.

20

Letter from Samuel, Jacob, and Aaron, three Egyptian candidates for the diaconate, to their bishop, Abraham of Hermonthis (?), c. 600 A.D., Coptic ostracon from Egypt, now in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Fund, published by Crum[2] (Figure 35).

This and the following Coptic ostracon, of the period preceding the tremendous upheaval that Islam brought upon Egypt, may close our selection of letters. The Bishop Abraham to whom the first ostracon is addressed, and who probably caused the

[1] Canon III: De his qui arma proiciunt in pace placuit abstineri eos a communione; cf. Harnack, *Militia Christi*, Die christliche Religion und der Soldatenstand in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten, Tübingen, 1905, p. 87 ff.

[2] *Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum and others*, No. 29 (p. 8 of the lithographed part, and p. 9 of the letterpress). The facsimile of the back of the ostracon (Fig. 35) is reproduced here from Plate I. with the kind consent of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

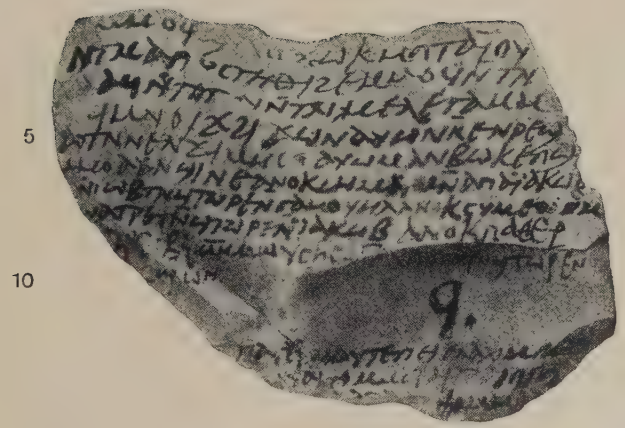

FIG. 35.—Letter from Samuel, Jacob, and Aaron, candidates for the diaconate, to Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis (?). Coptic ostracon, *circa* 600 A.D. (verso). Now in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Fund, by whose permission it is reproduced.

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second to be written, Crum[1] conjectures with good reasons to be identical with the Bishop of Hermonthis who is known from his will, now extant on papyrus[2] in the British Museum, to have been living as an anchorite on the Divine Hill of Memnonia near Thebes, and who died most probably towards the end of the 6th cent. A.D.[3] I owe the translation of these instructive texts to the kindness of my friend Carl Schmidt, of Berlin.[4]

Recto

(℣)[5] I, Samuel, and Jacob and Aaron, we write to our holy father Apa Abraham, the bishop.[6] Seeing[7] we have requested[8] thy paternity that thou wouldest ordain[9] us deacons,[10] we are ready[11] to observe the commands[12] and canons[13] and to obey those above us and be obedient[14] to the superiors and to watch our beds on the days of communion[15] and to . . . the Gospel[16] according to[17] John and learn it by heart[18]

Verso

by the end of Pentecost. If we do not learn it by heart and cease to practise it,[19] there is no hand on us. And we will not trade nor take usury nor will we go abroad without asking (leave). I, Hêmai, and Apa Jacob, son of Job, we are guarantors for Samuel. I, Simeon and Atre, we are guarantors for Jacob. I, Patermute the priest,[20] and Moses and Lassa, we are guarantors for Aaron. I, Patermute, this least[21] of

[1] *Coptic Ostraca*, p. xiii f.
[2] *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* (Vol. I.), No. 77 (p. 231 ff.).
[3] *Coptic Ostraca*, p. xiii f.
[4] [As far as possible the wording of Crum's (incomplete) translation has been used here. Tr.]
[5] Coptic letters generally begin with the monogram of Christ.
[6] ἐπίσκοπος. [7] ἐπειδή. [Crum compares 1 Cor. i. 22 (R.V.). Tr.]
[8] παρακαλεῖν. [9] χειροτονεῖν. [10] διάκονος. [11] ἕτοιμος.
[12] ἐντολαί. [13] κανόνες. [14] ὑποτάσσεσθαι. [15] συνάγειν.
[16] εὐαγγέλιον. [Crum gives "master (?)" in the place of Schmidt's blank. Tr.]
[17] κατά. [18] ἀποστηθίζειν.
[19] μελετᾶν. [Crum has: "and if we do not so but keep it by us (?) and recite it." Tr.] [20] πρεσβ(ύτερος). [21] ἐλάχιστος.

priests,[1] have been requested[2] and have written this tablet[3] and am witness.

One wonders what the episcopal archives of the holy father Apa Abraham can have looked like, destined to contain such potsherd petitions as this.[4] Probably they were as primitive as the potsherd itself, as primitive as the intellectual equipment of the three prospective ecclesiastics, Samuel, Jacob, and Aaron, who have displayed the extent of their learning, ability, and ambition on this ostracon. We ought rather to say, they got the least of all presbyters, Patermute, to display it for them, for—there is no concealing it—they themselves could perhaps only read, and not write at all.

The three worthies are about to be ordained deacons; but before the "hand" of the bishop "is on them" they must fulfil the requirements of the sacred ordinances.[5] They must be prepared, firstly to keep the commandments[6] and rules,[7] secondly to obey their superiors, thirdly "to watch their beds"[8] on communion days, fourthly to abjure commerce and take no usury, and fifthly to fulfil the duty of residence. All this, however, I expect, troubled them less than a special condition which the bishop had imposed upon them. Apa Abraham had set other candidates to learn the

[1] πρε(σβύτερος). [2] αἰτεῖν. [3] πλάξ.

[4] Crum (p. 9 f.) has published a number of similar petitions from candidates.

[5] Cf. Crum's excellent citations (p. 9) from Egyptian ecclesiastical law, which I have made use of in what follows.

[6] Of God and the bishop; this is clear from the allied ostraca.

[7] Of the Church.

[8] Crum thinks this refers to sexual continence of the married clergy (postcard to the author, Aldeburgh, 13 September, 1907). Still it should be possible, I think, to explain the expression with reference to watching through the nights before communion.

Gospel according to Matthew,[1] or according to Mark,[2] or a gospel,[3] or a whole gospel[4] by heart, or to write out the Gospel according to John[5]; Bishop Aphu of Oxyrhynchus once required of a candidate for deacon's orders five-and-twenty Psalms, two Epistles of St. Paul, and a portion of a gospel to be learnt by heart[6]; and the task assigned to our three friends was to learn by heart the Gospel according to John by the end of Whitsuntide and practise reciting it.[7] Failing this, they could not be ordained. This stipulation presupposes some sort of examination by the bishop before ordination. The sureties produced by the candidates—three by one candidate, and two each by the others—are again in accordance with the ecclesiastical regulations.[8]

A singular revelation of sorry circumstances this potsherd letter must be to those who imagine that three hundred years after the triumph of Christianity all the young clergy of Egypt would be theologians gifted with the knowledge of an Origen. But there can be no talk of a decline of learning in the case: the average education of the clergy probably never had been greater in this remote country district. And Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis, with his

[1] Ostracon No. 31, Crum, p. 9.
[2] Ostracon No. Ad. 7, Crum, p. 10.
[3] Ostracon No. 34, Crum, p. 10.
[4] Ostracon No. 39, Crum, p. 11.
[5] Ostracon No. 37, Crum, p. 10. This probably throws some light on the origin of the gospel texts on ostraca already discussed (p. 48 ff.). We might suppose that they were written by prospective ecclesiastics at the bishop's orders. Our general judgment of the texts would not be affected by this supposition; these potsherd-clerics are certainly not to be counted with the cultured class, they belong to the non-literary common people.
[6] Evidence in Crum, p. 9, where still more examples are given.
[7] The future historian of this custom of learning by heart must not neglect the similar phenomena in Judaism and Islam. Early Christian material is collected by E. Preuschen, Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 15 (1906) p. 644.
[8] Cf. Crum, p. 9.

sympathy for the life of an anchorite, was not likely to be the man to raise the standard of learning among his people. The numerous documents from his hand, or from his chancery, written on the material used by the very poorest, and published by Crum, show him to have been a practical man, and particularly a man of discipline.

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Letter probably from Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis (?) in Egypt to the clergy of his diocese, c. 600 A.D., Coptic ostracon from Egypt, now in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Fund, published by Crum [1] (Figure 36).

There may be some doubt concerning the persons to whom this episcopal letter was sent. It deals with the excommunication of a certain Psate, who was guilty of some misconduct towards the poor. The letter might therefore have been addressed to Psate's own church, but it is equally possible that copies of the letter of excommunication were sent to all the churches in the diocese.[2]

The question, What was Psate guilty of? depends on the interpretation of μαυλίζω, a word borrowed from the Greek, which keeps on recurring in the letter. It is difficult to say [3] what its meaning is here. The lexicographer Hesychius says it means "to act as pander," [4] and in this sense it occurs

[1] *Coptic Ostraca*, No. 71 (p. 16 f. of the lithographed text, and p. 13 of the letterpress). The facsimile of the back of the ostracon (Plate I.) is here reproduced by kind permission of the Egypt Exploration Fund (Fig. 36).

[2] Cf. the similar practice of the West at this period, F. Kober, *Der Kirchenbann nach den Grundsätzen des canonischen Rechts*, Tübingen, 1857, p. 177.

[3] E. A. Sophocles' lexicon fails us completely: neither of its two quotations can be found. The information in the *Thesaurus* is better.

[4] μαυλίζων· μαστροπεύων.

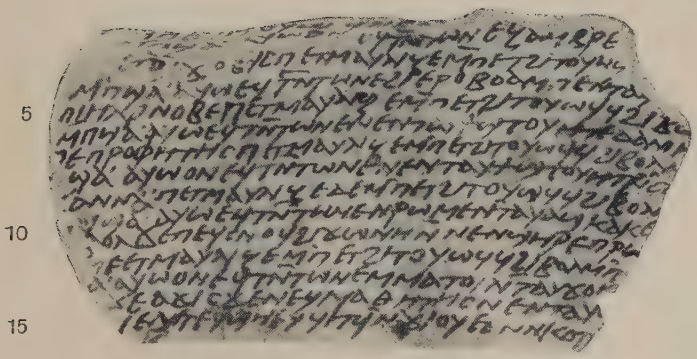

FIG. 36.—Letter probably from Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis (?) to the clergy of his diocese. Coptic ostracon, *circa* 600 A.D. (verso). Now in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Fund, by whose permission it is reproduced.

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according to Johannes Baptista Cotelerius in the Nomocanon edited by him.[1] It is, however, a question whether it has not a wider meaning there, something like "to bring into misery."[2] In an old Greek penitentiary[3] the word occurs in a question of the father confessor, probably in the meaning "to seduce." I know no other instances of the use of the word. In the case of this ostracon the meanings "act as pander" and "seduce," as Crum and Carl Schmidt pointed out, do not suit particularly well, although they are not absolutely impossible. I conjecture the wider meaning "oppress," "bring into misery," and I have employed it[4] in the following translation by Carl Schmidt.

Recto

Since (*ἐπειδή*) I have been informed that Psate oppresseth[5] the poor and they have told me saying,[6] "He oppresseth[7] us and maketh us poor and wretched"; he that oppresseth[8] his neighbour is altogether reprobate[9] and he is like unto Judas who rose[10] from supper[11] with his Lord and betrayed[12] Him, as[13] it is written, "He that eateth my bread hath lifted up his heel against me."[14] He that oppresseth[15] his neighbour

[1] *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, Tomus I., Luteciae Parisiorum, 1677, p. 158 A, cf. p. 734 C: eight years of penance are imposed on the *μαυλίζων*.

[2] The *μαυλίζων* is in company with the men who plough false furrows, give short measure and short weight, and sow their neighbours' fields (?).

[3] Edited by Jo. Morinus in his *Commentarius Historicus de Disciplina in Administratione Sacramenti Poenitentiae*, p. 466 of the Venice edition of 1702 which I use, *ἐμαύλισάς τινα*; "hast thou seduced any one to unchastity?"

[4] Crum says "ill-use." (Tr.)

[5] *μαυλίζειν*.

[6] Carl Schmidt suspects a clerical error here.

[7] *μαυλίζειν*.

[8] *μαυλίζειν*.

[9] Crum translates "is excluded from the feast."

[10] Carl Schmidt prefers "who sat."

[11] *δεῖπνον*. [12] *παραδιδόναι*. [13] *κατά*.

[14] Psalm xl. [xli.] 10 as quoted in John xiii. 18.

[15] *μαυλίζειν*.

is altogether reprobate and he is like unto the man to whom Jesus said, "It were better for him if he had not been born,"[1] that is Judas. He that oppresseth[2] his neighbour is altogether reprobate and he is like unto them that spat in His face[3] and smote Him on the head.[4] He that oppresseth[5] his neighbour is altogether reprobate and he is like unto Gehazi, unto whom the leprosy of Naaman did cleave, and unto his seed.[6] The man that oppresseth[7] his neighbour is altogether reprobate and he is like unto Cain, who slew his brother. The man that oppresseth[8]

VERSO

his neighbour is altogether reprobate and he is like unto Zimri, who slew his master.[9] He that oppresseth[10] his neighbour is altogether reprobate and he is like unto Jeroboam, who (oppressed?) Israel, sinning (?).[11] He that oppresseth[12] his neighbour is altogether reprobate and he is like unto them that accused Daniel the prophet.[13] He that oppresseth[14] his neighbour is altogether reprobate and he is like unto them that accused Susanna.[15] But[16] he that oppresseth[17] his neighbour is altogether reprobate and he is like unto the men that cried, "His blood be on us and on our children."[18] The man that oppresseth[19] his neighbour is altogether reprobate and he is like unto the soldiers[20] that said, "Say ye, His disciples[21] came by night and stole Him away, while we slept."[22]

[1] Matt. xxvi. 24 = Mark xiv. 21.
[2] μαυλίζειν.
[3] Matt. xxvi. 67 ‖ Mark xiv. 65.
[4] *Ibid.* "On the head" is inexact.
[5] μαυλίζειν.
[6] σπέρμα. The allusion is to 2 Kings v. 27.
[7] μαυλίζειν. [8] μαυλίζειν.
[9] 2 Kings ix. 31, Ζαμβρεὶ ὁ φονευτὴς τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ, "Zimri who slew his master."
[10] μαυλίζειν. [11] 1 Kings xii. 30. [12] μαυλίζειν.
[13] προφήτης. Dan. vi. 13, 24. [14] μαυλίζειν.
[15] Susanna 28 ff. [16] δέ.
[17] μαυλίζειν. [18] Matt. xxvii. 25. [19] μαυλίζειν.
[20] This is a slight error of the bishop's; the words were spoken *to* the soldiers, not *by* them.
[21] μαθηταί.
[22] Matt. xxviii. 13.

This episcopal letter, which we may regard as a kind of letter of excommunication, has nothing particularly original about it. It is quite certain that practically all of it is well-worn material, and that even the monotonous formulae of excommunication are borrowed.[1] But this record of episcopal discipline was most certainly intelligible to common folk and effective with them, and in the severity against Psate, who had wronged "the poor," we see the survival of a sentiment thoroughly characteristic of the primitive Christians.

4. In the foregoing pages we have put together a collection of one-and-twenty letters of ancient date. Had we merely printed the text of the letters, and nothing more, a casual reader might have supposed as he turned the pages that he had before him fragments of ancient literature. Witkowski's magnificent collection of letters of the Ptolemaic age, which happens to be included in Teubner's "Bibliotheca *Scriptorum* Graecorum et Romanorum," is no doubt placed by many purchasers without further thought

[1] For the passage about Judas and for the form in general cf. the Nomocanon above cited in Cotelerius, I. 155 C, *δευτέρα ἁμαρτία ἐστὶν ὅστις . . . μισεῖ καὶ καταλαλεῖ τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ. ὅμοιος γάρ ἐστιν τοῦ παραδώσαντος τὸν κύριον, διὸ καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔχωσιν μέρος*, "the second sin is, whosoever . . . hateth and slandereth his neighbour; for he is like unto him that betrayed the Lord. Therefore shall they also have their portion together with him." Judas is frequently the type of the reprobate with whom no communion is possible: [*ἔχοι τ*]*ὴν μερίδα τοῦ Ἰουδᾶ τοῦ* [*προδότου*] *τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν* Ἰ[*ησοῦ Χριστ*]*οῦ*, "may he have the portion of Judas, the betrayer of our Lord Jesus Christ," is the imprecation in the epitaph of a Christian deaconess at Delphi (not later than 6th cent. A.D.) on whomsoever shall open the tomb, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 23 (1899) p. 274, and the same curse is found in many other epitaphs (Victor Schultze, *Die Katakomben*, Leipzig, 1882, p. 15 ff.; Münz, Anatheme und Verwünschungen auf christlichen Monumenten, Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde und Geschichtsforschung, 14 [1887], p. 169 ff.), also in the official anathema of the Council of Toledo, 633 A.D., and other councils (Kober, *Der Kirchenbann*, pp. 41, 37). Of course the ecclesiastical formulae have been influenced by Jewish precedent: cf. the leprosy of Gehazi in our ostracon and in a Jewish formulary cited by Kober, p. 5 f.

on the same shelf as the other *Scriptores*. A glance, however, at the facsimiles of the original letters will banish at once in almost every case the thought of *literature*: no page of an ancient book ever looked like that letter of Antonis Longus to his mother Nilus, or like the ostracon addressed by the three candidates to Bishop Abraham. And whoever goes on to make himself acquainted with the contents of the texts will see still more clearly that he has before him not products of literary art but documents of life, and that Mnesiergus, Hilarion, and Apion are not Scriptores, nor is even Psenosiris, although that little letter of his, snatched from the dust of the Great Oasis, already figures in two histories of literature. Though we have printed them in a book, these ancient texts have nothing to do with books and things bookish. They are non-literary—most of them popular as well as non-literary—admirably adapted to familiarise us with the essential characters of popular and non-literary writing, and with the character of the non-literary letter in particular.

What is a letter? A letter is something non-literary, a means of communication between persons who are separated from each other. Confidential and personal in its nature, it is intended only for the person or persons to whom it is addressed, and not at all for the public or any kind of publicity. A letter is non-literary, just as much as a lease or a will. There is no essential difference between a letter and an oral dialogue; it might be described as an anticipation of the modern conversation by telephone, and it has been not unfairly called a conversation halved.[1] It concerns nobody but the person

[1] The expression occurs in antiquity. Demetrius, *De elocutione* (*Epistolographi Graeci*, rec. Hercher, p. 13) traces back to Artemon, the editor of

who wrote it and the person who is to open it. From all other persons it is meant to be a secret. Its contents may be as various as life itself, and hence it is that letters preserved from ancient times form a delightful collection of the liveliest instantaneous photographs of ancient life. The form of the letters also varies greatly; but in the course of centuries a number of formal peculiarities were developed, and we not infrequently find the same forms becoming stereotyped into formulae in civilisations apparently quite independent of one another. But neither contents, form, nor formulae can be decisive in determining the characteristic nature of a letter. Whether the letter is written on lead or on earthenware, on papyrus or parchment, on wax or on palm-leaf, on pink notepaper or on an international postcard, is as immaterial as whether it is clothed in the conventional formulae of the period. Whether it is well expressed or badly, long or short, written by a soldier or a bishop, that does not alter the peculiar characteristic which makes it a letter.[1] Nor are the special contents any more decisive: the cool business letter of Harpocras, the impudent boyish scrawl of Theon, and the sanctimonious begging-letter of Justinus are distinguished from the coarseness of Hilarion and the despair of Antonis Longus only by the tone and the spirit in which they are written.

If the non-literary character of the letter, especially the ancient letter, has not always been clearly grasped, the explanation and excuse lie in the fact that even

Aristotle's letters, the saying that "a letter is the half of a conversation." See further in *Bibelstudien*, p. 190; *Bible Studies*, p. 3 ff. Aurelius Archelaus, the *beneficiarius* whose letter we have cited above (No. 12), also knows this comparison of a letter with a conversation: "hanc epistulam ant' oculos habeto, domine, puta[t]o me tecum loqui." This beautiful simile was therefore quite a popular one.

[1] Cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 190; *Bible Studies*, p. 4.

in antiquity the form of the non-literary letter was occasionally employed for literary purposes. At the time of the rise of Christianity the literary letter, the *epistle* as we call it,[1] had long been a favourite genre with writers among the Greeks, Romans, and Jews.

What is an epistle? An epistle is an artistic literary form, a species of literature, just like the dialogue, the oration, or the drama. It has nothing in common with the letter except its form; apart from that one might venture the paradox that the epistle is the opposite of a real letter. The contents of an epistle are intended for publicity—they aim at interesting "the public." If the letter is a secret, the epistle is cried in the market; every one may read it, and is expected to read it: the more readers it obtains, the better its purpose will be fulfilled. The main feature of the letter, viz. the address and the detail peculiar to the letter, becomes in the epistle mere external ornament, intended to keep up the illusion of "epistolary" form. Most letters are, partly at least, unintelligible unless we know the addressees and the situation of the sender. Most epistles are intelligible even without our knowing the supposed addressee and the author. To attempt to fathom the soul of a letter-writer is always venturesome; to understand what an epistolographer has written is apprentice-work by comparison. The epistle differs from a letter as the dialogue from a conversation, as the historical drama does from history, as the carefully turned funeral oration does from the halting words of consolation spoken by a

[1] *E.g.*, Adolf Wagner writes in Die Hilfe, 2 (1896) p. 2, to Friedrich Naumann, the editor of that newspaper: "But, my dear sir, what was meant to be a mere letter has grown into a long epistle—a regular essay, though written in haste."

father to his motherless child—as art differs from nature. The letter is a piece of life, the epistle is a product of literary art.

Of course there are things intermediate between letter and epistle. There are so-called letters in which the writer ceases to be naïve, perhaps because he thinks himself a celebrity and casts a side-glance at the public between every word, coquettishly courting the publicity to which his lines may some day attain. "Letters" such as these, epistolary letters, half intended for publication, are bad letters; with their frigidity, affectation, and vain insincerity [1] they show us what a real letter should not be.

5. A large number of examples of both groups, letters and epistles, have come down to us from antiquity.

For a letter to become public and reach posterity is, strictly speaking, abnormal. The letter is essentially ephemeral, transitory as the hand that wrote it or the eyes for which it was destined.[2] But thanks to loving devotion, or learning, or accident, or spite, we possess and may read letters that were not addressed to us. At an early date it became the

[1] Letters such as these no doubt inspired Grillparzer's paradox (recorded by August Sauer in the Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 27, 1906, col. 1315): "every letter is a lie." [Franz Grillparzer, the great Austrian dramatist, 1791–1872.—The English reader may like to see the same thought expressed in characteristic style by Dr. Johnson. Criticising the letters of Pope, he says in the *Lives of the Poets*: "There is, indeed, no transaction which offers stronger temptations to fallacy and sophistication than epistolary intercourse." TR.]

[2] Adolf Schmitthenner says (Die Christliche Welt, 15, 1901, col. 731): "Printed letters are really a self-contradiction. A letter implies pen and ink, the one person who writes it, the other to whom it is written, and nothing more. It is a substitute for intercourse by word of mouth. Such intercourse ends with the spoken word and leaves no trace, save in our inward being. Should it not be the same also with that which takes its place? Ought we not from time to time to burn all our correspondence?—We do not." [Schmitthenner was a Heidelberg pastor and story-writer of distinction, 1854–1907. TR.]

custom after the death of eminent men to collect their manuscript remains. The first case of the publication of such a collection of real letters among the Greeks is considered to be that of Aristotle's, soon after his death in 322 B.C. Whether fragments of this genuine collection are preserved among the "Letters of Aristotle"[1] that have come down to us, is a matter of question. The traditionary letters of Isocrates[2] († 338 B.C.) are probably to some extent genuine, and the letters of Plato have been recently, in part at least, pronounced genuine by eminent scholars. Authentic letters of Epicurus († 270 B.C.) have also come down to us, among them a fragment of a delightfully natural little letter to a child,[3] comparable with Luther's celebrated letter to his son Hänsichen.[4] We may mention further one example among the Latins.[5] Cicero († 43 B.C.) wrote an enormous number of letters, four collections of which have come down to us. Still more valuable to us in many respects than these letters of great men are the numerous letters of unknown persons which the new discoveries have brought to light, and of

[1] Edited by R. Hercher in the *Epistolographi Graeci*, pp. 172–174.

[2] In Hercher, pp. 319–336.

[3] In Hermann Usener, *Epicurea*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 154; *Bible Studies*, p. 28; and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechisches Lesebuch*, I. $2,^3$ p. 396, and II. 2^2, p. 260. It is not certain whether the child was Epicurus' own.

[4] [See *Letters of Martin Luther* selected and translated by Margaret A. Currie, London, 1908, p. 221. TR.]

[5] Hermann Peter, Der Brief in der römischen Litteratur: Litterargeschichtliche Untersuchungen und Zusammenfassungen (Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Bd. XX. No. III.), Leipzig, 1901, supplies a great deal of material, but suffers from lack of a distinction between letter and epistle, isolates "Roman" literature too rigidly, describes the suppression of individuality as a characteristic feature of classical antiquity, and judges the men of the period far too much according to the accidental remains of classical literature. Cf. my review in the Theologische Literaturzeitung, 27 (1902) cols. 41 ff.—I have not seen Loman's *Nalatenschap*, I., Groningen, 1899, pp. 14–42; cf. G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga, Protestantische Monatshefte, 11 (1907) p. 260.

which we have already given a selection in this book. They possess the inestimable advantage that they have come down to us in the autograph original, and that their writers had not the slightest thought of future publication, so that they constitute a completely unprejudiced testimony on the part of the forgotten writers. They not only yield valuable evidence regarding the nature and form of the ancient letter,[1] they are also instructive to those who study the nature and form of Biblical and early Christian letters.[2]

It is not surprising that we possess so many specimens of ancient epistles. As an artistic literary form the epistle has no intention of being transitory. Being published from the first in a considerable number of copies it cannot so easily perish as a letter, of which there is only one or at most two copies made. It is moreover a very easily manageable form of literature. It knows no rigid laws of style; it is only necessary to employ the few epistolary flourishes and then affix an address. Hence it comes that every man of letters, even the least well-fitted, was able to write epistles, and the epistle became one

[1] It was therefore an extremely promising subject that the Philosophical Faculty of Heidelberg set for a prize competition in 1898–9 : "On the basis of a chronological review of Greek private letters recently discovered in papyri, to describe and exhibit historically the forms of Greek epistolary style." The subject was worked out by G. A. Gerhard, but down to the present only the first part has been published (cf. above, p. 148, n. 5).

[2] Some day, when we possess exact chronological statistics of the formulae employed in ancient letters, we shall be better able to answer a whole series of hitherto unsolved problems relating to the Biblical and early Church writings, from the approximate chronology of the Second and Third Epistles of St. John (and so, indirectly, of the First Epistle and the Gospel of St. John) to the question of the authenticity of the epistle of Theonas to Lucianus (cf. Harnack, Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 11, 1886, cols. 319 ff., and *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, I. p. 790 Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, II. p. 216 ff.), etc. On the other hand many of the early Christian letters that have come down to us through literary sources can be exactly dated, and thus enable us to draw conclusions as to the age of some papyri that have not yet been dated.

of the most popular genres. Right down to the present day it has remained a favourite in all literatures. Of ancient epistolographers there are, for instance, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch among the Greeks, L. Annaeus Seneca and the younger Pliny among the Romans, to say nothing of the poetical epistles of Lucilius, Horace, and Ovid. The epistle was especially frequent in the literature of magic and religion. Nor must we forget mention of one special feature in the literary history, *i.e.* pseudonymous (or rather "heteronymous") epistolography. Particularly under the successors of Alexander and in the early Empire numerous epistles were written under false names, not by swindlers, but by unknown men of letters who for some reason or other did not wish to mention their own names. They wrote "letters" of Demosthenes, of Aristotle and Alexander, of Cicero and Brutus. It would be a mistake to brand as downright forgeries these products of a literary instinct that was certainly not very sincere or powerful. It is certain that letters were forged, but it is equally certain that most "pseudonymous" epistles are witnesses to a very widespread and unobjectionable literary habit.[1]

6. What is the use to us of this distinction between letter and epistle, to which we have been led by the ancient letters on lead, papyrus, and earthenware?

The New Testament contains a considerable number of texts, larger or smaller, calling themselves "Letters" —"Letters" of Paul, of James, of Peter, etc. Fresh from our consideration of the ancient letters and epistles, we are at once alive to the problem: Are

[1] Cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 199 ff.; *Bible Studies*, p. 12 ff.

the "Letters" of the New Testament (and further, of early Christianity in general) non-literary letters or literary epistles? The fact that all these "letters" have been handed down by literary tradition and were first seen by all of us collected in a book, might long deceive us as to the existence of the problem. Most scholars regard all these texts unhesitatingly as works of literature. But now that the new discoveries of letters have shown the necessity of differentiation, and have given us a standard for judging whether an ancient text is letter-like in character, the problem can no longer be kept in the background. And I think the study of these ancient letters, newly discovered, obliges us to maintain that in the New Testament there are both non-literary letters *and* literary epistles.

The letters of Paul are not literary; they are real letters, not epistles; they were written by Paul not for the public and posterity, but for the persons to whom they are addressed. Almost all the mistakes that have ever been made in the study of St. Paul s life and work have arisen from neglect of the fact that his writings are non-literary and letter-like in character. His letter to the Romans, which for special inherent reasons is the least like a letter, has determined the criticism of all his other letters. But we must not begin our discussion of the question how far Paul's letters are true letters by examining the one to the Romans. We must begin with the other letters, whose nature is obvious at first sight. The more we have trained ourselves, by reading other ancient letters, to appreciate the true characteristics of a letter, the more readily shall we perceive the relationship of Paul's letters to the other non-literary texts of the period.

Paul's letter to Philemon is no doubt the one most clearly seen to be a letter. Only the colour-blindness of pedantry could possibly regard this delightful little letter as a treatise "On the attitude of Christianity to slavery." In its intercession for a runaway it is exactly parallel to the letter, quoted above, from the Papas of Hermupolis to the officer Abinnaeus. Read and interpreted as a letter this unobtrusive relic from the age of the first witnesses is one of the most valuable self-revelations that the great apostle has left us: brotherly feeling, quiet beauty, tact as of a man of the world—all these are discoverable in the letter.[1]

If, as seems to me probable for substantial reasons, the 16th chapter of Romans was specially written by Paul to be sent *to Ephesus*, we have in it a text about which there can be no doubt that it is letter-like in character. It is easy to produce parallels from the papyrus letters, especially for the one most striking peculiarity of this letter, viz. the apparently monotonous cumulation of greetings. There is, for instance, Tasucharion's letter to her brother Nilus[2] (Fayûm, second century A.D.) and the letter of Ammonius to his sister Tachnumi[3] (Egypt, Imperial period). Their resemblance to Romans xvi. is most striking; Paul, however, enlivens the monotony of the long list of greetings by finely discriminative personal touches. So too there is no lack of analogies for a letter of recommendation plunging at once in medias res and beginning with "I commend."[4]

[1] Cf. Wilhelm Baur, Der Umgang des Christen mit den Menschen, Neue Christoterpe, Bremen und Leipzig, 1895, p. 151.

[2] Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 601.

[3] Paris Papyrus, No. 18 (Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque imp., t. XVIII. 2, p. 232 f.); *Bibelstudien*, p. 215 f.; not in *Bible Studies*.

[4] The letters in *Epistolographi Graeci*, rec. Hercher, p. 259 (Dion to Rufus) and p. 699 (Synesius to Pylaemenes) begin, like Rom. xvi., with *συνίστημι*.

In opposition to the Ephesian hypothesis it is usual to ask, How came this little letter to Ephesus to be united with the long letter to Rome as handed down to us? This question also can be answered with some probability by reference to ancient customs of letter-writing. We knew already that letter-books were in use in antiquity, containing either copies of the letters sent[1] or collections of letters received.[2] We now possess three interesting papyrus fragments of letter copy-books: one of the Ptolemaic period, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, with copies of letters from an official[3]: one of the year 104 A.D., also with official documents (two letters and one rescript), now in the British Museum[4]; and one from Hermupolis Magna, of the beginning of the second century A.D., now in the Heidelberg University Library,[5] with copies of three letters from one Heliodorus[6] to Eutychides, Anubas, and Phibas, each of whom he calls "brother." These three letters are written in three parallel columns in the same hand; the upper margin contains in each case the praescript, "Heliodorus to N. N., his brother, greeting."

Now we know that St. Paul did not write his letters himself, but dictated them.[7] The handwriting

[1] *Libri litterarum missarum.* References in Wilcken, Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 1, p. 372; and in Otto Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, New Series, 15, 1, Leipzig, 1906, p. 19 ff.

[2] *Libri litterarum adlatarum.* References in Wilcken, Archiv, 1, p. 372. Of special interest is a papyrus roll at Vienna, consisting entirely of different letters to the same addressee stuck together.

[3] Edited by John P. Mahaffy, cf. Wilcken, Archiv, 1, p. 168.

[4] *Greek Papyri*, Vol. III. No. 904, p. 124 ff., with facsimile (Plate 30). A portion of this fragment (the rescript) is given below, Fig. 42, facing p. 268.

[5] Provisional number 22; not yet published.

[6] Letters from other members of this man's family are preserved in the Amherst Papyri, nos. 131–135. Heliodorus himself is mentioned there more than once. There are other letters of his at Heidelberg.

[7] Cf. above pp. 153, 158 f., 161.

of the originals and of the letter copy-books, if such existed, will therefore have varied with the amanuensis. The little letter to Ephesus was written by a certain Tertius,[1] and the letter to Rome, being of the same date, would no doubt be written by the same Tertius and stand in his handwriting next to the Ephesian letter in the copy-book. In making a transcript from the copy-book it was the easier for the two letters in the same hand to run into one another because in the copy-book the praescripts were generally abbreviated.[2] And how easily might the upper margin, containing the praescript, break off! And when once the praescript was gone, the two letters would fall into one.[3]

The two "Epistles to the Corinthians" that have come down to us also belong to the group of real letters. What is it that makes the second Epistle so extremely unintelligible to many people? Simply the fact that it is out-and-out a letter, full of allusions which we for the most part no longer fully understand. St. Paul wrote this letter with the full strength of his personality, putting into it all the varied emotions that succeeded and encountered one another in his impulsive soul—deep contrition and thankfulness towards God, the reformer's wrath, irony and trenchant candour towards the vicious. The first "Epistle to the Corinthians" is calmer in tone because the situation of the letter is different,

[1] Rom. xvi. 22.

[2] Wilcken, Archiv, 1, p. 168.

[3] There is perhaps a case of this kind in the unpublished Heidelberg papyrus No. 87. This also belongs to the correspondence of Heliodorus and contains a letter from him to his father Sarapion in one wide column. To the right are visible remains of a second column; the right-hand margin has been torn away. Was there a second praescript at the top of the second column? If so, the papyrus must be part of a second letter copy-book belonging to Heliodorus. Cf. also p. 192, note 2 above.

but this also is no pamphlet addressed to the Christian public, but a real letter to Corinth, in part an answer to a letter from the church there.

The two "Epistles to the Thessalonians" are also genuine letters, the first even more so than the second. They represent, so to say, the average type of one of Paul's letters; by which I mean that they are written with comparative composure of mind.

The "Epistle to the Galatians," on the other hand, is the offspring of passion, a fiery utterance of chastisement and defence, not at all a treatise "De lege et evangelio."

The "letters of the captivity," of which we have already mentioned that to Philemon, will perhaps gain most in meaning when treated seriously as letters. We shall come more and more, as we weigh the epistolary possibilities and probabilities of actual letter-writing, to shift the problem of their date and origin from the profitless groove into which the alternative "Rome or Caesarea" must lead; we shall try to solve it by the assumption that at least Colossians, Philemon, and the "Epistle to the Ephesians" (Laodiceans) were written during an imprisonment at Ephesus.[1] The contrast both in subject and style which has been observed between Colossians and Ephesians on the one hand and the rest of the Pauline Epistles on the other is likewise explained by the situation of those letters. Paul is writing to churches that were not yet known to him personally, and what seems epistle-like in the two letters ought really to be described as their reserved,

[1] The careful reader of St. Paul's letters will easily find evidences of an imprisonment at Ephesus.—I may remark, in answer to a reviewer of the first edition, that I do not owe this hypothesis to H. Lisco's book, *Vincula Sanctorum*, Berlin, 1900. I introduced it when lecturing at the Theological Seminary at Herborn in 1897.

impersonal tone. The greatest stone of offence has always been the relationship between the contents of the two texts. Now I for my part see no reason why Paul should not repeat in one "epistle" what he had already said in another; but all astonishment ceases when we observe that we have here a missionary sending letters simultaneously to two different churches that he is anxious to win. The situation is the same in both cases, and he treats practically the same questions in like manner in each letter. The difference, however, is after all so great that he asks the two churches to exchange their letters.[1] The most remarkable thing to me is the peculiar liturgical fervour of the two letters, but this is the resonance of notes that are occasionally struck in other Pauline epistles and which are not without analogies in contemporary non-Christian texts of solemn import.

The "Epistle to the Philippians," most gracious of all St. Paul's writings to the churches, is obviously letter-like. The question of where it was written stands in great need of re-examination, for statistics carefully compiled from inscriptions and papyri would show that "praetorium"[2] and "Caesar's household,"[3] which have hitherto always been taken to indicate Rome, are not necessarily distinctive of the capital.

The Ephesian theory of St. Paul's prison writings (or some of them), suggested by a consideration of the probabilities of actual letter-writing, opens up new possibilities of accounting for the pastoral epistles, or at least some of them. The chief problem lies

[1] Col. iv. 16.

[2] Phil. i. 13. A beginning of such statistics was made by Theodor Mommsen, Hermes, 35 (1900) pp. 437–442.

[3] Phil. iv. 22. This does not refer to the palace (there were imperial palaces elsewhere than in Rome), but to the body of imperial slaves, scattered all over the world. We have evidence of imperial slaves even at Ephesus.

not in their language or the teaching contained in them, but in the circumstances under which the letters were written, the journeys that must be presupposed, and other external events in the lives of the apostle and his companions.

In the case of "Romans" one might at first be in doubt whether it were a letter or an epistle. At any rate its letter-like character is not so obvious as that of 2 Corinthians. Yet it is not an epistle addressed to all the world or even to Christendom, containing, let us say, a compendium of St. Paul's dogmatic and ethical teaching. Its mere length must not be held an argument against its letter-like character[1]: there are long letters,[2] as well as short epistles. "Romans" is a long letter. St. Paul wishes to pave the way for his visit to the Roman Christians; that is the object of his letter. The missionary from Asia does not yet know the Western Church, and is known to it only by hearsay. The letter therefore cannot be so full of personal details as those which the apostle wrote to churches long familiar to him. "Romans" may strike many at first as being more of an epistle than a letter, but on closer examination this explains itself from the circumstances of writing. Here also, therefore, if we would understand its true significance, we must banish all thought of things literary.[3] Not even the

[1] Cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 237; *Bible Studies*, p. 45.

[2] *E.g.* the petition of Dionysia to the Praefect, Oxyrhynchus Papyri, No. 237 (186 A.D.) is not much shorter than the Epistle to the Romans. This gigantic letter, between two and three yards long, gives one a good idea of the probable outward appearance of St. Paul's "long" letters—great rolls made of single-column sheets stuck together.

[3] Wilhelm Bousset (Theologische Literaturzeitung, 22, 1897, col. 358) says admirably: "Paul's Epistles—even that to the Romans—must be read as outpourings from the heart of an impulsive prophet-like personality, and not as dialectic didactic writings." Similarly Adolf Jülicher in the *Gegenwartsbibel* (Die Schriften des neuen Testaments neu übersetzt und für die Gegenwart

oldest codices of the New Testament, to say nothing of printed editions, give a perfectly correct idea of the spirit of this text. What was originally non-literary has there by subsequent development become literary. Early in the fourth century a Christian at Oxyrhynchus—his name was probably Aurelius Paulus—copied the beginning of Romans for some private purpose, very likely for use as an amulet, on a sheet of papyrus that is now in the Semitic Museum of Harvard University (Fig. 37).[1] The coarse, rustic, non-literary uncials in which he wrote, or got somebody to write, are more in keeping with St. Paul's letter than the book-hand of episcopally trained scribes. Those powerful lines assume once more the simple garb they probably wore in the autograph of Tertius written from Paul s dictation at Corinth.

Taking one thing with another I have no hesitation in maintaining the thesis that all the letters of Paul are real, non-literary letters.[2] St. Paul was not a writer of epistles but of letters; he was not a literary man. His letters were raised to the dignity of literature afterwards, when the piety of the churches collected them, multiplied them by copying and so made them accessible to the whole of

erklärt, herausgegeben von Johannes Weiss, II. 2, Göttingen, 1905, p. 2): "The Epistle to the Romans remains a letter not only in form but in essence. . . ."

[1] The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, No. 209. The facsimile (Fig. 37) is reproduced by kind permission of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Cf. my discussion of the papyrus in the Theologische Literaturzeitung, 26 (1901) col. 71 f. After a long study of early Christian amulets, I now prefer the theory that the papyrus served as an amulet for the Aurelius Paulus who is named in a cursive hand beneath the text from Romans. The folds also favour this explanation.

[2] Cf. the fine observations of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Die griechische Literatur des Altertums, *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, Teil I. Abteilung 8, 2 Auflage, Berlin und Leipzig, 1907, p. 159 f., and of Johannes Weiss in the *Gegenwartsbibel*, II. 1, pp. 1 ff.

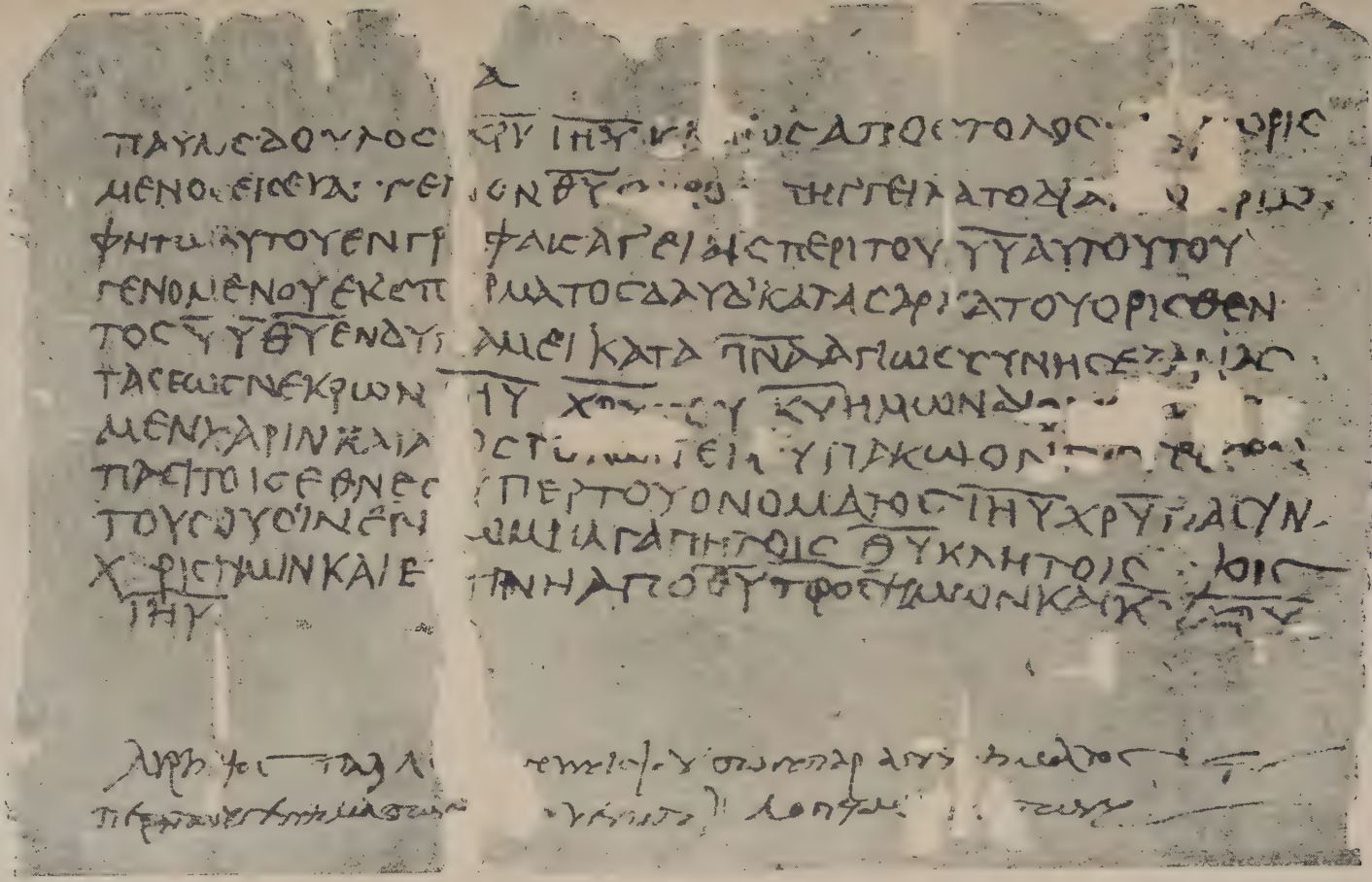

FIG. 37.--The first lines of the Epistle to the Romans in a rustic hand. Papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, beginning of the 4th cent. A.D. Now in the Semitic Museum of Harvard University. By permission of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

[p. 232

Christendom. Later still they became sacred literature, when they were received among the books of the "New" Testament then in process of formation; and in this position their literary influence has been immeasurable. But all these subsequent experiences cannot change the original character of Paul's letters. Paul, whose yearning and ardent hope expected the Lord, and with Him the Judgment and the world to come—Paul, who reckoned the future of "this" world not by centuries and millenniums but by years, had no presentiment of the providence that watched over the fate of his letters in the world's history. He wrote with absolute abandon, more so than Augustine in his *Confessions*, more than the other great teachers[1] in their letters, which not infrequently are calculated for publication as well as for the immediate recipient.

This abandon constitutes the chief value of the letters of St. Paul. Their non-literary characteristics as letters are a guarantee of their reliability, their positively documentary value for the history of the apostolic period of our religion, particularly the history of St. Paul himself and his great mission. His letters are the remains (unfortunately but scanty) of the records of that mission. The task of exegesis becomes spontaneously one of psychological reproduction when once the ebb and flow of the writer's temporary moods is duly recognised. The single confessions in the letters of a nature so impulsive as St. Paul's were dashed down under the influence of a hundred

[1] Again and again in conversation I have been reminded of the epistle-like character of so many "letters" of the Fathers, and a similar character has been claimed for the letters of Paul. But it is quite mistaken to attempt to judge Paul's letters by the standard of later degenerations from the type. Paul wrote under circumstances that could not be repeated, circumstances that preclude all possibility of playing with publicity or with posterity: he wrote in expectation of the end of the world.

various impressions, and were never calculated for systematic presentment. The strange attempt to paste them together mechanically, in the belief that thus Paulinism might be reconstructed, will have to be given up. Thus Paulinism will become more enigmatical, but Paul himself will be seen more clearly; a non-literary man of the non-literary class in the Imperial age, but prophet-like rising above his class and surveying the contemporary educated world with the consciousness of superior strength. All the traces of systematisation that are found here and there in him are proofs of the limitation of his genius; the secret of his greatness lies in religion apart from system.

There are two more real letters in the New Testament, viz. 2 and 3 John. Of the third Epistle I would say with Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff[1]: "It was entirely a private note . . .; it must have been preserved among the papers of Gaius as a relic of the great presbyter."[2] The second Epistle of St. John is not so full of letter-like detail as the third, but it too has a quite definite purpose as a letter, although we cannot say with complete certainty who the lady was to whom it was addressed. That it was addressed to the whole church seems to me quite impossible. The two letters are of especial interest because they clearly betray in several instances the epistolary style of their age, and it is to be hoped that, with the aid of the papyri, we shall some day be able to determine the date of that style more exactly.

7. With the same certainty with which we describe the Pauline and two Johannine epistles as real non-

[1] Lesefrüchte, Hermes, 33 (1898) p. 529 ff. This essay is especially instructive on points of style.

[2] Page 531.

literary letters, we recognise in other New Testament texts literary epistles, most clearly in the Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude,[1] which have from ancient times been known as "catholic" or "general."[2] A glance at the "addressees" shows that these are not real letters. Impossible demands are made of the "bearer" if we are to imagine one. A "letter," for instance, superscribed "to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad" would be simply undeliverable. James, in whose praescript we find this "address," writes as does the author of the Epistle of Baruch "to the nine-and-a-half tribes that are in captivity." In these cases we have to do not with definite addressees but with a great "catholic" circle of readers. The authors did not despatch a single copy of their "letter," as St. Paul did of "Philippians," for example: they published a number of copies of a pamphlet.

The Epistle of James is from the beginning a little work of literature, a pamphlet addressed to the whole of Christendom, a veritable epistle. The whole of its contents agrees therewith. There is none of the unique detail peculiar to the situation, such as we have in the letters of St. Paul, but simply general questions, most of them still conceivable under the present conditions of our church life. But the Epistle of James is nevertheless a product of popular literature. The Epistles of Peter and of Jude have also quite unreal addresses; the letter-like touches are purely decorative. Here we have the beginnings of a Christian literature; the Epistles of Jude and Peter, though still possessing as a whole many popular

[1] Cf. the excellent remarks of Georg Hollmann and Hermann Gunkel in the *Gegenwartsbibel*, II. 3, pp. 1 and 25.

[2] This old designation includes by implication the essential part of our observations.

features, already endeavour here and there after a certain degree of artistic expression.

The question of the "authenticity" of all these epistles is, from our point of view, not nearly so important as it would certainly be if they were real letters. The personality of the authors recedes almost entirely into the background. A great cause is speaking to us, not a clearly definable personality, such as we see in the letters of St. Paul, and it is of little importance to the understanding of the text whether we know the names of the writers with certainty or not. From our knowledge of the literary habits of antiquity, as well as on general historical grounds, we are bound to regard the catholic epistles first and foremost as epistles issued under a protecting name, and may therefore call them, in the good sense of the word, heteronymous.

It is very noteworthy in this connexion that the longest "epistle" in the New Testament, the so-called Epistle to the Hebrews, is altogether anonymous, as it has come down to us. Even the "address" has vanished. Were it not for some details in xiii. 22–24 that sound letter-like, one would never suppose that the work was meant to be an epistle, not to mention a letter. It might equally well be an oration or a diatribe; it calls itself a "word of exhortation" (xiii. 22). It is clear from this example how in epistles all that seems letter-like is mere ornament; if any of the ornament crumbles off the character of the whole thing is not essentially altered. Failure to recognise the literary character of the Epistle to the Hebrews has led to a large number of superfluous hypotheses about the "addressees," etc.,[1] and the fact has been

[1] Cf. Wilhelm Wrede, "Das literarische Rätsel des Hebräerbriefs. Mit einem Anhang über den literarischen Charakter des Barnabasbriefs" (Part 8

overlooked that the Epistle gains immensely in importance if really considered as literature: it is historically the earliest example of Christian artistic literature. What had been shyly attempted in some other epistles has here been more fully carried out. Alike in form and contents this epistle strives to rise from the stratum in which Christianity had its origin towards the higher level of learning and culture.

The so-called "First Epistle of St. John" has none of the specific characters of an epistle, and is, of course, even less like a letter. The little work has got along with the epistles, but it is best described as a religious diatribe, in which Christian meditations are loosely strung together for the benefit of the community of the faithful.

The "Apocalypse of John," however, is strictly speaking an epistle: it has in i. 4 an epistolary praescript with a religious wish, and in xxii. 21 a conclusion suitable for an epistle. The epistle is again subdivided at the beginning into seven small portions addressed to the churches of Asia—Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea. These again are not real letters, sent separately to the respective churches and afterwards collected together. All seven of them, rather, have been written with an eye to the whole, and are to be read and taken to heart by all the churches, not only by the one named in the address. They represent, however, in my opinion, a more letter-like species of epistle than those we have been considering hitherto. The writer wishes to achieve certain ends with the single churches, but at the same time to influence

of the "Forschungen," edited by W. Bousset and H. Gunkel), Göttingen, 1906 Wrede agrees with my view. As he very well puts it (p. 73), "The main point in the end is to recognise the whole epistle as a literarwy ork."

the whole body of Christians, or at any rate Asiatic Christians. In spite, therefore, of their familiar form his missives have a public and literary purpose, and hence they are more correctly ranged with the early Christian epistles than with the letters. They belong moreover to a large species of religious epistolography, which still plays an important part in the popular religion of the present day,[1] viz. the "letters from heaven."[2]

8. Having clearly worked out the difference between the non-literary letter and the literary epistle, we are now able to attempt a sketch of the literary development of Primitive Christianity. If in doing so we speak of times or periods, we do not mean to imply that sharp chronological divisions are possible.

Christianity, then, does not begin as a literary movement. Its creative period is non-literary.

Jesus of Nazareth is altogether unliterary. He never wrote[3] or dictated a line. He depended entirely on the living word, full of a great confidence that the scattered seed would spring up. Always speaking face to face with His friends, never separated from them by the ocean, He had no need to write letters. In His remote country home He wanders from village to village and from one little town to another, preaching in a boat or in synagogues or on a sunlit

[1] In May 1906 I bought at Athens for 5 lepta a reprint of a "letter of Christ" that was being sold in the streets together with lives of saints: Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εὑρεθεῖσα ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου τῆς θεοτόκου, "Letter of our Lord Jesus Christ, found on the grave of the Mother of God."

[2] Cf. on this subject Albrecht Dieterich, Blätter für hessische Volkskunde, 3 (1901) No. 3, and Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde, 1 (1902) p. 19ff. V. G. Kirchner, *Wider die Himmelsbriefe*, Leipzig-Gohlis, 1908, wages war of extermination against these "letters from heaven."

[3] [The writing in John viii. 6, 8 was not literary. Tr.]

hill, but never do we find Him in the shade of the writing-room. Excelling them of old time in reverence as in all things else, He would not have ventured to take the prophet's pen and add new "Scriptures" to the old, for the new thing for which He looked came not in book, formulae, and subtle doctrine, but in spirit and in fire.

Side by side with Jesus there stands, equally non-literary, His apostle. Even from the hand of St. Paul we should possess not a line, probably, if he had remained, like his Master, in retirement. But the spirit drove the cosmopolite back into the diaspora. The great world-centres on the roads and on the coasts become homes of the gospel, and if the artisan-missionary at Ephesus wishes to talk to the foolish Galatians or the poor brethren at Corinth, then in the midst of the hurry and worry of pressing daily duties he dictates a letter, adding at the end a few lines roughly written with his own hard and weary weaver's hand. These were no books or pamphlets for the world or even for Christendom; they were confidential pronouncements, of whose existence and contents the missionary's nearest companions often knew nothing: Luke even writes his Acts of the Apostles without knowledge of the letters of St. Paul (which were written but not yet published). But the lack of all publicist intention, the complete absence of literary pose, the contempt of the stylist's sounding phrase,—this it was that predestined St. Paul's unbookish lines, so unassuming and yet written with such powerful originality, to literary fortunes of truly world-wide import to history. They were to become a centre of energy for the future, influencing leading men and books and civilisations down to the present day.

Such sayings of the non-literary Jesus as have been reported to us by others, and such non-literary letters as remain to us of St. Paul's, show us that Christianity in its earliest creative period was most closely bound up with the lower classes[1] and had as yet no effective connexion with the small upper class possessed of power and culture. Jesus is more in company with the small peasants and townsmen of a rural civilisation—the people of the great city have rejected Him; St. Paul goes rather with the citizens and artisans of the great international cities[2]; but both Jesus and St. Paul are full of magnificent irony and lofty contempt where the upper classes are concerned. But the conventional language of rural civilisations is always the simpler, and therefore the popular standard and popular elements are seen much more clearly in Jesus than in St. Paul. Paul's letters, however, are also popular in tone. This is most conspicuous in his vocabulary, but even the subject-matter is adapted to the problems, difficulties, and weaknesses of humble individuals. Only, of course, a man of St. Paul's greatness has knowledge beyond the thousand-word vocabulary of (say) a mere loafer at the docks, leading a vegetable existence, and with no religion except a belief in daemons. St. Paul has a poet's mastery of language, he experiences with unabated force in the depths of his prophet-soul the subtlest, tenderest emotions known in the sphere of

[1] One of the worst blunders ever made by criticism was to explain the particularly clear tokens of this connexion as later Ebionite interpolations. But even if we surrendered to these critics all that Jesus says about mammon, we shall still, for linguistic and other reasons, be bound to maintain our thesis.

[2] The whole history of Primitive Christianity and the growth of the New Testament might be sketched from this point of view. [Cf. the author's article in The Expositor, February to April 1909, "Primitive Christianity and the Lower Classes." TR.]

religion and morals, and he reveals his experience in the personal confessions contained in his letters.

The creative, non-literary period is followed by the conservative, literary period, but this receives its immediate stamp from the motive forces of the former epoch. The earliest Christian literature is of a popular kind, not artistic literature[1] for the cultured.[2] It either creates a simple form for itself (the gospel), or it employs the most artless forms assumed by Jewish or pagan prose (the chronicle, apocalypse, epistle, diatribe). The popular features exhibited are of two kinds, corresponding to the characteristic difference that struck us when comparing Jesus and St. Paul: we have on the one hand the influence of the country and provincial towns, on the other hand that of the great towns predominating.[3]

The synoptic gospels, themselves based on earlier little books, exhibit the local colour of the Galilean and Palestinian countryside; the great city, in which the catastrophe occurs, stands in frightful contrast to all the rest. The Epistle of St. James will be best understood in the open air beside the piled sheaves of a harvest field; it is the first powerful echo of the still recent synoptic gospel-books.

St. Luke dedicates his books to a man of polish, but this does not make them polite literature. Here and there the language of his gospel, and more

[1] At the present day it is possible for literature to be both popular, in the above sense, and artistic, viz. when it imitates consciously the forms which have grown up naturally in popular books.

[2] Cf. Georg Heinrici in "Theologische Abhandlungen Carl von Weizsäcker . . . gewidmet," Freiburg i. B., 1892, p. 329: "The New Testament writings are distinguished by a far-reaching neglect of the laws that were recognised throughout the classical world as governing artistic representation."

[3] I hope nobody will suppose that I intend to hint at any difference of value between these two classes.

especially the style and subject-matter of his book of apostolic history, mark the transition to the popular books in which the cosmopolite tone prevails. To this latter class belong, so it seems to me, the Epistle of Jude, the Epistles of Peter, and the book of the seven cities (Revelation of St. John). This last is particularly popular in character, written with the passionate earnestness of a prophet who speaks the popular language of his time, and is familiar with the images created by the popular imagination of the East.[1]

The Gospel of St. John, in spite of the Logos in the opening lines,[2] is altogether popular, and so is the diatribe which goes under the name of the First Epistle of St. John. These Johannine texts are still most decidedly popular works, but they are neither decidedly rural nor decidedly urban; rural and urban, synoptic and Pauline are united together into what I should call intercultural Christian characteristics.

After this the production of popular Christian literature never ceased. It runs through the centuries. Often it went on as it were subterraneously, in holes and corners, in secret conventicles —from the earliest known texts of vulgar Latin, the Muratorian Canon, and the swarm of late gospels, "acts," and "revelations" which are branded as apocryphal, to the books of martyrdoms, legends

[1] A sharp eye trained by the study of Dürer and Rembrandt sees clearly the marked popular character of this picture-book. This was shown me by a remark in a letter from Prof. Carl Neumann, of Kiel, dated Göttingen, 6 March, 1905: "In one of my Göttingen semesters I studied the Apocalypse with Albrecht Dürer and then read ——'s commentary. Putting aside the thousand and one pros and cons and questions about sources, and looking at the effect of the whole, as the commentator is no longer naïve enough to do, I must say I have never come across a work of such coloristic power in the contrasts, I might even say of such tremendous instrumentation. There is something of barbaric unrestraint about it all."

[2] Cf. p. 63 above.

of saints, and pilgrimages,—from the printed postils, consolatories, and tractates down to the vast modern polyglot of missionary and edifying literature. Even to-day the greatest part of this popular literature perishes after serving its purpose. The dullest book of professional hypothesis in theology, which nobody ever will read, finds a place in our libraries, but books of prayer that served whole generations for edification become literary rarities after a hundred years. Thus of the whole vast mass of Christian popular literature of all times only a scanty remnant has come down to us, and even this is almost stifled by the volume of learned theological literature, which has pushed itself, bulky and noisy, into the foreground.

If we trace this technical literature of theology back to its beginnings we come to the Epistle to the Hebrews, a work which seems to hang in the background like an intruder among the New Testament company of popular books. It marks an epoch in the literary development of Christianity inasmuch as it is the first tolerably clear example of a literature which still, like the older popular writings, appealed only to Christians and not to the whole world, but was consciously dictated by theological interests, and dominated (quite unlike the letters of Paul) by theological methods and the endeavour to attain beauty of form. Christianity has moved from its native stratum and is seeking to acquire culture.

It was but a step from this artistic literature for Christians to artistic literature for the world, such as the apologists of the second century produced. The subsequent lines of this development are well known.

But before Christian literature ventured on this great step into the world, the pristine inheritance was separated off from the books of the after-generation by the insurmountable barrier of a new canon. The formation of the New Testament is the most important event in the literary history of mankind: wherein lay its significance, merely as regards literature? It meant, in the first place, the preservation of the relics of the past age. Secondly, that the non-literary part of these relics was raised to the rank of literature, and the impulse given to unite all the parts gradually into a single book. Finally, that texts older than "the church" were elevated to standards for the church, and popular texts became a book for the world.[1] The fact that scarcely any but popular and primitive Christian writings found their way into the nascent New Testament is a brilliant proof of the unerring tact of the Church that formed the Canon.

9. We have reached the end of a chapter, and if any one should object that its results could all have been obtained without the aid of the inscriptions, papyri, and ostraca, it is not for me to enter an indignant denial. Speaking for myself, however, I am bound to say that I had never grasped those main lines of the literary development of Christianity until I took up the study of the class of document we have been considering. Then it was that the great difference between literary and non-literary writing impressed itself on me, and I learnt from the papyrus letters to appreciate the characteristics of the non-literary letter.

[1] Just as, philologically, it meant that the vulgar language was elevated to the realm of things literary.

From that time onward the literary history of Primitive Christianity stood out before me in all its grandeur.

It began without any written book at all. There was only the living word,—the gospel, but no gospels. Instead of the letter there was the spirit. The beginning, in fact, was Jesus Himself. This age of the spirit had not passed away before the apostle Paul was at work. He wrote his letters not to gain the ear of literary men, but to keep up confidential intercourse with those dear to him.

Next there sprang up among the Christian brotherhoods popular books with no pretensions to literary art. Yet these were the beginnings of Christian literature, and the authors—evangelists, prophets, apostles—being themselves men of the people, spoke and wrote the people's language.

The Epistle to the Hebrews shows us Christianity preparing for a flight from its native levels into the higher region of culture, and we are conscious of the beginnings of a Christian world-literature. First, however, the new religion, reviewing its own initial stages, begins to collect the relics of that early period as a standard for the future.

The development of the literature is a reflex of the whole early history of Christianity. We watch the stages of growth from brotherhoods to church, from the unlearned to theologians, from the lower and middle classes to the upper world. It is one long process of cooling and hardening. If we still persist in falling back upon the New Testament after all these centuries, we do so in order to make the hardened metal fluid once more. The New Testament was edited and handed down by the Church, but there is none of the rigidity of the

law about it, because the texts composing it are documents of a period antecedent to the Church, when our religion was still sustained by inspiration. The New Testament is a book, but not of your dry kind, for the texts composing it are still to-day, despite the tortures to which literary criticism has subjected them, living confessions of Christian inwardness. And if, owing to its Greek idiom, the New Testament cannot dispense with learned interpreters, it is by no means an exclusive book for the few. The texts composing it come from the souls of saints sprung from the people, and therefore the New Testament is the Bible for the many.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT, ILLUSTRATED FROM THE NEW TEXTS

1. In the days before the ancient inscriptions had sunk beneath the soil, when men still wrote on papyrus and potsherd, and the coins of the Roman Caesars were in daily circulation, Jesus of Galilee called for a silver denarius of Rome when He was disputing with His adversaries, and said, referring to the image and superscription on the coin, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's."[1] It was an age in which the Caesar was honoured as a god; Jesus showed no disrespect towards Caesar, but by distinguishing so sharply between Caesar and God He made a tacit protest against the worship of the emperor. That pregnant sentence does not present us with two equal magnitudes, Caesar and God: the second is clearly the superior of the first; the sense is, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and, *a fortiori*, unto God the things that are God's."[2] The portrait and legend were an ocular demonstration of the right of the sovereign who coined the money to demand

[1] Matt. xxii. 21, with the parallel passages.

[2] Cf. the remarks on the worship of the emperors, in § 9 below, p. 342 ff. This explanation of the passage is exactly how the Christian woman Donata understands it, in the Acts of the Scilitanian Martyrs: *honorem Caesari quasi Caesari; timorem autem Deo*, "honour to Caesar as Caesar, but fear to God!" (*Ausgewählte Märtyreracten*, herausg. von R. Knopf, Tübingen, 1901, p. 35).

tribute from the provincials. The claims of God were in no sense affected, for they are high as the heavens above this world's claims. Thus Jesus made use of the portrait and legend on a Roman coin to give a concrete, tangible answer to a question of the day involving religion and politics.

Some time later, on the eve of His martyrdom, in the trusted circle of His immediate disciples, Jesus referred to a secular custom, examples of which are derivable from literature [1] and most abundantly from inscriptions and coins of Greek-speaking lands—the custom of distinguishing princes and other eminent men with the honourable title of *Euergetes*, "benefactor." [2] It would not be difficult to collect from inscriptions, with very little loss of time, over a hundred instances, so widespread was the custom. I give here one example only, of the same period as the evangelists. Gaius Stertinius Xenophon, body-physician to the Emperor Claudius, whom he afterwards poisoned, was contemporary with Jesus, and received from the people of Cos, probably about A.D. 53, in gratitude for his valuable services to his native island, the title of "Benefactor." The title precedes his name, for instance, in a fragmentary inscription from Cos[3] (Figure 38), which was probably connected with some honour conferred on his wife: [4]

— — — — — — —	
τοῦ εὐεργέτ[α Γ. Στερ-]	. . . . . of the benefactor
τινίου Ξενοφῶντ[ος]	G. Stertinius Xenophon, . . .
ἀνιερωθεῖσαν τ[ῆι]	consecrated to the city.
πόλει.	

[1] Cf. for instance the Old Testament Apocrypha. [2] Luke xxii. 25 f.

[3] Discovered and published by Rudolf Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 65 ff., Nos. 24, 25. The greatly reduced facsimile (Plate IV. 2, 3) is here reproduced (Fig. 38) by the kind permission of the discoverer and his publisher.

[4] The upper fragment ΙΤΗΙΟΥΛ is perhaps part of another inscription.

FIG. 38.—Marble Inscription from Cos, containing the title *Euergetes*, *circa* 53 A.D. Now in Sarrara Yussuf's garden wall, in the town of Cos. By permission of Rudolf Herzog and the publishing house of Theodor Weicher (Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung).

[p. 248

Jesus knew this custom of "the Gentiles" most probably from Syrian and Phoenician coins[1] which circulated in Palestine, and it is, I think, justifiable to suppose that this common Greek title existed as a borrowed word in Aramaic. The Greek title in the mouth of Jesus is, like His words about the denarius, one of the instances in which we seem to hear in the language of the Master the roar of breakers coming from the great world afar off. He mentioned the title not without contempt, and forbade His disciples to allow themselves to be so called: the name contradicted the idea of service in brotherhood.

About twenty years after this St. Paul, on his journeyings through the world, finds himself at Athens. He walks through the streets, and stands meditating before an altar. He is profoundly interested by the inscription[2]: "To the unknown god." That line on the stone is to him the embodiment of the pagan yearning for the living God, whom he possesses in Christ.

At Ephesus, whither St. Paul soon proceeded, there was another experience, not with an inscription this time, but with papyrus books. Preaching with the Holy Ghost and with power he won over a number of Jews and pagans, and many of them who had dealt in magic brought their magical books and burnt them publicly. There were such quantities of them that St. Luke—perhaps with some pious exaggeration—places their value at 50,000 silver drachmae.[3] The new discoveries en-

[1] *E.g.* coins of the cities of Ptolemaïs (*Acre*) and Aradus with Alexander I. Bala, 150–145 B.C., Journal international d'archéologie numismatique, 4 (1901) p. 203, and 3 (1900) p. 148; and coins of Tyre and Aradus with Antiochus VII. Euergetes, 141–129 B.C., *ibid.* 6 (1903) p. 291, and 3 (1900) p. 148.

[2] Ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ, Acts xvii. 23.

[3] Acts xix. 19.

able us to form a peculiarly vivid conception of the appearance and contents of these magical books. There are in our museums numerous fragments of ancient papyrus books of magic, sometimes of very considerable size, for the publication and elucidation of which we are especially indebted to Carl Wessely, Albrecht Dieterich, and Frederic Kenyon. The largest fragment is no doubt the "Great" Magical Papyrus in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris,[1] which was written about 300 A.D., and has been edited by Wessely.[2] Though it was not written till some centuries after St. Paul's adventure, though it is in the form of a codex (instead of the roll which was probably still usual in the time of St. Paul), and though the usurpation of the name of Jesus (among other things) makes it no longer purely pagan or Jewish, yet it will in the main afford us magical texts that are considerably older than the MS., and we are in a position to construct from it a distinct picture of what ancient magical literature at the time of St. Paul was like. There can, I think, be no doubt that we must assume a strong strain of Jewish influence in it even then. I choose as a specimen leaf 33 of the Paris book[3] containing the end of a

[1] No. 574 of the Supplément grec.

[2] Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, Bd. 36, Wien, 1888, pp. 27–208.

[3] Wessely has re-edited most of this leaf with a translation, *Patrologia Orientalis*, t. IV., 2, pp. 187–190. I have silently corrected a number of readings from the photograph; and my translation departs a good deal from Wessely's ideas. The Jewish part of this leaf was explained before Wessely by Albrecht Dieterich, *Abraxas Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 138 ff. He sees in the "pure men" of the concluding lines members of a sect of the Essenes resembling the Therapeutae (p. 146). Valuable elucidations were contributed by Ludwig Blau, Das altjüdische Zauberwesen, Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest für das Schuljahr 1897–8, Budapest, 1898, p. 112 ff.

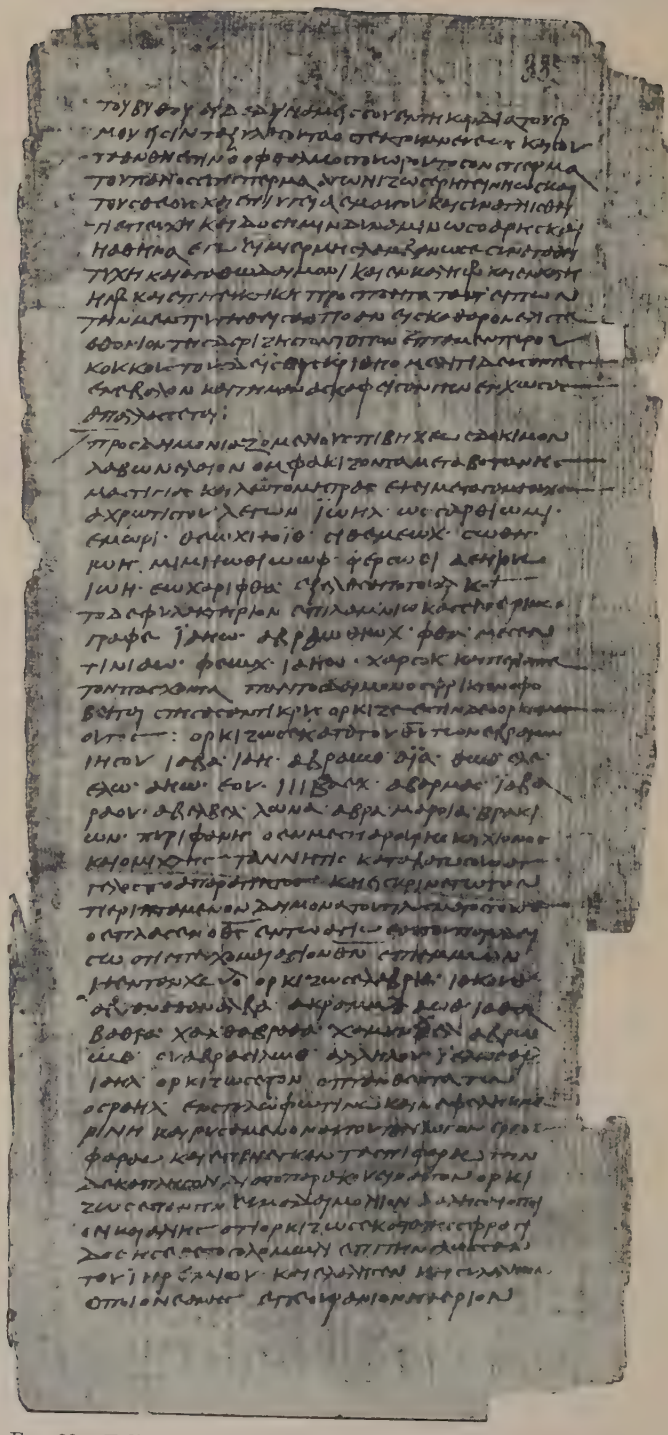

FIG. 39.—Folio 33 recto of the Great Magical Papyrus, written in Egypt *circa* 300 A.D. Now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. (The photograph was obtained for me by the late Albrecht Dieterich.)

pagan recipe, and a long recipe written by a pagan but originally Jewish[1] (Figures 39 and 40):—

Recto, Pagan Text (Figure 39)

τοῦ βυθοῦ. αἱ δὲ δυνάμεις σου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ Ἑρ-
μοῦ εἰσιν. τὰ ξύλα σου τὰ ὀστέα τοῦ Μνεύεως. καί σου
τὰ ἄνθη ἐστὶν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ Ὥρου. τὸ σὸν σπέρμα
τοῦ Πανός ἐστι σπέρμα. ἀγῶνι ζῶσε[2] ῥητείνῃ ὡς καὶ
τοὺς θεούς. καὶ ἐπὶ ὑγεία ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ συνοπλίσθη-
τι ἐπ' εὐχῇ. καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν δύναμιν ὡς ὁ Ἄρης καὶ
ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. ἐγώ εἰμι Ἑρμῆς. λαμβάνω σε σὺν ἀγαθῇ
Τύχῃ καὶ ἀγαθῷ Δαίμονι καὶ ἐν καλῇ Ⲫ[3] καὶ ἐν καλῇ
ἡ ⲡ[4] καὶ ἐπιτευκτικῇ πρὸς πάντα. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν
τὴν μὲν τρυγηθεῖσαν πόαν εἰς καθαρὸν ἔλισσε
ὀθόνιον. τῆς δὲ ῥίζης τὸν τόπον ἑπτὰ μὲν πυροῦ
κόκκους τοὺς δὲ ἴσους κριθῆς μέλιτι δεύσαντες
ἐνέβαλον καὶ τὴν ἀνασκαφεῖσαν γῆν ἐνχώσας
ἀπαλλάσσεται:

Recto, Jewish Text (Figure 39)

πρὸς δαιμονιαζομένους[5] Πιβήχεως δόκιμον.
λαβὼν ἔλαιον ὀμφακίζοντα μετὰ βοτάνης
μαστιγίας καὶ λωτομήτρας ἕψει μετὰ σαμψούχου
ἀχρωτίστου λέγων· Ιωηλ· Ωσσαρθιωμι·
Εμωρι· Θεωχιψοιθ· Σιθεμεωχ· Σωθη·
Ιωη· Μιμιψωθιωωφ· Φερσωθι ΑΕΗΙΟΥΩ
Ιωη· Εωχαριφθα· ἔξελθε ἀπὸ τοῦ Δ[6] κοι—[7].

τὸ δὲ φυλακτήριον ἐπὶ λαμνίῳ κασσιτερινῷ

[1] I am indebted to the kindness of my friend the late Albrecht Dieterich for the photographs of the two sides of the leaf, here reduced to about two-thirds of the original size (Figs. 39 and 40). A new edition of the whole papyrus is to be expected from a pupil of Dieterich's.

[2] = ζῶσαι.

[3] = ὥρᾳ. Cf. the ostracon with the charm for binding, below, p. 309. This and the one in the next line are good examples of ρ-monograms, which are very numerous in the papyri. The so-called monogram of Christ, which had been in use long before the time of Christ, is also one of them. Cf. my *Epistle of Psenosiris*, p. 43 (in the German edition, *Ein Dokument*, p. 23).

[4] = ἡμέρᾳ.

[5] The word δαιμονιάζω, of which I know no previous example, is probably formed on the analogy of σεληνιάζω.

[6] = δεῖνα.

[7] = κοινά, *i.e.* "and the other usual formulae." This note is frequent in magical papyri.

γράφε· Ιαηω· Αβραωθιωχ· Φθα· Μεσεν-
τινιαω· Φεωχ· Ιαηω· Χαρσοκ· καὶ περίαπτε
τὸν πάσχοντα παντὸς δαίμονος φρικτὸν ὃ φο-
βεῖται. στήσας ἄντικρυς ὅρκιζε. ἔστιν δὲ ὁ ὁρκισμὸς
οὗτος· ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θυ τῶν Ἑβραίων
Ἰησοῦ· Ιαβα· Ιαη· Αβραωθ· Αια· Θωθ· Ελε·
Ελω· Αηω· Εου· Ιιβαεχ· Αβαρμας· Ιαβα-
ραου· Αβελβελ· Λωνα· Αβρα· Μαροια· βρακί-
ων[1]· πυριφανῆ· ὁ ἐν μέσῃ ἀρούρης καὶ χιόνος
καὶ ὁμίχλης, Τανηητις, καταβάτω σου ὁ ἄγ-
γελος ὁ ἀπαραίτητος καὶ εἰσκρινέτω[2] τὸν
περιπτάμενον δαίμονα τοῦ πλάσματος τούτου,
ὃ ἔπλασεν ὁ θς ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἑαυτοῦ παραδεί-
σῳ. ὅτι ἐπεύχομαι ἅγιον θν ἐπὶ Αμμων-
ιψενταγχω. λ[3] ο. ὁρκίζω σε λαβρία· Ιακουθ·
Αβλαναθαναλβα· Ακραμμ. λ[3] ο. Αωθ· Ιαθα-
βαθρα· Χαχθαβραθα· Χαμυνχελ[4]· Αβρω-
ωθ. σὺ Αβρασιλωθ· Αλληλου· Ιελωσαι·
Ιαηλ· ὁρκίζω σε τὸν ὀπτανθέντα[5] τῷ
Ὀσραὴλ[6] ἐν στύλῳ φωτινῷ καὶ νεφέλῃ ἡμε-
ρινῇ καὶ ῥυσάμενον αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον[7] ἔργου
Φαραὼ καὶ ἐπενέγκαντα ἐπὶ Φαραὼ τὴν
δεκάπληγον διὰ τὸ παρακούειν αὐτόν. ὁρκί-
ζω σε, πᾶν πνεῦμα δαιμόνιον, λαλῆσαι ὁποῖ-
ον καὶ ἂν ᾖς, ὅτι ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τῆς σφραγῖ-
δος ἧς ἔθετο Σολομὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν
τοῦ Ἰηρεμίου καὶ ἐλάλησεν. καὶ σὺ λάλησον
ὁποῖον ἐὰν[8] ἧς ἐπουράνιον[9] ἢ ἀέριον

[1] = βραχίων.

[2] This must be a technical expression: the daemon, freed by exorcism, and fluttering about, is to be arrested so as not to enter into the man again (cf. Mark ix. 25).

[3] = λόγος.

[4] The reading is uncertain; the text has been corrected.

[5] For this supposed "Biblical" word, cf. p. 79.

[6] = Ἰσραήλ!

[7] Originally of course the formula contained the word λαόν and perhaps ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου.

[8] For this vulgar ἐάν, which occurs again, instead of ἄν, cf. *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 29 ff.; *Bible Studies*, p. 202 ff.

[9] = ἐπουράνιον.

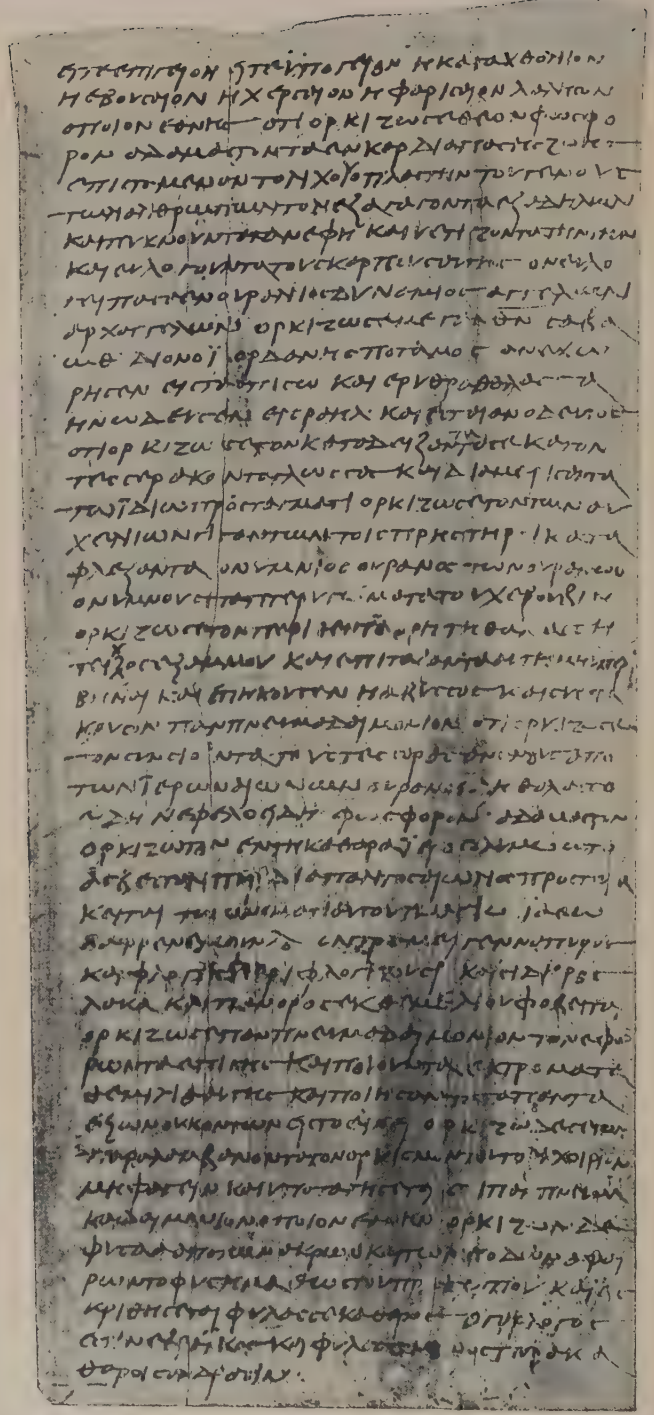

FIG. 40.—Folio 33 verso of the Great Magical Papyrus, written in Egypt *circa* 300 A.D. Now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. (The photograph was obtained for me by the late Albrecht Dieterich.)

Verso, Jewish Text (Figure 40)

εἴτε ἐπίγειον εἴτε ὑπόγειον ἢ καταχθόνιον
ἢ Ἐβουσαῖον ἢ Χερσαῖον ἢ Φαρισαῖον. λάλησον
ὁποῖον ἐὰν ἦς, ὅτι ὁρκίζω σε θεὸν φωσφό-
ρον ἀδάμαστον, τὰ ἐν καρδίᾳ πάσης ζωῆς
ἐπιστάμενον, τὸν χουοπλάστην[1] τοῦ γένους
τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὸν ἐξαγαγόντα ἐξ ἀδήλων
καὶ πυκνοῦντα τὰ νέφη καὶ ὑετίζοντα τὴν γῆν
καὶ εὐλογοῦντα τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῆς, ὃν εὐ-
λογεῖ πᾶσα ἐπουράνιος δυνάμιος[2] ἀγγέλων
ἀρχαγγέλων. ὁρκίζω σε μέγαν θν̄ Σαβα-
ώθ, δι' ὃν ὁ Ἰορδάνης ποταμὸς ἀνεχώ-
ρησεν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα
ἣν ὥδευσεν Εἰσραὴλ καὶ ἔσται[3] ἀνόδευτος·
ὅτι ὁρκίζω σε τὸν καταδείξαντα τὰς ἑκατὸν
τεσσεράκοντα γλώσσας καὶ διαμερίσαντα
τῷ ἰδίῳ προστάγματι. ὁρκίζω σε τὸν τῶν αὐ-
χενίων γιγάντων[4] τοῖς πρηστῆρσι κατα-
φλέξαντα, ὃν ὑμνῖ ὁς[5] οὐρανὸς τῶν οὐρανῶν,
ὃν ὑμνοῦσι τὰ πτερυγώματα τοῦ Χερουβίν.
ὁρκίζω σε τὸν περιθέντα ὄρη τῇ θαλάσσῃ
τεῖχος[6] ἐξ ἄμμου καὶ ἐπιτάξαντα αὐτῇ μὴ ὑπερ-
βῆναι καὶ ἐπήκουσεν ἡ ἄβυσσος. καὶ σὺ ἐπά-
κουσον, πᾶν πνεῦμα δαιμόνιον, ὅτι ὁρκίζω σε
τὸν συνσίοντα[7] τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους ἀπὸ
τῶν ἱερῶν αἰώνων οὐρανοειδῆ θαλασσο-
ειδῆ νεφελοειδῆ φωσφόρον ἀδάμαστον.
ὁρκίζω τὸν ἐν τῇ καθαρᾷ Ἱεροσολύμῳ ὧ τὸ
ἄσβεστον πῦρ διὰ παντὸς αἰῶνος προσπαρά-
κειται τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ τῷ ἁγίῳ Ιαεω-
λ[8]
βαφρενεμουν, ὁ, ὃν τρέμει Γέννα πυρὸς

[1] χουοπλάστης (χοοπλάστης) is a word, not yet found elsewhere, of Jewish origin.

[2] δύναμις is meant.

[3] = ἔστη, cf. LXX Exodus xiv. 27, καὶ ἀπεκατέστη τὸ ὕδωρ.

[4] A word has dropped out here; Wessely's ὄχλον is a good conjecture.

[5] ὑμνεῖ ὁ.

[6] Corrected from τειζος.

[7] = συνσείοντα.

[8] = λόγος.

καὶ φλόγες περιφλογίζουσι καὶ σίδηρος
λακᾶ καὶ πᾶν ὄρος ἐκ θεμελίου φοβεῖται.
3075 ὁρκίζω σε, πᾶν πνεῦμα δαιμόνιον, τὸν ἐφο-
ρῶντα ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ποιοῦντα ἔκτρομα[1] τὰ
θεμίλια[2] αὐτῆς καὶ ποιήσαντα τὰ πάντα
ἐξ ὧν[3] οὐκ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι. ὁρκίζω δέ σε τὸν
παραλαμβάνοντα τὸν ὁρκισμὸν τοῦτον χοιρίον
3080 μὴ φαγεῖν καὶ ὑποταγήσεταί σοι πᾶν πνεῦμα
καὶ δαιμόνιον ὁποῖον ἐὰν ᾖν[4]. ὁρκίζων δὲ
φύσα α[5] ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ἀφαί-
ρων[6] τὸ φύσημα ἕως τοῦ προσώπου καὶ εἰσ-
κριθήσεται. φύλασσε καθαρός· ὁ γὰρ λόγος
3085 ἐστὶν ἑβραικὸς καὶ φυλασσόμενος παρὰ κα-
θαροῖς ἀνδράσιν.

Recto, Pagan Text

The subject referred to is a root, which is dug up with certain ceremonies, while a magic spell is pronounced, part of which comes on this page. The daemon is being addressed. Note the paratactic style and the frequent use of *and*.[7]

". . . . . of the depth. But thy powers are in the heart of
Hermes. Thy trees are the bones of Mnevis.[8] And thy
2995 flowers are the eye of Horus. Thy seed
is the seed of Pan. Gird thyself for the strife with rosin
as also[9]
. . . . . .
the gods. And for my health[10] ⟨and⟩ be my companion
in arms

[1] *ἔκτρομος* is not in the lexicons, but it seems to be a synonym of *ἔντρομος*, Acts vii. 32, xvi. 29; Heb. xii. 21. (Tr.)

[2] = *θεμέλια*.

[3] = *ἐκ τῶν*.

[4] For *ἦν* after *ἐάν* cf. *Neue Bibelstudien*, pp. 29, 31; *Bible Studies*, p. 201 f.

[5] This *α* is no doubt a dittograph and may be struck out.

[6] The MS. has *αφαιρων*, but *ἀφαιρῶν* would make no sense. *ἀπαίρων*, however, used as in LXX Psalm lxxvii. [lxxviii.] 26, 52 in the sense of "make to go forth," suits admirably and was probably the original reading.

[7] Cf. p. 128 ff. above.

[8] The Egyptian Sun-bull.

[9] Here, I think, one line or more must have dropped out; even by taking *ὡς* as a preposition we get no good sense.

[10] These words perhaps should be construed with the preceding.

at my prayer.[1] And give us power like Ares and
Athena. I am[2] Hermes. I seize thee in fellowship
with[3] good
Tyche and good Daemon, and in a good hour, and on a
day good and prosperous for all things." Having said
this,
roll[4] up the gathered herb in a clean
linen cloth. But into the place of the root seven wheat-
grains, and the like number of barley, they[4] mixed with
honey
and threw. And having filled in the earth that was
dug up
he[5] departeth.

Recto, Jewish Text

For those possessed by daemons, an approved charm by Pibechis[6].

Take oil made from unripe olives, together with the plant mastigia[7] and lotus pith,[8] and boil it with marjoram
(very colourless), saying: "Jōēl,[9] Ōssarthiōmi,
Emōri, Theōchipsoith, Sithemeōch, Sōthē,

[1] Or "according to my wish."

[2] Cf. pp. 134-139 above.

[3] This σύν is a technical expression in the ritual of magic and cursing.

[4] Note the change of subject.

[5] *I.e.* the digger of the root.

[6] A magician, cf. Albrecht Dieterich, Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, 16, Supplementband (1888), p. 756.

[7] ? ? Cf. Albr. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 138. [Can "herb mastic," a plant resembling marjoram, be meant? Tr.]

[8] *Lotometra* is perhaps the name of a plant, cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, V. col. 473.

[9] In these charms we should try to distinguish between meaningless hocus-pocus and words of Semitic (cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 1 ff.; *Bible Studies*, p. 321 ff.) or Egyptian origin, etc., which once had and might still have a meaning. In trying to recover this meaning we must not only employ the resources of modern philology but also take into account the ancient popular and guessing etymologies, of which we have a good number of (Semitic) examples in the *Onomastica Sacra*. Several of the magical words in this text are Biblical and are explained in the *Onomastica Sacra*. That the explanations in the *Onomastica Sacra* were in some cases current among the people, is shown by the Heidelberg papyrus amulet containing Semitic *names* and Greek explanations (cf. Figure 62, facing p. 415 below).

Jōē, Mimipsōthiōōph, Phersōthi AEĒIOYŌ
Jōē, Eōchariphtha: come out of[1] such an one (and the other usual formulae)."
But write this phylactery[2] upon a little sheet of
tin: "Jaēō, Abraōthiōch, Phtha, Mesen-
tiniaō, Pheōch, Jaēō, Charsōc," and hang it
round the sufferer: it is of every daemon a thing to be trembled at,[3] which
he fears. Standing opposite, adjure him. The adjuration is
this: "I adjure thee by the god of the Hebrews
Jēsu,[4] Jaba, Jaē, Abraōth, Aia, Thōth, Ele,
Elō, Aēō, Eu, Jiibaech, Abarmas, Jaba-
rau, Abelbel, Lōna, Abra, Maroia, arm,
thou that appearest in fire,[5] thou that art in the midst of earth and snow
and vapour,[6] Tannētis[7]: let thy angel descend,
the implacable one, and let him draw into captivity the daemon as he flieth around this creature
which God formed in his holy paradise.[8]
For I pray to the holy god, through the might of[9] Ammōn-
ipsentanchō." Sentence. "I adjure thee with bold, rash words: Jacuth,
Ablanathanalba, Acramm." Sentence. "Aōth, Jatha-

[1] The same formula exactly occurs in Luke iv. 35; with ἐκ instead of ἀπό in Mark i. 25, v. 8, ix. 25.

[2] *I.e.* amulet.

[3] Cf. James ii. 19, and *Bibelstudien*, p. 42 f.; *Bible Studies*, p. 288.

[4] The name *Jesu* as part of the formula can hardly be ancient. It was probably inserted by some pagan: no Christian, still less a Jew, would have called Jesus "the god of the Hebrews."

[5] The *arm* of God together with the *fire* is probably a reminiscence of passages like LXX Isaiah xxvi. 11 and Wisdom xvi. 16.

[6] *Snow and vapour* coming from God, LXX Psalm cxlvii. 5 [16], cf. also LXX Job xxxviii. 22, 9.

[7] ? Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 138, alters it to ταυσθεὶς.

[8] Cf. Tanchuma, Pikkudē 3: Rabbi Jochanan said: ". . . Know that all the souls which have been since the first Adam and which shall be till the end of the whole world, were created in the six days of creation. They are all in the garden of Eden" (Ferdinand Weber, *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften*,[2] Leipzig, 1897, p. 225).

[9] This ἐπί seems to be related to the technical σύν (p. 255, n. 3 above).

bathra, Chachthabratha, Chamynchel, Abrō-
ōth. Thou art Abrasilōth, Allēlu, Jelōsai,
Jaēl: I adjure thee by him who appeared unto
Osrael [1] in the pillar of light and in the cloud by
3035 day,[2] and who delivered [3] his word [4] from the taskwork [5]
of Pharaoh and brought upon Pharaoh the
ten plagues [6] because he heard not.[7] I adjure
thee, every daemonic spirit, say whatsoever
thou art.[8] For I adjure thee by the seal
3040 which Solomon [9] laid upon the tongue
of Jeremiah [10] and he spake. And say thou
whatsoever thou art, in heaven, or of the air,

Verso, Jewish Text

or on earth,[11] or under the earth or below the ground,[11]
or an Ebusaean, or a Chersaean, or a Pharisee.[12] Say
3045 whatsoever thou art, for I adjure thee by God the light-
bringer,[13] invincible,[14] who knoweth what is in the heart

[1] This form also suggests the pagan origin of the editor of the Jewish text.

[2] See for the facts Exod. xiii. 21. The LXX has *pillar of fire*, not *pillar of light*.

[3] A frequent expression in the LXX.

[4] *Word* (λόγον) written by mistake for *people* (λαόν).

[5] LXX Exod. i. 11. [6] LXX Exod. vii. ff.

[7] LXX Exod. vii. 4.

[8] To obtain complete power over the daemon it is necessary to know his name; hence the question to the daemon in Mark v. 9 = Luke viii. 30.

[9] *Solomon's seal* is well known in magic; see for instance Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 141 f., Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, III.³ p. 303.

[10] I do not know what this refers to. The tradition is probably connected with LXX Jer. i. 6–10.

[11] In spite of the resemblance to Phil. ii. 10, Eph. ii. 2, iii. 10, vi. 12, this is not a quotation from St. Paul. The papyrus and St. Paul are both using familiar Jewish categories.

[12] This remarkable trio of daemons obviously comes from LXX Gen. xv. 20, Exod. iii. 8, 17, etc., where we find Χετταῖοι (who have become Χερσαῖοι, *i.e.* "land daemons"), Φερεζαῖοι (who have become the more intelligible "Pharisees"), and Ἰεβουσαῖοι. Χερσαῖος, which also occurs elsewhere as a designation applied to a daemon (see Wessely's index), has here no doubt the force of an adjective derived from a proper name. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 139, explains the passage somewhat differently.

[13] Cf. LXX Gen. i. 3 and many similar passages.

[14] Cf. 3 Macc. vi 13.

of all life,[1] who of the dust[2] hath formed the race
of men, who hath brought out of uncertain [places]
and maketh thick the clouds[3] and causeth it to rain upon
the earth[4]
and blesseth the fruits thereof[5]; who is
blessed by every power in heaven of angels,[6]
of archangels. I adjure thee by the great God Sabaoth,
through whom the river Jordan returned
backward,[7]—the Red Sea[8] also,
which Israel journeyed over and it stood[9] impassable.
For I adjure thee by him that revealed the hundred
and forty tongues and divided them
by his command.[10] I adjure thee by him who
with his lightnings the [race ?] of stiff-necked[11] giants con-
sumed,[12] to whom the heaven of heavens sings praises,[13]
to whom Cherubin[14] his wings sing praises.
I adjure thee by him who hath set mountains[15] about the
sea,

[1] LXX Job vii. 20; Psalm cxxxviii. [cxxxix.] 23. An inaccuracy in the translation here was corrected by P. W. Schmiedel (letter, Zürich, 9 March 1909).
[2] LXX Gen. ii. 7.
[3] LXX Psalm cxxxiv. [cxxxv.] 7.
[4] LXX Job xxxviii. 26.
[5] LXX Deut. vii. 13.
[6] LXX Isaiah vi. 3.
[7] LXX Joshua iii. 13 ff.; Psalm cxiii. [cxiv.] 3.
[8] LXX Exod. xiv.
[9] LXX Exod. xiv. 27.

[10] Noah's generations enumerated in Genesis x. contain the names of 70 peoples; the Jews therefore assumed that there were 70 different languages (Weber,[2] p. 66). Our papyrus has 2 × 70 languages—a number not mentioned elsewhere, so far as I know.

[11] Cf. LXX Psalm cxxviii. [cxxix.] 4.

[12] This is a combination from LXX Gen. vi. 4 ff. and xix. 24 ff. The giants and the people of Sodom and Gomorrha are mentioned together as typical evil-doers in Ecclus. xvi. 7, 3 Macc. ii. 4, and the Book of Jubilees xx. 5. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 143, explains the passage differently.

[13] LXX Psalm xviii. [xix.] 2.

[14] The use of *Cherubin* as a singular may perhaps be regarded as another proof that this Jewish formula was written out by a pagan. Cf. Tersteegen's plural form *die Seraphinen*, resulting from a like misconception of *Seraphin* as a singular. [*Cherubin*, *-m*, was formerly used as a singular in English. The *New English Dictionary* has examples ranging from Wyclif to Dickens, and the plural *cherubims* is familiar in the A.V. Even in the LXX χερουβίμ is treated as a neuter singular in 2 Sam. xxii. 11 and 2 Chron. iii. 11. Tr.]

[15] *Mountains* (ὄρη) is a corruption of *bounds* (ὅρια), cf. LXX Job xxxviii. 10, and especially LXX Jer. v. 22.

a wall of sand,[1] and hath charged it not to pass
over,[2] and the deep hearkened. And do thou
hearken, every daemonic spirit, for I adjure thee
by him that moveth [3] the four winds since
the holy aeons, him the heaven-like, sea-
like, cloud-like, the light-bringer, invincible.
I adjure thee by him that is in Jerosolymum [4] the pure, to whom the
unquenchable fire [5] through every aeon is
offered, through his holy name Jaeō-
baphrenemun (Sentence), before whom trembleth [6] the Genna [7] of fire
and flames flame round about [8] and iron
bursteth [9] and every mountain feareth [10] from its foundations.
I adjure thee, every daemonic spirit, by him that
looketh down on earth and maketh tremble the
foundations [11] thereof and hath made all things
out of things which are not into Being.[12] But I adjure thee,
thou that usest [13] this adjuration: the flesh of swine

[1] LXX Jer. v. 22.

[2] LXX Job xxxviii. 11; Jer. v. 22.

[3] LXX Psalm cxxxiv. [cxxxv.] 7.

[4] Cf. LXX Psalm cxxxiv. [cxxxv.] 21. The form of the name of the city again points to a pagan writer.

[5] LXX Lev. vi. 9, 12, 13. The fire is that on the altar of burnt-offering at Jerusalem. As this fire was extinguished for ever in the year 70 A.D., this portion of the papyrus at any rate must have originated before the destruction of Jerusalem.

[6] LXX Isaiah xiv. 9.

[7] *I.e.* Gehenna. On the Jewish conceptions of hell cf. Weber,[2] p. 393 ff. The word Γαιεννα, from which (through an intermediate form Γεεννα) our word Γεννα is derived, occurs as a transcription in LXX Joshua xviii. 16.

[8] LXX Isaiah lxvi. 15 ff., etc.

[9] The translation is not certain. I assume a form λακάω (= λάσκω), a back-formation from ἐλάκησα. For the allusion see LXX Jer. vi. 28, Psalm cvi. [cvii.] 16, xlv. [xlvi.] 10.

[10] LXX Psalm xvii. [xviii.] 8, etc.; cf. also *Bibelstudien*, p. 45 f.; *Bible Studies*, p. 290 f.

[11] LXX Psalm ciii. [civ.] 32; cf. xvii. [xviii.] 8 and *Bibelstudien*, p. 44; *Bible Studies*, p. 290.

[12] 2 Macc. vii. 28.

[13] Or "receivest." (Tr.)

eat not, and there shall be subject unto thee every spirit
and daemon, whatsoever he be. But when thou adjurest,
blow,[1] sending the breath from above [to the feet] and
from the feet to the face,[2] and he [the daemon] will
be drawn into captivity. Be pure and keep it. For the
sentence
is Hebrew and kept by men
that are pure.[3]

Good parallels to the Jewish portion of the above text, both as a whole and in details, are furnished by the leaden tablet from Hadrumetum [4] and a magician's outfit discovered at Pergamum.[5] Any one who can read this one leaf without getting bewildered by the hocus-pocus of magic words, will admit that through the curious channel of such magical literature a good portion of the religious thought of the Greek Old Testament found its way into the world, and must have already found its way by the time of St. Paul. The men of the great city in Asia Minor in whose hands St. Paul found texts of this kind were, though heathen, not altogether unprepared for Bible things. The flames of the burning papyrus books could not destroy recollections of sacred formulae which retained a *locus standi* even in the new faith. But, apart from this, the magical books with their grotesque farrago of Eastern and Western religious formulae, afford us striking illustrations of how the religions were elbowing one another as the great turning-point drew near. They are perhaps

[1] For this formula cf. Luke x. 17, 20; 1 Cor. xiv. 32.

[2] Cf. LXX Gen. ii. 7 (John xx. 22).

[3] These concluding lines again prove that the formula was written out by a pagan magician.

[4] *Bibelstudien*, pp. 21–54; *Bible Studies*, pp. 269–300.

[5] Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon, herausgegeben von Richard Wünsch. Jahrbuch des Kaiserl. Deutschen Archäolog. Instituts, Ergänzungsheft 6, Berlin, 1905, p. 35 f.

the most instructive proofs of the syncretism of the middle and lower classes.

Jesus handling coins, St. Paul reading the inscription on the Athenian altar, or watching the burning of magical books at Ephesus—are not these detached pictures typical? Is not the New Testament itself offering us a clue in our studies? Is it not telling us that the texts contemporary with but not belonging to Primitive Christianity, which have come down to us in the original, must be read with the eyes of the religious man and with the spectacles of the historian of religion? This raises the subject of the present chapter: the bearing of the new texts on social [1] and religious [2] history. In the second chapter we discussed the linguistic, in the third the literary bearing of the new texts on the New Testament, and we were chiefly, of course, concerned with the more formal aspects of interpretation. Now we are proposing an inquiry which involves deeper issues. We seek to understand the substance of the New Testament (and so of Primitive Christianity), and

[1] The application of the methods of social history (as attempted in the following pages) seems to me particularly needful and profitable.

[2] The comparative study of religion, so it seems to me, has of late led to an exaggeration of the so-called Oriental "influences" (Hermann Gunkel, *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen, 1903). The material must be more sharply discriminated as "analogical" and "genealogical," and the genealogical portion is in the main only of indirect importance (this is also the opinion of Gunkel, who assumes that Judaism acted as intermediary). Gunkel, however (p. 6), rightly emphasises the fact that the New Testament is a Greek book. This is the side of the problem which interests me most. My desire is to continue the work recently begun by Georg Heinrici, Adolf Harnack, H. J. Holtzmann, Otto Pfleiderer, and other theologians, by Hermann Usener, Albrecht Dieterich, Richard Reitzenstein, Paul Wendland, and other classical scholars. To the literary Greek sources, which have been chiefly studied hitherto, I would add the non-literary ones, which are for the most part more congenial with the New Testament. An excellent guide to the material hitherto collected by students of comparative religion is Carl Clemen's *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*, Giessen, 1909.

here again, I believe, the new texts will not desert us.

Some kind of an understanding as to methods of work would certainly be desirable at the outset; but I must resist the temptation to discuss here in its full extent a methodological problem[1] which has engaged my liveliest interest since the beginning of my studies. I will only remark that in the case of each single observation made I find the questions resolve themselves for me into the alternative[2]: is it analogy or is it genealogy? That is to say, we have to ask: Are the similarities or points of agreement that we discover between two different religions to be regarded as parallelisms of more or less equal religious experience, due to equality of psychic pitch and equality of outward conditions, or are they dependent one on the other, demonstrable borrowings?

Where it is a case of inward emotions and religious experiences and the naïve expression of these emotions and experiences in word, symbol, and act, I should always try first to regard the particular fact as "analogical."[3]

Where it is a case of a formula used in worship, a professional liturgical usage, or the formulation of some doctrine, I should always try first to regard the particular fact as "genealogical."

The apologist, if he ever acknowledges anything, acknowledges as a rule only analogy, and prefers to erect walls and fences round his own little precinct.

[1] Richard M. Meyer, *Kriterien der Aneignung* (offprint from Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc.), Leipzig, 1906, is very instructive.

[2] Cf. Die Christliche Welt, 14 (1900) col. 270.

[3] To Georg Heinrici belongs the undoubted merit of having paved the way for the analogical method, in Germany, at a time when such researches met with little sympathy.

The amateur in these subjects thinks as a rule only of genealogy. His best instrument is the wooden ruler with which, to his own increasing admiration, he draws straight lines that can be produced to any length. Finding a phantom of the desert among the Bedouins and a slave possessed with a daemon in the lanes of Smyrna, he triumphantly proclaims the phantom as the ancestress of the daemon, and there is nothing hidden from his sagacity after he has persuaded himself that the gold in some prehistoric shrine came from Saba, the marble from Paros, and the cedar-wood from Lebanon.

Most pitiable of all, however, are the mere shifters-on [1] and wipers-out of names. Anything trivial they regard as genuine; where there is a great name, there is something to rub out: the Sermon on the Mount cannot be by Jesus, nor the Second to Corinthians by Paul. By whom then? The Sermon on the Mount by X or Y, or possibly by seventeen anonymous writers, and the Second to Corinthians, if written by anybody, then by Z, yes, by Z! Having thus made everything anonymous, they think they have done a work of scholarship and have disposed of the texts themselves for ever.

Now, supposing there were cogent reasons for doubting St. Paul's authorship of the confessions in the Second to Corinthians, I should acknowledge these reasons. But would the text itself be then done away with? The text itself, with its thoughts, remains, and remains classic: the disappearance of the one word *Paul* from the first line does not detract from the intrinsic value of the text. Does a coin-collector throw one of his gold coins on the dust-heap

[1] The term *Weiterschieber* (here translated "shifters-on") was coined by Hermann Oeser, Die Christliche Welt, 5 (1891) col. 780.

because it was along with the Persian ones and he finds it to be Lycian, or because he is unable to identify it at all?

What is the actual result of making the synoptic sayings of Jesus anonymous? Merely the proper name *Jesus* is erased; the centre of energy, the "I," the personality behind the sayings, remains.

We will not dispute that the erasers and shifters-on may in their zeal empty an ink-pot over the map of the ancient Mediterranean lands; a great deal is possible in the scholar's study. But if these poor people want us to do more than sympathise with them in their misfortune—as we certainly do most readily—if they ask us to believe that the blackened provinces of their dirty map have swallowed up all that was counted valuable evidence of the ancient culture of the Mediterranean, they demand the sacrifice of our intellects. We must treat them kindly, and let them go on shifting; the earth is round, and so, across sea and land, they will find their way back to us some day.

Pledged to no inexorable "method," but testing each case as it arises; not providing an answer at any cost to every question, but content to leave doubtful what is really obscure; recognising, however, that light is light—the New Testament student will reap a rich harvest from our texts. Let me proceed to give some indication of the sort of thing he is likely to find, and where it may be found.[1]

2. He finds the world as it was in the age of the Caesars, that is the historical background of Primitive

[1] The following pages make no claim to even approximate completeness of statement. As a rule only characteristic examples have been picked out; the amount of material still to be worked up is enormous.

Christianity—and first of all the general cultural background.

In sketching the literary development of Primitive Christianity we saw that in the growth of our religion there is reflected from the very beginning the difference between the characteristics of the common people in town and country. To comprehend this difference we must know what the ancient civilisation was like in town and country. From literary sources we were fairly well acquainted with ancient city-life, but the ancient village and small country town, being seldom touched upon in literature, were practically inaccessible. Archaeological discovery, especially since the finding of papyri and ostraca, has brought about a resurrection of such places. As students of the New Testament we are most interested in the villages and little country towns of Galilee, and we have at any rate become acquainted with the same kind of places in the neighbour land of Egypt.

Some idea of the abundance and freshness of the materials now at our command to illustrate the civilisation of certain Egyptian villages may be gathered from an examination of Wessely's [1] valuable collections relating to the villages of Caranis and Socnopaei Nesus. Any one who has been brought up in the country and has a spark of imagination clinging to him can now without difficulty participate by sympathy in the thousand and one little things that made up the social vortex for the men and women of these places. The same trifles, of daily occurrence among their not very dissimilar neighbours

[1] Karanis und Soknopaiu Nesos, Studien zur Geschichte antiker Cultur- und Personenverhältnisse. Denkschriften der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philos.-hist. Classe, Band 47, Wien, 1902, p. 56 ff.

in Galilee at the same epoch, served the Master of parable as symbols of the Eternal.

No less vividly, however, the country towns of Egypt, large and small, arise before us—Arsinoë, Magdola, Oxyrhynchus,[1] Hermupolis,[2] and other places.

There must, of course, have been differences between country life in Egypt and in Palestine, owing particularly to differences in the soil and methods of work. The degree of Hellenisation must also have been slighter in Galilee than in Egypt. But the common element must have predominated.

The parallelism extends not only to details of social history such as the unpopularity of the "publicans,"[3] or again the "tribute" of two drachmae[4] levied in Egypt for the Great Great God Suchus in the gospel age,[5] but also to peculiarities of legal life.

A Florentine papyrus[6] of the year 85 A.D. (Figure 41) supplies a very noteworthy parallel to Mark xv. 15, etc. In the words of the evangelist,[7]

[1] Erich Ziebarth discourses with charm and fascination of these three little towns in his *Kulturbilder aus griechischen Städten* (Vol. 131 of the series called "Aus Natur und Geisteswelt"), Leipzig, 1907, p. 96 ff. A rich collection of material for Arsinoë is given by Carl Wessely, Die Stadt Arsinoë (Krokodilopolis) in griechischer Zeit, Sitzungsber. der Kais. Akad. d. W. in Wien, philos.-hist. Cl., Bd. 145, Wien, 1902, pp. 1–58.

[2] Cf. the life-like description by Paul Viereck, Die Papyrusurkunden von Hermupolis. Ein Stadtbild aus römischer Zeit. Deutsche Rundschau, 35, Part 1 (October 1908), pp. 98–117.

[3] Cf. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I. p. 568 f. [4] Matt. xvii. 24.

[5] Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 748, of the year 48 A.D. Cf. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I. 360. For the expression "Great Great (= greatest) God," imitated from the Egyptian (Wilcken), cf. Moulton, *Grammar*,[2] p. 97.

[6] No. $61_{59\,ff.}$ Supplementi Filologico-Storici ai Monumenti Antichi Papiri Greco-Egizii pubblicati dalla R. Accademia dei Lincei, volume primo, *Papiri Fiorentini* . . . per cura di Girolamo Vitelli, Milano, 1906, p. 113 ff., with facsimile (Plate IX.), here reproduced (Figure 41) by kind permission of the R. Accademia dei Lincei. Cf. the valuable notes by Ludwig Mitteis, Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, 26 (1905), Romanistische Abteilung, p. 485 ff. For the chronology cf. Wilcken, Archiv, 4, p. 445.

[7] ὁ δὲ Πειλᾶτος βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὸ ἱκανὸν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Βαραββᾶν καὶ παρέδωκεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν φραγελλώσας ἵνα σταυρωθῇ.

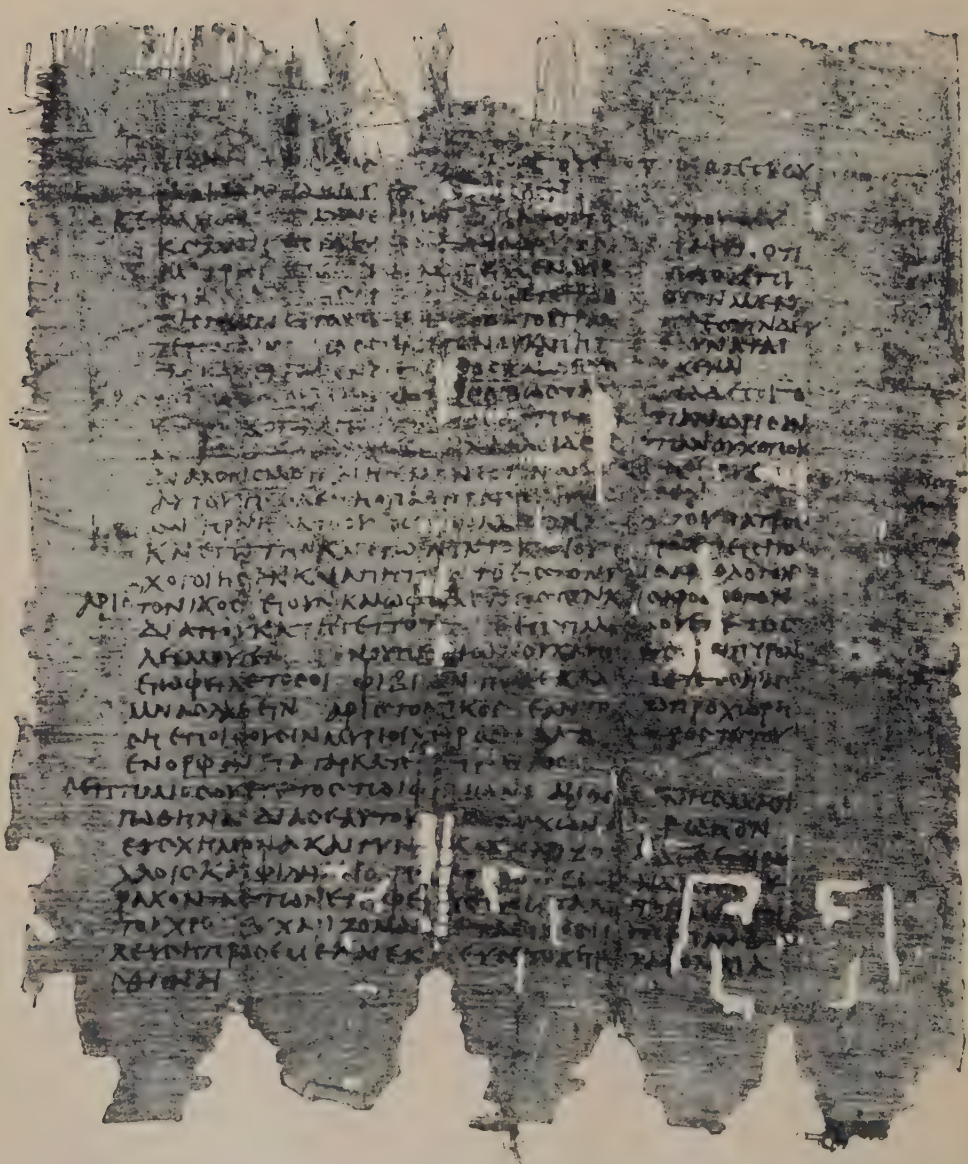

FIG. 41.—Report of Judicial Proceedings before the Praefect of Egypt, G. Septimius Vegetus, 85 A.D Papyrus. Now at Florence. By permission of the R. Accademia dei Lincei. ($\frac{4}{5}$ of the size of the original.)

> "And so Pilate, willing to content the people, released Barabbas unto them, and delivered Jesus, when he had scourged Him, to be crucified."

The papyrus, containing a report of judicial proceedings, quotes these words of the governor of Egypt, G. Septimius Vegetus, before whom the case was tried, to a certain Phibion:—

> "Thou hadst been worthy of scourging[1] . . . but I will give thee to the people."[2]

Phibion's offence was that he had "of his own authority imprisoned a worthy man [his alleged debtor] and also women." The Florentine papyrus is thus a beautiful illustration of the parable of the wicked servant (Matt. xviii. 30) and the system, which it presupposes, of personal execution by imprisonment for debt. Numerous other papyri and inscriptions show that this was in Graeco-Roman Egypt, and elsewhere, a widespread legal custom.[3] Probably the most interesting example for us is an inscription[4] in the Great Oasis containing an edict of the governor of Egypt, Tib. Julius Alexander, 68 A.D. The technical expression here used has the same ring as in the gospel. "They delivered them into other prisons," says the Roman governor[5]; "he cast him into prison," says Jesus.[6]

[1] A parallel to John xix. 1, cf. also Luke xviii. 33, etc., where, as in the papyrus, the word used is *μαστιγόω*.

[2] *ἄξιος μ[ὲ]ν ἦς μαστιγωθῆναι, . . . χαρίζομαι δέ σε τοῖς ὄχλοις.* Vitelli called attention to Mark xv. 15. I first learnt of the papyrus in conversation with Wilcken.

[3] Cf. especially Ludwig Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 444 ff.; also Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, 26 (1905), Romanistische Abteilung, p. 488, a note on the Reinach Papyrus No. 7.

[4] Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 669[15 a] (cf. below, Fig. 55, facing p. 362).

[5] *παρέδοσαν καὶ εἰς ἄλλας φυλακάς.*

[6] *ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς φυλακήν.*

Perhaps the most remarkable discovery of this kind in the new texts is a parallel found some time ago to the statement in Luke ii. 3, which has been so much questioned on the strength of mere book-learning, that on the occasion of the enrolment for taxation made by Cyrenius, "all went to enrol themselves, every one to his own city."[1] That this was no mere figment of St. Luke or his authority, but that similar things[2] took place in that age, is proved by an edict[3] of G. Vibius Maximus, governor of Egypt, 104 A.D. (Figure 42). I am indebted to Ulrich Wilcken[4] for the following restoration of the text, to which re-examinations of the original by Grenfell and Hunt have also contributed:—

Γ[άϊος Οὐί]βι̣ο̣[ς Μάξιμος ἔπα]ρχ[ος]
Αἰγύπτ[ου λέγει·]
τῆς κατ' οἰ[κίαν ἀπογραφῆς συ]νεστώ[σης][5]
ἀναγκαῖόν [ἐστιν πᾶσιν τοῖ]ς καθ' ἥ[ντινα]
δήποτε αἰτ[ίαν ἐκστᾶσι τῶν ἑαυτῶν]
νομῶν προσα[γγέλλε]σθαι ἐπα[νελ-]
θεῖν εἰς τὰ ἑαυ[τῶν ἑ]φέστια, ἵν[α]
καὶ τὴν συνήθη [οἰ]κονομίαν τῆ[ς ἀπο-]
γραφῆς πληρώσωσιν καὶ τῇ προσ[ηκού-]
σῃ αὐτοῖς γεωργίαι προσκαρτερήσω̣[σιν.]

Gaius Vibius Maximus, Praefect of Egypt, saith: The enrolment by household[6] being at hand, it is necessary to notify all

[1] καὶ ἐπορεύοντο πάντες ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν.

[2] The Egyptian edict does not correspond with the passage in St. Luke in every particular, but the similarity is very great.

[3] *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, Vol. III., ed. F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell, London, 1907, p. 125, No. 904$_{18\,ff.}$, with facsimile (Plate 30), here reproduced by kind permission of the British Museum (Fig. 42). Cf. J. H. Moulton, The Expository Times, Vol. 19, No. 1, October 1907, p. 40 f., and E. Schürer, Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 32 (1907) col. 683 f.—I have already (p. 227 above) estimated the importance of this papyrus in other respects.

[4] Letter, Leipzig, 13 Oct. 1907.

[5] P. W. Schmiedel would read ἐ]νεστώ[σης].

[6] The reference is to one of the censuses which were taken (according to an important discovery by U. Wilcken, Hermes, 28 [1893] p. 230 ff.) every

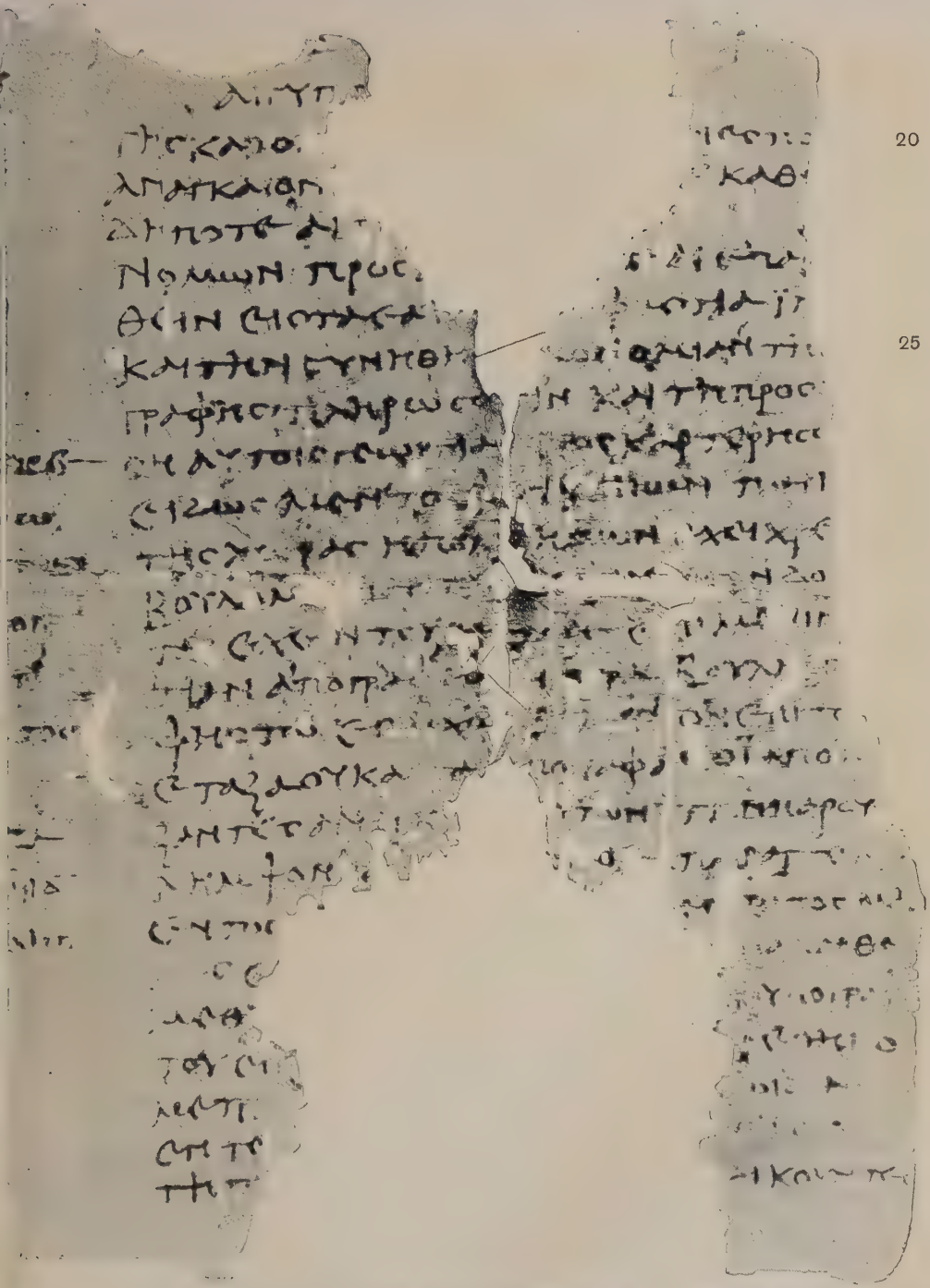

FIG. 42.—Edict of the Praefect of Egypt, G. Vibius Maximus, 104 A.D. Papyrus (part of a letter copy-book). Now in the British Museum. By permission of the Museum authorities. (⅔ of the size of the original.)

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who for any cause soever are outside their nomes to return to their domestic hearths, that they may also accomplish the customary dispensation of enrolment and continue steadfastly in the husbandry that belongeth to them.

With regard to the last two lines Wilcken[1] writes to me: "We have several such edicts, requiring the peasants to return and do their work (*e.g.*[2] Geneva Papyrus No. 16). The Praefect here goes beyond his immediate subject when he takes the opportunity to enforce these injunctions once again."

The cultural parallelism between Egypt and the birthplace of Christianity again explains the fact that we are repeatedly able to illustrate from Egyptian papyri details of the life of the people in Palestine which Jesus immortalised in His parables.

Besides the above-mentioned parallel to the parable of the wicked servant, we have illustrations to the parables of the good Samaritan,[3] the importunate widow,[4] and the prodigal son.[5] To one familiar with both the gospels and the papyri the general impression says even more plainly than the details that we are dealing with the same kind of people in the two countries.

Of course there are equally notable parallels to gospel details in the written remains found in other Mediterranean lands. The fact is that the threads of connexion between Primitive Christianity and the

14 years in order to fix the poll-tax or other personal dues. Among the papyri there are large numbers of documents relating to these assessments. Sir W. M. Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* London, 1898, attempted to explain the enrolment in the time of Cyrenius by means of these facts; cf. on the other hand E. Schürer, Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 24 (1899) col. 679 f.

[1] Letter, Leipzig, 24 Oct. 1907.

[2] This and other edicts are cited by the editors Kenyon and Bell, p. 124 f.

[3] Cf. above, p. 131, n. 1.

[4] Cf. above, p. 131, n. 1.

[5] Cf. above, p. 131, n. 1; and especially p. 176 ff.

world are to be sought not in the high regions of culture and power but in the lower levels of the common life of the people, which has been far too much neglected hitherto. When it has once been grasped that the threads cross and re-cross where labourers work for hire in the vineyard, and where the house is swept for the sake of a lost drachma, we shall be ready to receive with something more than indifference a detail like the following, which brings so vividly before our eyes the popular character of the gospel.[1]

In order to arm His disciples for their dangerous work in the world with the same trust in God that filled His own heart, Jesus exhorts them (Matt. x. 28 ff.) thus:—

> "Fear not. . . . Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear ye not therefore; ye are of more value than many sparrows."

The evangelist Luke (xii. 6) has recorded this saying somewhat differently:—

> "Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings?"

The difference between these two versions is practically quite unimportant, although the equation 2 : 5 = 1 : 2 does not hold mathematically. On the purchaser taking a larger number of birds the proportional price may well have been reduced; as we should say nowadays, they came cheaper by the half-dozen. It is quite possible that Jesus repeated this particularly homely analogical conclusion from the less (the little sparrows) to the greater (the infinitely more valuable human beings) on more

[1] In what follows I avail myself of my article on "Der Marktpreis der Sperlinge" in Die Christliche Welt, 17 (1903) col. 203 ff.

than one occasion, with variants, so that both versions might go back to Him. Be that as it may, the saying about the sparrows—apart, of course, from the mighty "Fear not," which is indivisible—contains a threefold statement if we analyse it as an economic document of the Imperial period :—

(1) Sparrows were a very cheap article sold in the market as food for the poor ;

(2) They were sold in the market either by the pair or in fives, the pair being the smallest, and five the next smallest quantity sold ;

(3) The market price in the time of Jesus was a "farthing" (= about a halfpenny of our money) a pair, or two "farthings" (= about a penny of our money) for five.

The same three deductions, nearly, can be drawn from one of the inscriptions discovered recently. There is a highly important commercial law of the Emperor Diocletian, known as the maximum tariff, the greater part of which has long been known from inscriptions. All kinds of articles of commerce are quoted in this tariff, and to each item is attached the highest price at which it is allowed to be sold. Historians of the Imperial period are not agreed as to the real purpose of this tariff ; but the question does not concern us here. The interesting point for us is that a new fragment[1] of the tariff which was discovered in Aegira in 1899 gives us the highest price for sparrows. From it we learn the following particulars, applying of course to the end of the third century A.D. :—

(1) Of all birds used for food sparrows are the cheapest ; they are cheaper, for instance, than thrushes, beccaficoes, and starlings.

[1] Published in an Athens journal, Εφημερις Αρχαιολογικη, 1899, p. 154.

(2) They were usually sold in decades. Ten seems to have been the regular number with all sorts of small animals (cf. our dozen); the tariff, for instance, gives the prices for 10 thrushes, 10 beccaficoes, 10 starlings.

(3) According to the tariff 10 sparrows are to be sold for at most 16 "denarii." This does not mean the old silver denarii, but the new copper coins, whose value Theodor Mommsen[1] and Salomon Reinach[2] agree in estimating at ($1\frac{4}{5}$ pfennig, $2\frac{1}{4}$ centimes) less than an English farthing. The market price of 10 sparrows was fixed at a maximum of threepence-halfpenny (English).

From what Jesus says, the half-decade of sparrows in His day cost about one penny (English); the whole decade would therefore cost about twopence. Taking into account the difference in date—which is itself quite sufficient to explain the difference in price—and the fact that Diocletian is fixing a maximum price, we cannot deny that Jesus spoke with correct observation of the conditions of everyday life. This is not a mere game that we have been playing with farthings. The edict of the Emperor Diocletian helps us, I think, to understand one of the finest utterances of Jesus in its original significance. Even in small things Jesus is great. The unerring eye for actualities that asserts itself so repeatedly in the gospel parables, comes out also in the saying about the sparrows. St. Paul has been accused—but unjustly—of overreaching himself in the figure (Rom. xi. 17 ff.) of the wild branch grafted on the cultivated olive. The reproach is groundless, because St. Paul is there

[1] Hermes, 25 (1890) p. 17 ff.
[2] Revue numismatique, 1900, p. 429 ff.

bent on demonstrating something that is really against nature; but St. Paul, the inhabitant of the city, had not the grand simplicity of Jesus, the child of the country, in his attitude to nature, or he would never have written (1 Cor. ix. 9), with expectation of a negative answer, "Doth God take care for oxen?" Jesus grew up among country people, who lived with their animals and felt for them: the ox and the ass, as we know from pictures in the catacombs, were early placed beside the manger-cradle of the child Christ, and the popular instinct that borrowed them from Isaiah i. 3, and still speaks to us from those pictures, was right. Jesus was in His true element in the market-place, watching a poor woman counting her coppers to see if she could still take five or ten sparrows home with her. Poor, miserable little creatures, fluttering there, such numbers of them, in the vendors' cages! A great many can be had for a very small sum, so trifling is their value. And yet each one of them was loved by the Heavenly Father. How much more will God care for man, whose soul is worth more than the whole world!

While the papyri from the villages and small towns of Egypt introduce us indirectly to the characteristic civilisation of the synoptic gospels, the rediscovered culture of the cities of Asia Minor, Greece, and Southern Italy shows us rather the background of St. Paul's missionary labours.

Even Pompeii, although St. Paul probably never walked its lanes, is extraordinarily instructive. It not only furnishes us with texts; it has, by its peculiar fate, been itself preserved with all the actuality of petrifaction, and we may regard it as a typical town. "Such was the actual appearance of a city

of Campania at the time when the Emperors Nero, Vespasian, Titus ruled the world of their day." This remark about Pompeii was made by Friedrich von Duhn,[1] under whose masterly guidance I was privileged to visit the place, gathering new and lasting impressions; and I would add, speaking in terms of the New Testament: Such was the appearance of a small Hellenistic town in the West in the time when St. Paul wrote at Corinth his letter to the Romans, his heart full of thoughts of the West, which began for him with Italy.[2] Besides the indescribably valuable general impression, there are plenty of striking details. The Pompeian inscriptions HRISTIAN (?) and *Sodoma Gomora* have given rise to a well-known controversy.[3] In the Macellum[4] at Pompeii we can imagine to ourselves the poor Christians buying their modest pound of meat in the Corinthian Macellum (1 Cor. x. 25), with the same life-like reality with which the Diocletian maximum tariff called up the picture of the Galilean woman purchasing her five sparrows. How full the wall-inscriptions are of popular wit and popular coarseness! What an abyss of degradation in the higher classes opens beneath us when the obscene Pompeian bronzes, costly in material and execution, are shown in the Naples Museum! One single example of a

[1] *Pompeji eine hellenistische Stadt in Italien* (Aus Natur und Geisteswelt 114), Leipzig, 1906, p. 24. This is an excellent introduction. The large works on Pompeii are easily accessible.

[2] Paul obviously divided his world into two halves: the eastern half stretched "from Jerusalem unto Illyricum" (Rom. xv. 19). What was understood by "Illyricum" in the Imperial age is shown by Wilhelm Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 55.

[3] Cf. A. Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*,[2] II., Leipzig, 1906, p. 74, and E. Nestle, Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 5 (1904) p. 168, where other possible direct witnesses to Judaism and Christianity in Pompeii are mentioned.

[4] *I.e.* "shambles," "meat-market."

contribution to our knowledge of the New Testament from Pompeii may be given here in more detail.[1]

In the Revelation of St. John (xiii. 18) we read :—

> "Let him that hath understanding, count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man, and his number is, Six hundred three score and six." (Some ancient authorities read 616 instead of 666.)

Scientific commentators are probably by this time agreed that the name to be "counted" must be found by "gematria," *i.e.* we must look for a name the letters of which, taken separately in their ordinary values as numerals and added together, will make up the sum of 666 or 616. Now it has been generally assumed by exegetists hitherto that gematria was a specifically Jewish form of the numerical riddle, and therefore attempts have often been made, especially in recent times, to solve the number 666 or 616 by means of the Hebrew alphabet. As a matter of fact, however, the interchange of numbers for words and words for numbers was not unknown to the ancient Greeks, as even Greek lexicons[2] tell us. The patristic writers, in so far as they attempt to solve the riddle with the Greek alphabet, show that such numerical puzzles were not entirely foreign to the Greek world. From Pompeii, however, we learn that they were current among the people at the very time in which the New Testament was being written. A. Sogliano[3] has published *graffiti* (wall-scribblings) from Pompeii, *i.e.* not later in

[1] Cf. Die Christliche Welt, 17 (1903) col. 746 f.

[2] *S.v.* *ἰσόψηφος*. H. D[elehaye], in the Analecta Bollandiana, 27, p. 443, refers to Perdrizet, Revue des études grecques, 17 (1904) pp. 350–360.

[3] Isopsepha Pompeiana, Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, 10 (1901) pp. 256–259. An extract is given in the Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, 19 (1902) col. 52.

date than 79 A.D., one example of which is as follows :—

Ἀμέριμνος ἐμνήσθη Ἁρμονίας τῆς ἰδίας κ(υ)ρία(ς) ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ἧς ὁ ἀριθμὸς με' (or αλε') τοῦ καλοῦ ὀνόματος [cf. James ii. 7].	Amerimnus thought upon his lady Harmonia[1] for good. The number of her honourable name is 45 (or 1035).

Another example reads :—

φιλῶ ἧς ἀριθμὸς φμε'.	I love her whose number is 545.

These *graffiti*, in date not far removed from the Revelation of St. John, certainly suggest new riddles, but they also establish, besides those already pointed out, the following facts :—

(1) They are concerned with names of persons, which names for some reason or other are to be concealed.

(2) The name was concealed by resolving it into a number. In all probability single letters were given their usual values as numerals and then added together.

(3) The similar numerical riddle in the Revelation would not necessarily seem Semitic, *i.e.* foreign, to the men of the Greek-speaking world. Examples of such playing with numbers have been found on inscribed stones[2] of the Imperial period at Pergamum, which was one of the cities of the Apocalypse (Rev. ii. 12 ff.). Quite recently Franz Bücheler[3] has proved how widespread the habit was at that time, and a passage in Suetonius (*Nero*, 39), hitherto

[1] This name is probably only bestowed playfully by the writer on his mistress; her real name is hidden in the number. [For the whole sentence cf. LXX Neh. v. 19, xiii. 31. Tr.]

[2] Cf. *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, Nos. 333, 339, 587. The Pompeian *graffiti* are, however, more valuable, because more popular.

[3] Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, New Series, 61 (1906) p. 307 f. I owe this reference to Wilhelm Weber.

obscured by false conjectures, has been cleared up by his brilliant discovery that the name "Nero" is there resolved numerically into "matricide."

(4) In solving the apocalyptic numbers 616 and 666, occurring in a Greek book, it is not only not unfeasible to start from the Greek alphabet,[1] it is in fact the most obvious thing to do.

In any case the *graffiti* at Pompeii bring the Book of Mysteries a little bit nearer to the Hellenistic world—the world in which it originated, but from which the exegetists have often divided it by an all too deep gulf, although in language and coloration it shows clearly the reflection of that world.

A visit to Pompeii and the study of its records are most excellent means of supplementing one's Eastern impressions, gathered from moderately sized towns of Asia Minor, such as Magnesia on the Maeander, or Priene, and deepened by the magnificent publications[2] of the inscriptions and other discoveries. The same is true of Hierapolis[3] and many smaller towns of Asia.[4]

A good deal is also known about the civilisation of

[1] If I may here venture to propose a solution, 616 (= Καῖσαρ θεός, "Caesar god") is the older secret number with which the Jews branded the worship of the emperor. 666 is perhaps a Christian adaptation of the Jewish number to bring it into (subordinate) harmony with 888 (= Ἰησοῦς, "Jesus").

[2] For Magnesia on the Maeander, which I visited on 15 April, 1906, see p. 12, n. 3 above, and Thieme's book (p. 17, n. 3 above). For Priene, which I saw under the guidance of Theodor Wiegand on 16 April, 1906, cf. p. 12, n. 4 above, and Ziebarth, *Kulturbilder*, p. 50 ff. The early Christian "house-church" at Priene is of great interest, cf. *Priene*, p. 480 f.

[3] Cf. p. 12, n. 6 above.

[4] Cf. pp. 12, 14 above. To the Austrian researches there named we may add: Rudolf Heberdey and Adolf Wilhelm, Reisen in Kilikien ausgeführt 1891 und 1892, Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Classe, 44 Band (1896), 6 Abhandlung; also Rudolf Heberdey and Ernst Kalinka, Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien [1894 and 1895], *ibid.* 45 Band (1897), 1 Abhandlung.

the islands in the Imperial age. The islands of the sea between Ephesus and Corinth were not outside the sphere of St. Paul's missionary labours. There are scholars who, in the 16th chapter of Romans, assume with the utmost calmness wholesale migrations of poor Christians from Asia to Rome,[1] and who make the slave Onesimus mentioned in Philemon run over from Colossae to Rome or Caesarea, as if it were something quite ordinary; and yet these same scholars regard a journey of St. Paul from Ephesus to Crete as wildly improbable. But the islands were easier to get at than many towns in the interior of Asia Minor: the list of perils encountered by Paul the traveller in 2 Cor. xi. 23 ff. shows us that travelling by land was fraught with great difficulties for a poor man.[2] From our authorities we must certainly assume that St. Paul made many more voyages than we are now able to determine in detail. He had suffered shipwreck three times already before the Second Epistle to the Corinthians was despatched[3]; and the Pastoral Epistles also mention voyages of the apostle and his companions, of which

[1] The assumption breaks down at once from the fact that Aquila and Priscilla were at Ephesus when the First Epistle to the Corinthians was written (1 Cor. xvi. 19), and that their house was a centre for church meetings. Some six months later the Epistle to the Romans was written, so that within that short time Aquila and Priscilla must have not only gone to Rome, but also have got together again at once the church meeting in their house mentioned in Rom. xvi. 5.—To describe the personal names in Rom. xvi. as specifically Roman on the strength of inscriptions found in the city of Rome is about as safe as to describe *Wilhelm*, *Friedrich*, *Luise* as specifically Berlin names because they are found on Berlin tombstones. The names referred to are found swarming in inscriptions, papyri, and ostraca all over the Mediterranean world.—Least appropriate of all to a letter to Rome is the passage Rom. xvi. 17–20.

[2] The "perils of rivers, perils of robbers" (2 Cor. xi. 26) have remained the same to the present day, as we were able to convince ourselves in April 1906, riding through the swamps of the Maeander, and next day at Didyma in the house of a Greek who had been shot by robbers immediately before our arrival.

[3] 2 Cor. xi. 25.

FIG. 43.—"Angel" Inscription from the Island of Thera. Gravestone, Imperial Period. Now in the Thera Museum. From a photograph by Dr. Hugo Kehrer.

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nothing more is known, the principal one being a voyage of St. Paul to Crete.[1] This last reference points at least to the early establishment of Christianity in the islands.[2] Even if it is not yet certain whether the "angel" inscriptions from Thera are Christian,[3] the islands would deserve our attention for at least one reason, viz. that the inscriptions found there furnish a quantity of valuable information bearing on the history of the "New Testament" vocabulary.[4] Especially noteworthy are the inscriptions of Delos,[5] Thera,[6] and Cos.[7]

Immeasurable, next, is the abundance of light, ever increasing from year to year, that has been shed

[1] Titus i. 5.

[2] Cf. Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*,[2] II. p. 195 f.

[3] Cf. the stimulating conjectures of Hans Achelis, Spuren des Urchristentums auf den griechischen Inseln? Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1 (1900) p. 87 ff. I saw the ἄγγελος-inscriptions on 18 May, 1906, in the Thera Museum. Many of them bear a rosette ⊕, the central lines of which look like a cross, but are not a Christian cross (on this rosette see R. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, p. 90, n. 1). As Friedrich von Duhn also remarked on that occasion, only one, No. 952, bears instead of ⊕ a rosette with a ρ-cross. I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Hugo Kehrer for a photograph (Fig. 43). But I consider it highly probable that the rosette was given its Christian character subsequently. On 14 May, 1906, in the New Museum at Epidaurus, I saw a Christian rosette just like this on an ancient stone inscribed to Asclepius. Christian symbols are often found on stones of pre-Christian age.—In considering the question of the age of the Christianity of the islands two things must not be forgotten: the older Jewish settlements and the opportunities for intercourse between the islands. There were Jewish congregations in Crete, and how near Thera is to Crete I first learnt from personal observation: from the heights of Thera we saw in the south, where sky and deep blue sea joined, the snowy peaks of Ida and the other mountains of Crete. The preliminary conditions for a Christian mission from island to island were therefore very favourable.—I may add that in the monastery of St. Elias in Thera I saw a number of Biblical and patristic Greek MSS., the existence of which is, I believe, not generally known. Cf. the account (not quite exhaustive) of them given in the Theol. Lit.-Ztg. 33 (1908) col. 491, by Samuel Brandt, who was travelling with me. There are also patristic MSS. in the Museum at Candia in Crete, as I was told by the director there, Dr. Hatzidakis. I had no time to inspect them, but I obtained the titles afterwards.

[4] Cf. the examples in Chapter II. above.

[5] Cf. p. 13, n. 5 above.

[6] Cf. p. 13, n. 1 above, and Ziebarth's sketch, *Kulturbilder*, p. 16 ff.

[7] Cf. p. 13, n. 2 above.

upon the great New Testament cities of Asia Minor,[1] illuminating the mission-field proper of Primitive Christianity. The spaciousness and boldness of their proportions, the strength and grace of their architecture, the equable beauty of their Graeco-Roman works of art (from the marble miracles of masters in sculpture down to the humblest of the terra-cottas and small bronzes), the old places of worship, venerable still in ruins—whoever has seen, and seeing has reanimated, all this in ever royal Pergamum,[2] in the solemn and oppressive gravity of Ephesus,[3] and in the silent and but recently desecrated fairy-world of Miletus-Didyma,[4] will have acquired, even if all

[1] Cf. on the whole subject Sir W. M. Ramsay, *Pauline Cities*, London, 1907. [One of the latest discoveries, announced by Sir W. M. Ramsay's fellow-traveller, W. M. Calder, in *The Times*, 11 Nov., 1909, throws light on the conduct of the natives of Lycaonia who called Barnabas Jupiter, and Paul Mercury, Acts xiv. 11 ff. An inscription of the 1st cent. A.D. (?) found at Baluklaou, about a day's ride south of Lystra, records the dedication of a statue of Mercury to Jupiter by men with Lycaonian names, thus proving the existence of a local cult of these deities, to which Ovid's location of the story of Baucis and Philemon (*Metamorphoses* viii. 620–625) also points. TR.]

[2] For Pergamum cf. p. 12, n. 2 and p. 17 above. On Good Friday, 1906, I had the advantage of seeing Pergamum under the guidance of Wilhelm Dörpfeld. Actual inspection of the place suggests that "Satan's throne" (Rev. ii. 13) can only have been the altar of Zeus; no other shrine of the hill-city was visible to such a great distance and could therefore rank so typically as the representative of satanic heathendom.

[3] For Ephesus cf. p. 11, n. 2 above. It is no longer difficult of access and well repays the theological visitor. We inspected the Austrian excavations, under Dr. Keil's guidance, on Easter Sunday, 1906. Though one cannot see the house inhabited by the mother of Jesus, in spite of the already highly reputed, modern cult of Panagia Kapuli (cf. an article by me in Die Christliche Welt, 20 [1906] col. 873 ff.), yet there are the tragic remains of the temple of Artemis (Acts xix. 27), the well-preserved theatre (Acts xix. 29), the Stadium in which St. Paul fought with beasts (if 1 Cor. xv. 32 is to be taken literally), and important remains of early Christian architecture (the best, perhaps, still unexcavated). And above all, one obtains an ineradicable impression of the greatness and distinctiveness of the most important city in the world, after Jerusalem, in the early history of Christianity—the city of St. Paul and St. John the Evangelist.

[4] For Miletus-Didyma, see p. 12, n. 5 and p. 13, n. 4 above. We visited these places under the guidance of Theodor Wiegand, 16–18 April, 1906. Some Milesian matter will be found in the Appendices.

the details were to escape him, a permanent possession —the recognition of the grandeur of that world of which a Paul had ventured to say that it was passing away.[1] Was this remark of the artisan missionary dictated by the futile envy of one excluded from it? or did it come from the consciousness of an inner power superior even to that world? And the quiet little Book containing the simple evidences of that power—does it not seem strangely great when we open it among the ruins of Ephesus? greater than the whole Bibliotheca Christiana of after times with its frequent sins of prolixity?

Some traditional lines in the picture of the ancient world would have to be altered if we were to try to-day to depict that world after a study of its own records.[2] Most of us, probably, at some time or other, have heard that the world to which the Gospel message came was thoroughly corrupt. Many writers have in good faith painted the situation in the Roman Imperial period in the darkest colours; and in cases

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 31.

[2] The best works available to theologians are: Theodor Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, Vol. V.; Ludwig Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von Augustus bis zum Ausgang der Antonine*, 3 vols., 6th edition, Leipzig, 1888–1890 (in the 7th edition, the notes are unaccountably omitted) [Eng. trans. by L. A. Magnus and J. H. Freese, London, 1908 etc., in progress]; and especially Paul Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum* (Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, I. 2), Tübingen, 1907. The only thing I miss in this excellent work is a stronger emphasis on the popular elements in the culture of the Imperial age. The background sketched by Wendland is more suitable to that stage of Christianity in which it was becoming literary and theological. W. Staerk, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2 small volumes in Göschen's series, Leipzig, 1907, gives a popular and well-ordered summary of recent research.—Theologians must on no account neglect the investigations of Ludwig Mitteis in the first part of his *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs*, Leipzig, 1891, entitled "Die hellenistische (cf. p. vii) Civilisation und ihre Grenzen." Though written before the publication of most of the papyri and ostraca, this book was epoch-making in its use of the non-literary texts which were known down to that time.

where there was really nothing but light to be seen, people have been only too often inclined to call the virtues of the heathen brilliant vices.

This dark picture of the ancient world is due, I think, to two main facts: it was drawn from the *literary* records of the age, and it was influenced by the polemical exaggerations of zealous Fathers of the Church. St. Paul must not be held responsible for it; in spite of his feeling of superiority to this transitory world and its hollow wisdom, and in spite of his knowledge of the corruption of a great city,[1] he did not overlook the light places, and he was never a mere advocate abusing his opponent. It was otherwise with the later champions of the faith, when the world had declared war to the knife against it. They had to struggle against the world outside and the world in their own camp, and it is not difficult to understand their passionateness and to pardon their heated exaggerations.

But the Christian historian of to-day ought to be just in his judgments—because he is a Christian, and, if not for that reason, then because he is entered on the roll of the religion that came out victorious in the struggle. At any rate he ought to notice which lines are caricatured. And it ought to be equally clear to him that the merely literary records of an age are insufficient to give him a reliable picture.[2] As a general rule, literature is a reflex of upper-class opinions. Doubt, denial, satiety, frivolity always proclaim themselves much more loudly in the upper than in the vigorous and unspoiled lower classes. A lower class that begins to doubt and scoff is generally copying the educated

[1] Rom. i. 24 ff.

[2] Cf. pp. 3, 4 above.

classes; it always lags some few dozen years behind the class above it, that amount of time being required for the impurities to filter down. Then, however, purification takes place automatically; the giant body contains its own means of healing.

The Roman Imperial period of literature is, as a matter of fact, rich in notes of negation and despair; the luxury of the potentates, with its refinements in the cultivation of obscenity and brutality, certainly does give the age a dark look. But even in the literature forces of a different kind are heard and felt. The popular writers on ethics in the narrower sense, to whom Georg Heinrici[1] so insistently refers, served positively to prepare the way for Christianity; but, not to mention them, what an attractive personality, taken all round, is Plutarch—and there are many other good names besides his that could be mentioned in the cultured and powerful class. And then, when we descend into the great masses and listen to them at their work, in the fields, in the workshop, on the Nile boat and the Roman corn-ships, in the army and at the money-changer's table,—he must be blind who cannot see that many were leading useful, hard-working, dependable lives, that family feeling and friendship bound poor people together and strengthened them, that the blessings of an old and comparatively established civilisation were felt in the smallest villages, and, chiefly, that a deeply religious strain went through that entire world.

3. This brings us to that feature of the world contemporary with Primitive Christianity which is

[1] Chiefly in his various commentaries on the Epistles to the Corinthians, and in his semasiological analysis of the Sermon on the Mount (Vol. III. of his *Beiträge*, Leipzig, 1905).

for us, of course, the most important, viz. its religious position. The new texts are here extraordinarily productive, for a large proportion of them are of a directly religious nature. There are the innumerable epitaphs, in poetry and prose; there are prayers and dedications, temple laws and sacrificial regulations; there are private letters with a religious colouring, horoscopes, amulets, cursing tablets and magical books; there are oracles and thankful accounts of deliverance from dire peril[1] or of miraculous cures at the great shrines.[2] And if any one doubts the words of these texts—setting aside the assurances of intercession in the papyrus letters as mere phrases, and the reports of cures as simply so much sacerdotal fraud—perhaps figures will appeal to him. Let him calculate the sums of money that were devoted to religious purposes in the Imperial period on the evidence of dedicatory inscriptions and the papyri[3]—from the monster presentations to great temples immortalised in marble splendour, to the drachmae and obols of the Isis collections for which a receipt was issued to the Egyptian peasant on a miserable potsherd.[4]

Were it possible to collect before us, in all their shades of variety, the original documents attesting the piety of the Gentile world in the age of the New Testament, and could we then with one rapid glance survey them all, we should feel as St. Paul did at Athens. After passing through the

[1] *E.g.* letter No. 9 above, p. 168 ff.

[2] *E.g.* p. 132 above.

[3] There is much material in a book, excellent also in other respects, by Walter Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten.* Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1905 and 1908. A portion of Vol. II. was printed as a Breslau "Habilitationsschrift," entitled Die wirtschaftliche Lage und die Bildung der Priester im hellenistischen Ägypten, Leipzig, 1907.

[4] Cf. p. 105 above.

streets of that one city he was fain to acknowledge that the men he had seen were "extremely religious." [1]

The impression is deepened when we gaze actually upon some of the great places of worship which were still in repute in the Hellenistic period of Roman history. We experience over again in all their complexity the feelings of the ancient devotee, so far as they were determined by the prevailing atmosphere of the sacred place itself. It is possible, of course, unconsciously to read something modern into our interpretation of the temple walls and ordered columns rising from the debris. Above all, the imposing solitude which usually surrounds us as we stand beside these ruins to-day may easily mislead us into giving a false touch to the picture we piece together for ourselves. But the great things cannot be sophisticated: sky, and sea, and cliff, gorge and plain, fig-tree and olive grove, and over all the frolic strife of sunlight and shadow—these are eternally the same. And it cannot be altogether wrong to assume that the feelings which come over us to-day [2] on the site of the ancient shrines were experienced also by the pious men of old who discovered and consecrated, settled and tended these places. All the effects come under one of two main heads: either the beauty and loveliness of the sacred place enlarge the heart to solemn devotion, or else the grandeur and the vastness make it sink shuddering before the terrible and the sublime.

There is Olympia, with the sprightly charm of what might almost be a German hill-landscape—a place of joyous festal celebration. There is Epidaurus, the

[1] *κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους*, Acts xvii. 22. The A.V. "too superstitious" is an incorrect translation, found also in Luther's Bible.

[2] The following is a sketch of my own impressions in April and May, 1906, on visiting the places named.

goal of sick pilgrims, in its green forest solitude remote from all the world. And Eleusis, above the silent bay bounded by the cornfields and olive plantations of the plain and by the cliffs of Salamis;—the spirit of this sanctuary is rendered with marvellous feeling in the most deeply religious work of ancient sculpture that I have ever seen, the Eleusinian Triptolemus relief in the Museum at Athens.

There Corinth lies, above the gleaming beauty of her rock-crowned gulf, not unlike Eleusis, only vaster, severer, more masculine, possessing the oldest temple on Greek soil, and overhung by the defiant mass of the Acrocorinthus. There in her pride, and strength, and beauty the Acropolis of Athens sits enthroned above the crowded Polis, bearing sway over the sea and the islands, and calling up feelings of patriotic devotion.

And then the island shrines: the temple of Aphaea in Aegina, on a steep wooded height, with wide expanses of sea visible through the tops of evergreen trees; lovely Delos in the circle of her humbler sisters; Thera, opening up to us from primeval peaks, still sacred to this day, the beauty of sea and sunshine stretching away into the blue limitless distance. Finally the great seats of worship on the coast of Asia Minor: Pergamum, Ephesus, and Miletus-Didyma.

But nothing can approach the shrine of Delphi in dignity and vastness. The giants of the prime whose hands piled those frowning mighty walls of rock, the Phaedriads,[1] have here created for the sacred precinct a background of indescribable solemnity; not even the extravagant profusion of costly votive offerings

[1] [Steep rocks on one of the peaks of Parnassus, 800 feet above Delphi 2,000 feet above sea-level. TR.]

in bronze and marble can have banished that solemnity in ancient times. And, on the highroad, if you let the eye stray downward from the bare rocks opposite into the valley, the stream that you see there far below is a stream—or rather, sea—of gloomy, silent olive woods: naught save the distant streak of some bay on the Corinthian Gulf, lit up for a moment as it catches a glimpse of the sun, gives to the heroic outlines of this awesome picture a kindlier touch.

The inspection of all these venerable and solemn places, their buildings and their sculptures, increases our knowledge of ancient piety beyond what we know from the inscriptions and papyri. This is chiefly because in those texts—one need only recall the magical texts, for instance—it is the coarser forms of religion, strongly suggestive of "heathenism," that come prominently to the front. If we did not know it before, we learn now from this inspection that, even at the time of the great turning-point in religious history, there were various levels of piety. Just as in museums we see the neolithic bowl side by side with the masterpiece of Attic vase-painting, so in Hellenism we find on the one hand vestiges of primitive folklore, surviving in secret corners and at cross-roads under cover of the night, and on the other hand temples bathed in the streaming sunlight, and votive gifts which nothing but a high religious culture could have created. And if we could awaken again to life the choirs that sang in those temples and are now for ever silenced, we should probably be still further convinced of the refinement of that culture. The earliest Christians certainly appreciated the mature beauty of the religious art of the world surrounding them, as we know from the comparatively unpolished writer of the Apocalypse. A good deal of the colouring of

his visions is obviously derived from the religious art and usage[1] of Hellenistic Asia Minor; but he shared the popular liking for strong effects, and it was certainly the more startling shades that he adopted.

4. Amid the tangle of religions in the Hellenistic world of the Mediterranean—this must at least be hinted in this connexion—certain great lines become clearer and clearer, chiefly as a consequence of the discoveries of inscriptions: we see the other religions that competed with Christianity because they were themselves missionary religions. The great problems suggested merely by the new material already published are by no means all solved or even attacked yet,[2] but we can already reconstruct with great certainty the religious map of the world in the Imperial period,[3] at least at some of the main points.

To take the chief instance, Greek Judaism, the mighty forerunner of Christianity as a world-religion, yielded up its hidden inscriptions; papyri and the evidence of literary writers did the rest,—and so

[1] Cf. for instance my little essay on "White Robes and Palms" in *Bibelstudien*, p. 285 ff.; *Bible Studies*, p. 368 ff. Much Hellenistic material for the background of the various Apocalypses will be found in Albrecht Dieterich, *Nekyia, Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse*, Leipzig, 1893; and Georg Heinrici, *Der litterarische Charakter der neutestamentlichen Schriften*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 87 f.

[2] The older Egyptian texts, doubtless containing much undiscovered material of importance, ought to be examined, and the secularisation of the Egyptian divinities has not yet been investigated. What a prospect one single inscription opens up—the Isis inscription from Ios, p. 135 ff. above. Adolf Rusch, *De Serapide et Iside in Graecia cultis*, a Berlin dissertation, 1906, underestimates its importance as evidence of the worship of Isis.—Meritorious, if not always convincing, is R. Reitzenstein's *Poimandres:* Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und früh-christlichen Literatur, Leipzig, 1904. It investigates the new religious formations in Egypt, represented especially by the Hermetic writings.

[3] A good survey is given by Franz Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*, Paris, 1907.

Emil Schürer [1] was able to write his very full sketch of the Jews of the Dispersion.

Franz Cumont's work on Mithras [2] is monumental, not only in the sense of being written from the monuments; but there are also smaller investigations, such as Alfred von Domaszewski's on the religion of the Roman army [3] or Hugo Hepding's on Attis,[4] which would have been impossible without modern epigraphy.

Finally there remain to be mentioned the important additions to our knowledge due to the light that has been thrown upon the worship of the sovereign, particularly emperor-worship, in antiquity—a form of cult whose importance is becoming more and more obvious in the religious history of the Graeco-Roman period. Comprehensive works have lately been published by E. Kornemann [5] and J. Toutain.[6] I hope to be able to show later on in this chapter how, considered in contrast with that of emperor-worship,

[1] *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, III.[3] pp. 1–135; cf. also Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, I.[2] pp. 1–16, and Theodore Reinach, article Diaspora, in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV., New York and London, 1903, p. 559 ff.

[2] *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, 2 vols., Bruxelles, 1899, 1896. Two small epitomes have appeared, entitled *Les Mystères de Mithra*,[2] Bruxelles, 1902, and *Die Mysterien des Mithra*. Ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit. Autorisierte deutsche Übersetzung von Georg Gehrich, Leipzig, 1903.—Albrecht Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie erläutert*, Leipzig, 1903, contains besides the material relating to the religion of Mithras (on which see Cumont, Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique, 47, p. 1, and Dieterich's reply, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, 8, p. 501) a number of other investigations bearing on our subject. Dieterich had previously published a survey entitled "Die Religion des Mithras" in the Bonner Jahrbücher [Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinland]. Part 108, p. 26 ff. Cf. also Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, II.[2] p. 270 ff.

[3] *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, Trier, 1895; offprint from the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, 14 (1895).

[4] *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult*, Giessen, 1903.

[5] *Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte*, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte [Klio], 1, pp. 51–146.

[6] *Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain*. Première partie, tome I. Les cultes officiels; les cultes romains et gréco-romains, Paris, 1907.

much of the terminology of the earliest Christian worship acquires once more its original distinctive clearness.

5. One other thing the student of Primitive Christianity owes to the new texts. It is something to have perceived the religious feelings that animated the great world contemporary with the New Testament, and to have learnt to know its forms of worship, but much greater is the fact that ancient souls, seemingly lost to us for ever, have leapt into life once more.

It has always been characteristic of Christianity from the beginning, that, as it lived in the souls of individuals, so it influenced the individual soul. Christianity is in the very front rank as regards the discovery and culture of individual souls. Its oldest documents are without exception reflexes of souls. What a soul is reflected in the words of Jesus! What souls has He depicted with a few touches in His parables and words of disputation. And St. Paul's letters are soul-pictures in such high degree that their writer is probably the best-known man of the early Empire: not one of his celebrated contemporaries has left us such frank confessions. But to understand the progress of the new faith through the world we must know the spiritual constitution of the men from whom the missionaries came and to whom the message and pastoral care of the missionaries were addressed.

That these were men of the non-literary lower and middle classes has been so often indicated in these pages from a variety of points of view, that I should have no objection if this thesis were described as a main feature of my book. Some little time ago there was

given us an admirable aid towards dividing off these classes from the upper class which, being possessed of power, wealth, or education, is the most seen and heard in the literature of the Imperial age and elsewhere. Under the auspices of the Berlin Academy of Sciences three scholars, Elimar Klebs, Hermann Dessau, and Paul von Rohden, presented us with a three-volume work,[1] *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I. II. III.*, uniting in one great alphabetical catalogue 8,644 men and women who are known from literature, inscriptions, etc., in the three centuries from Augustus to Diocletian, which of course mean to us the primitive period of Christianity. Turning the pages of these volumes we find among the men of the Imperial age the deified favourite Antinous, but not John the Baptist; Apollonius of Tyana, but not Jesus of Nazareth; the celebrated robber-chief Bulla Felix, but not Paul of Tarsus; the historian Flavius Josephus, but not the Evangelist Luke, to say nothing of the vanished souls in the lists of salutations in the letters of St. Paul. This is no mere accident; the editors intentionally neglected "the endless multitude of plebeians that crowd the pages of ecclesiastical and legal writers."[2]

I will not press the sentence; I will not refer in confutation of it to the isolated examples of insignificant persons who of course have found their way into this book of grandees here and there. But one thing I will say: That endless multitude, as it is rightly called, which seems too big to be compre-

[1] Berolini, 1897–1898.

[2] Klebs in the Praefatio to Vol. I. (p. viii), "sed hominum plebeiorum infinita illa turba qua scripta ecclesiastica et auctorum iuris referta sunt procul semota est." In exactly the same way the aristocratic historians of the Imperial age are devoid of almost all interest in Christianity in the first stages; and the fact that Jesus and St. Paul are not mentioned by certain contemporary writers is admirably accounted for by social history.

hended historically, and which begins below the upper eight-thousand found worthy to be catalogued in the Berlin Prosopographia, deserves attention because in it Primitive Christianity grew up and expanded. One of the greatest pictures in the Revelation drawn by one of that multitude and consecrated by the tears of those nameless ones shows[1] the "great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, standing before the throne, and before the Lamb, . . . who came out of great tribulation, . . . and who shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more."

And now to-day the new texts have brought a wonder to pass. That ancient world of the insignificant and the many who hungered and thirsted, which seemed to be inaccessible save to the dreamy eye of the seer, and hopelessly lost to the scholar, now rises up before us in the persons of innumerable individuals. They sow grains of wheat once more in the furrow blessed by the Nile; they pay their drachmae for tax and impost, duty and rate and collection; they travel by boat, on camels or on donkeys to the capital, to fill the halls of justice with their quarrels and abuse; adventurous youths climb on board the imperial ships bound for Italy; in silent devotion the survivors observe ancestral custom at death and burial. And so it goes on from generation to generation, from the days of the Septuagint to the gospels and the church-meetings of the Pauline mission, on to Diocletian and the baptised Caesars: in the lower stratum there is always the same bustle of so many humble individuals eating, drinking, sowing, tilling, marrying and given in marriage.

[1] Rev. vii. 9–17.

But out of the ceaseless rhythm of wholesale existence souls emerge, individual souls, in which the scholar may recognise types of ancient personal life. The unparalleled value of the papyrus letters is this, that they bring before us with all possible truth ancient souls and spiritual conditions in the non-literary classes.

What is it that makes these newly discovered papyrus letters such splendid evidence of the soul-life of the ancients?

What literature has to show us in the way of souls is a product of art, often of a high form of art, but even then generally only a drawing from the model. That which is literary cannot be completely naïve. We cannot be sure whether it is the real face or only a mask of concealment worn by a player when the Emperor Hadrian writes these verses[1] before his death:—

"Soul of mine, pretty one, flitting one,
Guest and partner of my clay,
Whither wilt thou hie away,—
Pallid one, rigid one, naked one—
Never to play again, never to play?"

And the works of the plastic arts? The marbles and bronzes recovered from the ruins of ancient

[1] Whether they are genuine I do not know: Eduard Norden (letter, 3 September, 1908) sees no reason for doubting their authenticity. They are found in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Hadrian, 25 (rec. Peter,[2] p. 27):—

"Animula vagula blandula
hospes comesque corporis,
quae nunc abibis in loca
pallidula rigida nudula
nec ut soles dabis iocos!"

For the "naked soul" cf. for instance St. Paul, 2 Cor. v. 3. [These verses are of acknowledged difficulty to translate. Prior, Pope, Byron, and Christina Rossetti are amongst those who have essayed the task. The version in the text is by Merivale. TR.]

cities and from the sea-bed around the coasts are certainly not soul-less; but to whom would the athlete of Ephesus in the Theseion at Vienna, or the youth of Anticythera at Athens, have ever revealed his soul? These marvellous presentments of the human body so captivate us that we do not think of inquiring about their souls until we have said farewell to them and the bronzes can no longer understand our questioning. Who would venture to make the great eyes of the Egyptian mummy-portraits speak, or attempt to read the personal secrets of even the portrait-busts of the Imperial period? The connoisseur only ventures on hesitating attempts at interpretation when he is supported by literary tradition.[1]

And the men who speak to us on the inscribed stones—do they stand quite naturally before us? Are they not in the same publicity as the stone, and are not their words calculated for publicity? We could indeed make shift to patch together some of their personalities, but we could put no life into them. The imperial physician and imperial murderer G. Stertinius Xenophon of Cos,[2] the contemporary of St. Paul, is a case in point. The editor of the inscriptions of Cos has tried to make him live again and has found in him a figure for an historical romance[3];—a figure, certainly, but no soul.

Two generations later a Lycian millionaire, Opramoas of Rhodiapolis, thrusts himself forward with boastful ostentation among the crowd of inscriptions from Asia Minor. On the walls of the

[1] *E.g.* Wilhelm Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, p. 174: "A heaviness about the eyes and a reserved and piercing look give even to his (Hadrian's) face a peculiarly melancholy stamp."

[2] Cf. p. 248 above.

[3] Rudolf Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, p. 189 ff.

heroön destined for the reception of his mortal body we find still to-day nigh upon seventy records which, in order that his name might not perish, he engraved in marble, immortalising his money benefactions and other services, as well as the honours he received from emperors, procurators, and municipal associations. Thanks principally to modern archaeology[1] this man with the full-sounding name has attained his object: Opramoas is to-day, at least in a few scholars' studies, a sort of celebrity. But where is his soul? So far as it was not identical with his treasure, it is not to be found on all those great marble tablets.[2] And if we were to receive it from the hand of the angel who was sent to demand it of the rich man in the night, it would not be a soul that felt at home with the poor souls of the New Testament.

Even where the inscriptions seem to bear a more personal note, we do not always find a personal manifestation. In the poetical epitaphs, especially, there is much that is borrowed and plenty of second-hand feeling. It would be rash, for example, to say that Chrysogonus of Cos, with his eighty-three years, was a great drinker merely on the strength of the epigram on his tomb (Figure 44), even supposing he was himself responsible for the epitaph.

This feeble epigram,[3] the metre of which is here

[1] *Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien*, II. pp. 76–135; Rudolf Heberdey, *Opramoas Inschriften vom Heroon zu Rhodiapolis*, Wien, 1897. The inscriptions extend from 125 to 152 A.D. Heberdey enumerates 69 of them.

[2] The Opramoas inscriptions are, however, of great value to us as religious history: first in illustration of the powerfully sarcastic parable of the rich fool (Luke xii. 16–21) and the other allied types of the "rich man," and secondly in contrast with the spirit of Matt. vi. 1–4.

[3] Discovered and published by Rudolf Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, p. 103 ff., No. 163. The greatly reduced facsimile (Fig. 44) is given here from Plate VI. 2 by kind permission of the discoverer and his publisher.

imitated in the translation, dates from the Imperial period and runs as follows:—

οὔνομα ⲥ̅ ⟨*α*⟩ *Χρυσό-*	One, Chrysogonus hight, lies
γονος Νονυφῶν[1]	here, of nymphs an adorer,
λάτρις ἐνθάδε κεῖτα[*ι*]	Saying to each passer-by,
παντὶ λέγων παρό-	"Drink, for thou seest the
δω·[2] *πεῖνε, βλέπις*	end."
τὸ τέλος.	
ἐτῶν ⊓⊓.	83 years.

The exhortation to drink in anticipation of approaching death is one of the well-known formulae of ancient popular morals[3] (often, no doubt, of popular wit), and is by no means rare in epitaphs.[4] We can therefore draw no certain conclusion whatever as to the spiritual constitution of Chrysogonus in particular from his epitaph. We know little about the old man beyond his name and a cult to which he was devoted; his soul has disappeared for ever.

The epitaphs of antiquity as a whole are of this service, that they reflect for us the emotions of a class of men rather than the innermost thoughts of individuals. Stones with long metrical inscriptions almost provoke us, as we seek for something personal behind the ornate forms, to cry sometimes in the words of a medieval inscription from Heraclia on the Black Sea[5]:—

[1] Should no doubt be Νυνφῶν.

[2] ὁ πάροδος, "the passer-by," "traveller," was hitherto only known in LXX 2 Sam. xii. 4, Ezek. xvi. 15, 25, and Symmachus Jer. xiv. 8; but it occurs not exactly rarely in inscriptions (Herzog, p. 104 f.) and is therefore to be struck out of the list of "Biblical" words. The word occurs also in the *Inschriften von Priene*, No. 311, and there is no need to conjecture παροδ[ίτα]ις.

[3] Cf. Isaiah xxii. 13 in the original text and in the interesting LXX translation; then cf. St. Paul's use of the passage in 1 Cor. xv. 32, which is very effective in a popular way.

[4] Herzog, p. 105.

[5] Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, No. 8748, 13th cent. A.D.:

ἂν ο[ἱ λ]ίθοι κρ[ά]ζωσιν ἐκ [π]αροιμίας,
πέμψον βοήν, [ἄφων]ος, ἄψυχος πέ[τ]ρ[α].

I now read [ἄφων]ος, after J. H. Moulton, The Expository Times, October 1908, p. 32.

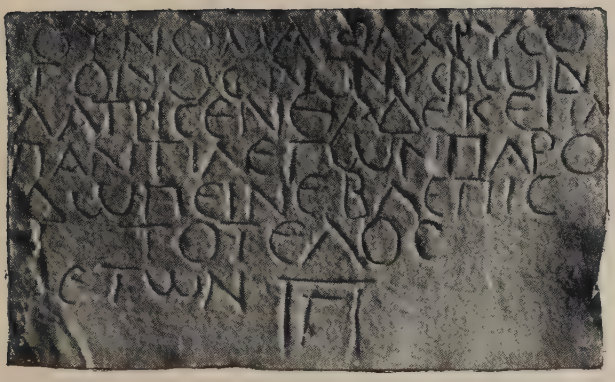

FIG. 44.—Epigram on the Tomb of Chrysogonus of Cos. Marble Altar, Imperial Period. Now built into the wall of a house in Cos. By permission of Rudolf Herzog and the publishing house of Theodor Weicher (Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung).

[p. 296

"If then the stones cry out, as saith the Word,
Send forth a shout, thou voiceless, soul-less rock!"

But the stones remain dumb: they have preserved for us no souls.

Souls, however, living souls from the great perished multitude, good and bad, beautiful and ugly, joyful and tremulous, flutter towards us with the papyrus letters[1] that have been snatched from the rubbish of villages and little towns in Egypt. Those who, being vilely deceived in their hopes of autograph MSS. of philosophers and poets, cast the letters aside as lumber owned by the obscure, will fetch them out again when they have learnt to appreciate the value of non-literary *naïveté*. The more obscure the writer, the more naïve will be the letter, at least as concerns the thought of future publication. It may be said with some certainty that most of the papyrus letters written by unknown men and women of Egypt at the time when the New Testament was growing and consolidating are in the above sense of the word completely naïve and reflect single definite situations in the outer or inner lives of their writers with the greatest sincerity.

This estimate of the papyrus letters is quite in harmony with ancient ideas on the subject, as may be shown by reference to Demetrius,[2] a theorist on the art of letter-writing, who says very finely that in writing a letter one draws a picture of one's

[1] It is a remarkable fact that the 2nd cent. A.D. is especially rich in personal letters allowing of conclusions as to spiritual conditions. Is that accident, or were men then really more sentimental and communicative? This openness and sensitiveness of soul was an important factor in the Christian propaganda.

[2] *Epistolographi Graeci*, rec. Hercher, p. 13: *σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰκόνα ἕκαστος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς γράφει τὴν ἐπιστολήν. καὶ ἔστι μὲν καὶ ἐξ ἄλλου λόγου παντὸς ἰδεῖν τὸ ἦθος τοῦ γράφοντος, ἐξ οὐδενὸς δὲ οὕτως ὡς ἐπιστολῆς.*

own soul, and in nothing is the personality better reflected than in a letter.

Interpretative scholarship ought certainly to come first to an understanding about the methods of regarding, explaining, and reanimating these ancient self-portraits. We are not yet sufficiently practised in this new art. The best way is to read the texts in conjunction with other scholars, with continuous discussion of the various possibilities of interpretation. What one regards as mummy-like another will perhaps make live again. At any rate let us read without unduly lauding any supposed child of nature to the skies; let us brand as brutal what is brutal, and accord no praise to vulgar narrowness. Not on any account, however, must we come to the letters with the condescending superiority of the man from town who knows "the people" only from kail-yard fiction or from stage-representations, and perhaps from holiday tours in quest of old farmhouse furniture; who thinks Hodge stupid, and is hugely amused at his lack of culture. In these texts we are dealing not with curiosities but with human destinies; sometimes only the humorous vexations of everyday life are concerned—and then it is permissible to smile—but often the trouble is very deep and real. We must leave our linguistic red-pencils at home, for these are not Greek examination papers to be corrected, and we shall do better to ask ourselves whether soldiers and day-labourers of the present day write any better. These texts should be read only by those who have hearts for the common people, who feel at home among fields, vineyards, and dykes, guard-rooms and rowing-thwarts, and who have learnt to read the lines of a hand distorted by toil.

There is Alis, wife of the day-labourer Hilarion,

growing anxious as her hour of trial approaches: a half-sentimental, half-brutal letter[1] is all that her husband writes her from the capital, on 17 June in the year 1 B.C.

Irene[2] is called upon to console a family that has just been plunged into mourning, but the poor empty soul has nothing to give but tears and a few good words dictated to her by custom; and yet we cannot deny her our sympathy.

Or a young Egyptian soldier who has just been saved from peril on the sea by the lord Serapis, lands in Italy and writes to his father[3] while the new impressions are fresh upon him. A thankful, hopeful temperament this soldier's, as he looks forward to the future, nor does he lose his attractiveness after years of hard service.[4] The same hearty goodwill comes out in the letter of another soldier.[5]

And Nearchus prattles on to Heliodorus[6] about his travels, and we see him in sacred places carving the names of his friends with intercessory prayer.

Or we hear the prodigal Antonis Longus[7] coming to himself and expressing his contrition in these moving sentences in the first person: "I walk about in rags, I am naked. I beseech thee, mother, be reconciled to me! I have been chastened. I know that I have sinned."

And so it goes on, the texts are inexhaustible. The same papyri that we made use of above to make clear the characteristics of the non-literary letter can thus be employed also in solving a greater and still more profitable problem—that of entering into the nature of individual souls among the non-literary

[1] Cf. p. 154 ff. above.
[2] Cf. p. 164 ff. above.
[3] Cf. p. 168 ff. above.
[4] Cf. p. 172 ff. above.
[5] Cf. p. 183 ff. above.
[6] Cf. p. 162 f. above.
[7] Cf. p. 176 ff. above.

middle and lower classes of ancient society. One soul is added to another, a new one in every letter, and we even possess whole bundles of connected letters from one and the same family,[1] and are able to see into the relationship between various families of the same social stratum. Every new soul, however, makes clearer to us the "world" which was the object of the missionary labours of St. Paul and his successors. This world was composed of human souls. The interest of the first missionary generations was directed, not to ancient systems of philosophy and speculative ways of combating them, but to the salvation of souls. It is, however, most highly probable that the souls of men on the coasts of Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece were not essentially different from those of their Egyptian contemporaries. This is what I meant by saying above that we may take the souls of the Egyptian letter-writers as types of the ancient soul in general.[2] If individual proof be wanted, think of the surprising similarity between

[1] Cf. the 14 letters from the correspondence of the veteran L. Bellenus Gemellus, of the years 94–110 A.D., which were found in a house at Ḳaṣr el-Banât (the ancient Euhemeria) in the Fayûm, and published in *Fayûm Towns*, Nos. 110–123. The handwriting of the letters written by the man himself shows the advance of age. The letters yield an unusually rich lexical harvest. For the epistolary formula *οὓς (ὄν) ἐγὼ ἀγαπῶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ*, "whom I love in truth" (2 John 1, 3 John 1), there is analogy in the Gemellus letters $119_{26f.}$ (*c.* 100 A.D.) and 118_{28} (110 A.D.), *τοὺς φιλοῦντες ἡμᾶς (σὲ) πρὸς ἀλήθιαν*, "who love us (thee) according to truth." U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Göttingische gel. Anzeigen, 1901, p. 37 ff., made a beginning in the work of turning these letters to scientific account.—There should also be mentioned the correspondence of Heliodorus and others (see p. 227 f. above), part of which is published in the Amherst Papyri, Nos. 131–135, the rest at Heidelberg still awaiting publication. There are also connected family letters in the Berliner Griechische Urkunden, etc. The correspondence of Abinnaeus, which next follows in the Christian Imperial period, has been mentioned above, p. 206.

[2] G. Heinrici says very justly (*Der literarische Charakter der neutestamentlichen Schriften*, p. 58): "It is, I think, no unjustifiable generalisation to regard the Egyptian papyrus letters as typical of the vulgar epistolary style of antiquity at large." The same generalisation may be extended to the writers of the letters.

the Prodigal Son depicted by Jesus the Galilean and the real soul of the Egyptian Antonis Longus. But chief stress must be laid on the total impression received; any one coming from the soul-life of the New Testament to the papyri finds himself in no strange world, and whoever comes from the papyri to the New Testament will encounter familiar states and expressions of emotion at every step.

Someday perhaps, when all those men and families of the ancient lower classes have received individual attention and been made to live again, the command will go forth from the citadel of learning that they and the countless others whose names alone are mentioned shall also be enrolled. The personal register of the upper classes, which is a book of contrast to the New Testament, will then be supplemented by a personal and family register of the humbler classes, a book not of contrast but of contact. And in this book, in which peasants and artisans from Egypt jostle legionaries from Britain and the frontiers of Germany, in which traders from Syria and the Black Sea encounter with slaves from Ephesus and Corinth—in this book of the Forgotten we shall not search in vain for the Baptist, for Jesus, and for St. Paul.

Souls of the ancients! Before we leave them let me commend their study to all those—I do not wish to blame them—who are so fond of chasing the psyche of "modern" man with the butterfly-net. If we look to the really great events and possibilities of the inward life, those "ancient" souls seem to be separated by no such great interval from our own. That is to say, the papyri teach us the continuity of human soul-life in all its main movements. If I may give

practical point to the observation, they diminish, when heed is paid to things of the soul, the interval that many people nowadays, exaggerating the value of things intellectual, feel between themselves and the New Testament.

6. When the individual souls of antiquity have been studied so far that a beginning can be made with the personal register of the humbler classes, we shall recognise better than we can at present how greatly Christianity met the needs of those souls. The depth of meaning will become clearer and clearer in that dream-vision [1] of a man of Macedonia begging the Apostle of the Gentiles, then in Asia, to "come over into Macedonia, and help us." Indeed, the old and the new came to meet each other like two hands stretched out for a friendly clasp.

In this connexion the fact which occupied us in the second chapter appears in a new light, I mean the fact of close relationship between the early Christian missionary language and the popular language of the age. The scholars who isolated "New Testament" Greek did not reflect that by so doing they closed the doors of the early Christian mission. Paul would have found no "open door" [2] if he had not been to the Greeks "a Greek," *i.e.*, in our context, if he had not in the Hellenised world spoken to Hellenised men in the Hellenistic popular language.

We can, however, go still further: Paul and the

[1] Acts xvi. 9.

[2] This thoroughly popular expression, a favourite with St. Paul (1 Cor. xvi. 9; 2 Cor. ii. 12; Col. iv. 3), is very characteristic. Thanks probably to the English, who know their Bibles so well, it has become a catchword of modern international politics, but not many who use it are conscious of its Pauline character. St. Paul no doubt found it current in the world about him.

other apostles are, in a much higher degree than has probably been supposed, at home also in the world of cultural, especially of religious, ethical, and legal ideas peculiar to their Hellenistic age, and they are fond of making frequent use of details taken from this world of thought. This is a fact which is not completely separable from the one discussed in Chapter II.; at many points philology and social history overlap.[1] This is particularly true in the case of technical ideas and liturgical formulae, but also where institutions of the surrounding world exert an influence on the figurative language of religion.

One of the marks of the highly popular style of St. Paul's missionary methods is that in many passages of his letters we find St. Paul employing a usage particularly familiar and intelligible to popular feeling—I mean the technical phraseology and the cadence of the language of magic.

I have tried elsewhere[2] to show that the curious sentence about "the marks of Jesus"[3] is best understood if read in the light of a magical formula handed down in a Leyden papyrus.[4]

So too in the case of the directions to the Corinthian church concerning the punishment of the transgressor who had committed sin with his step-mother,[5] the full meaning does not come out until the passage is read in connexion with the ancient custom of execration, *i.e.* devoting a person to the gods of the lower world. A person who wished to injure an enemy or to punish an evil-doer consecrated him by

[1] It is advisable, however, to keep the points of view of philology and social history distinct. At many points philology holds its own completely.

[2] *Bibelstudien*, p. 262 ff.; *Bible Studies*, p. 346 ff. [3] Gal. vi. 17.

[4] For this formula see also J. de Zwaan, The Journal of Theological Studies, April 1905, p. 418. [5] 1 Cor. v. 4, 5.

incantation and tablet to the powers of darkness below, and the tablet reached its address by being confided to the earth, generally to a grave.[1] A regular usage was established in the language of these execrations,—a usage common to antiquity. The only difference between Jewish and pagan execrations probably lay in the fact that Satan took the place of the gods of the lower world. In form, however, there must have been great similarities.[2] This is seen in the words of St. Paul to the Corinthians:—

> "Gather together in the name of the Lord Jesus, ye and my spirit, and in fellowship with the power of our Lord Jesus deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."[3]

Two technical expressions are here adopted from the ritual of cursing. The phrase "deliver unto Satan that . . . ," recurring in 1 Tim. i. 20, corresponds to the formula in the London Magical Papyrus $46_{334\,\text{ff.}}$:—

> "Daemon of the dead, . . . I deliver unto thee N. N., in order that . . . ,"[4]

and even the unobtrusive little word *σύν*, "with," "in fellowship with," is technical in just such contexts as this: we find it not only in the Paris Magical

[1] Cf. *Antike Fluchtafeln* ausgewählt und erklärt von Richard Wünsch (Lietzmann's Kleine Texte, No. 20), Bonn, 1907.

[2] Cf. pp. 92, 93 above, the remarks on *ἀναθεματίζω*, "I curse."

[3] 1 Cor. v. 4, 5: *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ συναχθέντων ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πνεύματος, σὺν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ παραδοῦναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.*

[4] *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, ed. Kenyon (Vol. I.) p. 75, *νεκυδαίμων, . . . παραδίδωμί σοι τὸν δ(εῖνα), ὅπως. . . .* The papyrus was written in the 4th cent. A.D., but its formulae are ancient. The present formula, addressed to a daemon of the dead, is neither Jewish nor Christian.

Papyrus,[1] but also on a much older Attic cursing tablet of lead (3rd cent. B.C.)[2]:—

> "I will bind her . . . in fellowship with Hecate, who is below the earth, and the Erinyes."

All this proves therefore that the apostle advises the Corinthian church to perform a solemn act of execration.

And in the concluding lines of 1 Corinthians, which St. Paul wrote with his own hand,[3] there is a reminiscence of the cadence of ancient curses imitated from the language of legislation:—

> "If any man loveth not the Lord, let him be anathema."

With this compare the epitaph from Halicarnassus already cited above[4]:—

> "But if any one shall attempt to take away a stone . . . let him be accursed."

[1] Cf. p. 255 above, line 2999.

[2] *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, Appendix (= *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Vol. III. Pars III.), No. 108, δήσω (cf. the following pages) ἐγὼ κείνην . . . σὺν θ' Ἑκάτ(η)ι χθονίαι καὶ Ἐρινύσιν. Considering the rarity of the preposition σύν (cf. Tycho Mommsen, *Beiträge zu der Lehre von den griechischen Präpositionen*, 3 parts, Frankfurt a. M., 1886, 1887; at p. 107 σύν is even described as an aristocratic word) this parallel is not without importance.—For the same reason we may make room here for a remarkable parallel to Phil. i. 23, "to depart, and to be in fellowship with (σύν) Christ." I have discussed the formula "with Christ" (σὺν Χριστῷ) in my book *Die neutestamentliche Formel "in Christo Jesu,"* Marburg, 1892, p. 126, and shown that it nearly always means the fellowship of the faithful with Christ after their death or after His coming. Thus we read in a vulgar *graffito* from Alexandria (Imperial period?) these words addressed to a deceased person, εὔχομαι κἀγὼ ἐν τάχυ σὺν σοὶ εἶναι, "I would that I were soon in fellowship with thee" (Sitzungsber. der Kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissensch. zu Berlin, 1902, p. 1098; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff there points out the striking fact that the *graffito* already expresses the hope [not current even in the New Testament] of meeting again after death which is current among us. Hermann Diels, writing from Berlin W., 22 July, 1908, tells me that the (certainly rare) mention of meeting again in ancient epitaphs has its exact parallel in the ancient mysteries: the gold plates of the Orphics (*Vorsokratiker*,[2] p. 480, No. 17 ff.) have no other object than to guarantee this certainty. The new thing about the *graffito* is its proof that the ideas of the mystics had penetrated among the people.

[3] 1 Cor. xvi. 22, εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν κύριον, ἤτω ἀνάθεμα. Similar formulae, Gal. i. 8, 9.

[4] Page 94, n. 4 to ἐπικατάρατος.

Akin to this is the parallelism between St. Paul's asseveration[1]:—

> "I call God for a witness upon my soul"

and the formula of an oath taken under Augustus and recorded in an inscription from Galatia,[2] in which the taker of the oath says, in case of breach of the oath:—

> "I pronounce a curse against myself, my body, soul, goods, children, etc."[3]

The clearest example of the use of technical expressions taken from magic is perhaps the phrase "bond of the tongue."[4] In the story of the healing of the deaf and dumb man St. Mark (vii. 35) says:—

> "And straightway his ears were opened, and the bond of his tongue was loosed."

Most commentators, I think, have lightly pronounced "bond of his tongue" to be a "figurative" expression, without realising the technical peculiarity and therewith the point of the "figure." But running throughout all antiquity we find the idea that a man can be "bound" or "fettered" by daemonic influences. It occurs in Greek, Syrian, Hebrew, Mandaean, and Indian magic spells.[5] In Greek we even have a

[1] 2 Cor. i. 23, *ἐγὼ δὲ μάρτυρα τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχήν*. "Upon my soul" or "against my soul" in case I say what is untrue.

[2] Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 532$_{28}$ff., *ἐπαρῶμαι αὐτός τε κατ' ἐμοῦ καὶ σ[ώμα]τος τοῦ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ βίου κα[ὶ τέ]κνων*, etc.

[3] At the same time a fine analogy to Luther's "Leib, Gut, Ehr, Kind und Weib." ["And though they take our life, Goods, honour, children, wife, Yet is their profit small . . ." in Carlyle's version of "Ein' feste Burg." Cf. p. 140, n. 2 above. TR.]

[4] *ὁ δεσμὸς τῆς γλώσσης*. For what follows cf. Die Christliche Welt, 17 (1903) col. 554 ff.

[5] Cf. Mark Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 1, p. 31.

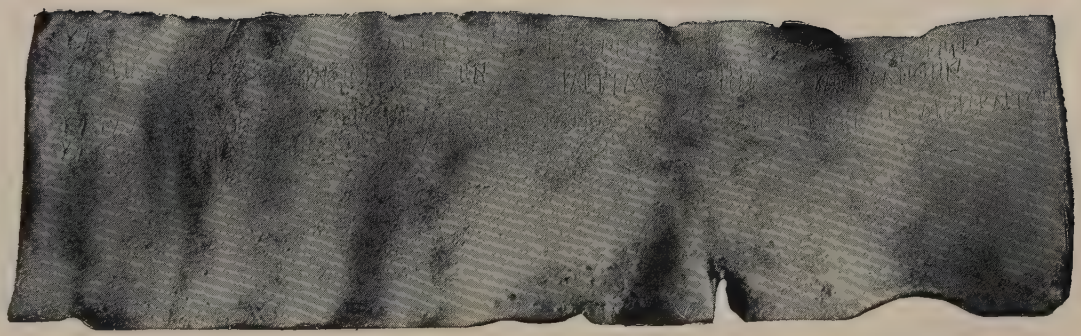

FIG. 45.—Charm for "Binding." Leaden tablet from Attica, first half of the 4th cent. B.C. By permission of the Imperial Austrian Archaeological Institute.

detailed magical prescription for "binding" a man,[1] besides large numbers of inscriptions dealing with the matter. One of the oldest of these is the following, a leaden tablet from Attica of the first half of the 4th cent. B.C. (Fig. 45), which I give here as read by Adolf Wilhelm[2]:—

Θεοί. Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη.[3]
Καταδῶ καὶ οὐκ ἀναλύσω Ἀντικλέα Ἀντιφάνος καὶ Ἀντιφάνην Πατροκλέος καὶ Φιλοκλέα καὶ Κλεοχάρην καὶ Φιλοκλέα καὶ Σμικρωνίδην καὶ Τιμάνθην καὶ Τιμάνθην.
Καταδῶ τούτος[4] *ἅπαντας πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν [τὸν] χθόνιον καὶ τὸν δόλιον καὶ τὸν*
κάτοχον καὶ τὸν ἐριούνιον καὶ οὐκ ἀναλύσω.

"Gods! Good Tyche! I bind down and will not loose Anticles, the son of Antiphanes, and Antiphanes the son of Patrocles, and Philocles, and Cleochares, and Philocles, and Smicronides, and Timanthes, and Timanthes. I bind these all down to Hermes, who is beneath the earth and crafty and fast-holding and luck-bringing, and I will not loose them."

Many other Attic binding-tablets have been published by Richard Wünsch,[5] but we also possess examples from other localities and of later date.

The cases are particularly common in which a man's tongue is specially to be "bound." There are no less than thirty of Wünsch's Attic tablets which bind or curse the tongue. And in the Louvre at

[1] Details in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, Appendix p. xxx (by R. Wünsch).

[2] Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, 7 (1904) p. 120 f. The facsimile there (p. 121) is reproduced here (Fig. 45) by kind consent of the Imperial Austrian Archaeological Institute.

[3] Samuel Brandt, in a letter to me dated Heidelberg, 22 September, 1908, proposes to write *ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ*. This is well worth noting.

[4] = *τούτους*.

[5] *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, Appendix; cf. also A. Wilhelm, *loc. cit.* p. 105 ff., and R. Münsterberg, *ibid.* p. 145 ff.; and for "binding" see further W. Köhler, Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft, 8, p. 236 ff.

Paris[1] there is this much later Mandaean inscription on a magician's dish :—

> "Bound and fast held be the mouth and fast held the tongue of curses, of vows, and of invocations of the gods. . . . Bound be the tongue in its mouth, fast held be its lips, shaken, fettered, and banned the teeth, and stopped the ears of curses and invocations."

A binding-charm of essentially similar nature is found on an ostracon of the later Empire from Ashmunēn in Egypt, in which pagan and Jewish elements are mixed (Fig. 46). It was formerly in the possession of Mr. F. Hilton Price, of London, and was first published (as a Christian text) by F. E. Brightman.[2] A similar charm was pointed out by Wilcken[3] in the London Papyrus[4] No. 121$_{935\,\text{ff.}}$, and there are other examples in allied texts of magical prescriptions against anger.

The text of the ostracon (not yet fully established) is as follows :—

— — — — — — —	— — — — — — —
Κρόνος, ὁ κατέχων[5] *τὸν θυμὸν*	Cronos, thou who restrainest
ὅλων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κάτε-	the wrath of all men, restrain

[1] *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 1, p. 100. The date cannot be ascertained exactly.

[2] In W. E. Crum's *Coptic Ostraca*, No. 522, p. 4 f. (and p. 83 of the lithographed text); cf. U. Wilcken, Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 2, p. 173, and E. Preuschen, Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 15 (1906) p. 642. I am indebted to the kindness of W. E. Crum for the photograph which is here (Fig. 46) given in slightly reduced facsimile.

[3] Archiv, 2, p. 173.

[4] Published by Wessely, but now accessible in *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* (Vol. I.) p. 114.

[5] *κατέχω* in magical texts often has the sense of "I cripple," and is completely synonymous with the "I bind" which is elsewhere used. Cf. the term *θυμοκάτοχον*, p. 90, n. 4 above.

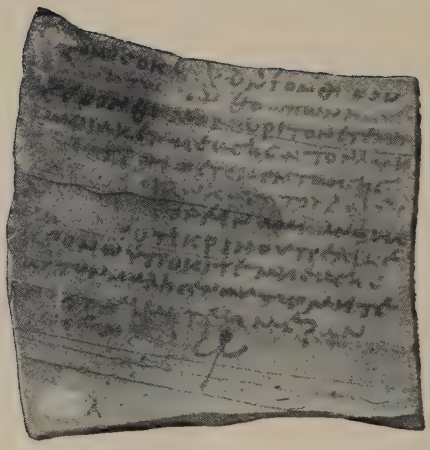

FIG. 46.—Charm for "Binding." Ostracon from Ashmunēn, late Imperial Period. Formerly in the possession of the late F. Hilton Price, London. (Kindly procured for me by W. E. Crum.)

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χε τὸν θυμὸν Ὥρι, τὸν[1] ἔτεκεν
Μαρία[2], κὲ[3] μὴ ἐάσης αὐτὸν λαλήσεν[4] Ἀτρῶ [?], τῶ[1] ἔτεκεν Ταήσης.
[. . . ἐξ]ορκίζω κατὰ τοῦ δακτύλου τοῦ θεοῦ[5], εἶνα[6] μὴ ἀναχάνη αὐτῶ, ὅτι Κρινουπελι[7] κὲ[3] Κρόνω ὑπόκιτε[8]. μὴ ἐάσης αὐτὸν λαλήσεν[4] αὐτῶ μήτε νύκταν[9] μήτε ἡμέραν μήτε μίαν ϕ[10].

the wrath of Hor, whom Mary bore, and suffer him not to speak with Hatros (?), whom Taïsis bore. I adjure . . . by the finger of god that he open not his mouth to him, because he is subject to Crinupelis (?) and Cronos. Suffer him not to speak with him, neither for a night nor a day, nor for one hour.

From these and many other texts we see what the ancients thought of as the result of binding the tongue, viz. inability to speak. The man whose tongue was bound was intended to become thereby dumb, so we may conclude conversely that the

[1] The article is used instead of the relative pronoun.

[2] The addition of the mother's name is regular in magical texts, cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 37; *Bible Studies*, p. 283; L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, p. 85; Wilcken, Archiv, 1, p. 423 f. The occurrence of the name *Mary* once more (cf. p. 123 f. above) is interesting.

[3] = καί.

[4] = λαλήσειν.

[5] The "finger of God" is an old Jewish expression, cf. LXX Exod. viii. 19, xxxi. 18; Deut. ix. 10. In Luke xi. 20 we have "the finger of God" in connexion with exorcism. Ample material will be found in Immanuel Löw, *Die Finger in Litteratur und Folklore der Juden*, Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann, Breslau, 1900, p. 65 ff.

[6] = ἵνα.

[7] I cannot explain this name. In the Leyden Magical Papyrus V. ed. Albr. Dieterich (p. 134, n. 1 above) XIII$_{26}$ the plant-name κρινάνθεμον, "house-leek," is identified with γόνος Ἄμμωνος, "offspring of Ammon." In the great Paris Magical Papyrus, l. 2979 f. (ed. Wessely, p. 250 above) *Ammon* and *Cronos* occur in close proximity. Perhaps the enigmatical word is a secret name for the god Ammon. [κρινάνθεμον, according to Liddell and Scott, is a synonym found in Dioscorides for ἡμεροκαλλές (-*ίς*), a kind of yellow lily that blossoms but for a day. The Greek words usually translated "house-leek" are ἐπίπετρον and ἀείζωον. TR.]

[8] = ὑπόκειται.

[9] Vulgar for νύκτα.

[10] = ὥραν, cf. p. 251 above, l. 3000.

tongue of a dumb person was often considered in ancient popular belief to have been "bound" by some daemon. This view fits in with the wider complex of widespread ancient beliefs that certain diseases and morbid conditions were caused in general by daemonic possession. Jesus Himself says (Luke xiii. 16) that Satan had "bound" a daughter of Abraham eighteen years. He means the crooked woman previously mentioned in the context, "which had a spirit of infirmity," and whose "bond" was loosed on the Sabbath. It seems probable, therefore, that St. Mark's "bond of his tongue" is also a technical expression. The writer will not merely say that a dumb man was made to speak—he will add further that daemonic fetters were broken, a work of Satan undone. It is one of those thoroughly popular touches which helped Christianity to make its way in the world!

The formulae usual in ancient accounts of healing, of which we know plenty from inscriptions at Epidaurus and other places where cures were wrought, of course cannot have been unknown to the apostles. As St. John's story of the healing of the man born blind finds a parallel in a Greek inscription from Rome,[1] reporting the cure of a blind man, and as St. Matthew describes St. Peter's peril on the sea in the style of a popular narrative of rescue,[2] so also St. Paul clothes one of his most remarkable confessions in the style of the ancient texts relating to healing. Speaking of his severe bodily affliction, the "thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me," he confesses[3]:—

"Concerning this thing I besought the Lord thrice,"

[1] Cf. p. 132 above.
[2] Cf. pp. 168-9, n. 6 above.
[3] 2 Cor. xii. 8, *ὑπὲρ τούτου τρὶς τὸν κύριον παρεκάλεσα.*

just as M. Julius Apellas, a man of Asia Minor in the Imperial age, narrating on a marble stele how he was cured at the shrine of Asclepius at Epidaurus, acknowledges with regard to one of his various ills[1]:—

> "And concerning this thing I besought the god."

The parallel is all the more remarkable because the verb[2] used for "beseech" does not seem to be exactly common in such a context. It is moreover factually important, as showing very clearly that Christ[3] was occasionally, even by the piety of St. Paul, taken as the Saviour in the literal sense of "Healer." Whoever fears that the New Testament may suffer from the discovery of this parallel should read the whole inscription of M. Julius Apellas and the whole twelfth chapter of 2 Corinthians side by side, and then compare the souls and the fortunes of the two men of Asia Minor, Apellas and Paul. Two patients besought their Healers for healing, and to which of them did his Healer give the most? What is greater? the cures of Apellas' various ailments, following one another in rapid succession, and paid for in hard cash to Asclepius of Epidaurus? or the answer that St. Paul received[4] instead of bodily healing?—

> "My grace is sufficient for thee: for My strength is made perfect in weakness."

And which is the more valuable text? the advertising inscription on marble, ordered by the god

[1] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 804$_{30 ff.}$, *καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου παρεκάλεσα τὸν θεόν.*

[2] Wilke-Grimm, *Clavis Novi Testamenti*,[2] quotes *παρακαλεῖν θεούς* or *θεόν* only from Josephus.

[3] To Him the word "Lord" refers, cf. verse 9, beginning and end.

[4] 2 Cor. xii. 9.

himself[1]? or that line of a letter, wrung from suffering and sent in confidence to the poor folk of a great city, without a thought that it would survive the centuries?

7. But there are other ways in which St. Paul made use of the forms and formulae of his age, as they presented themselves to him, principally, no doubt, in inscriptions. When in reviewing his past work he professes[2]:—

> "I have kept faith,"

and when, probably in the 2nd cent. A.D., the Ephesian M. Aurelius Agathopus, full of gratitude to Artemis, makes the same profession in an inscription in the theatre[3]:—

> "I kept faith,"

both no doubt are drawing from the same source, from the stock of formulae current in Asia Minor.[4] On the other hand the metaphor employed by the apostle in the same passage,[5]

> "I have fought the good fight. . . . Henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness . . . ,"

reminds one of phrases in an inscription relating to an athlete of the 2nd cent. A.D., also in the theatre at Ephesus[6]:—

> "He fought three fights, and twice was crowned."

[1] Cf. l. 31 f. of the inscription.

[2] 2 Tim. iv. 7, *τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα.*

[3] *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part III. No. 587 b, *ὅτι τὴν πίστιν ἐτήρησα* (*i.e.* with the Gerusia or Senate).

[4] Cf. also Jo. Jac. Wetstein's *Novum Testamentum Graecum*, II., Amstelaedami, 1752, p. 366. The parallels show that *πίστις* in the passage in St. Paul means "faith" in the sense of "loyalty," not "the faith" in the sense of "creed."

[5] 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8, *τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἠγώνισμαι, . . . λοιπὸν ἀπόκειταί μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος.*

[6] *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part III. No. 604, *ἠγωνίσατο ἀγῶνας τρεῖς, ἐστέφθη δύω.* J. H. Moulton, The Expository Times, October 1908, p. 33, adds another inscription of 267 B.C.

No doubt St. Paul in his time read inscriptions like this.

The following is a still more striking case of contact between the apostle and the world. In the Pastoral Epistles we read [1] :—

> "Rebuke not an elder, but intreat him as a father; the younger men as brethren: the elder women as mothers; the younger as sisters in all purity."

In the same way a pagan inscription of the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D., at Olbia on the Black Sea,[2] in honour of Theocles, the son of Satyrus, boasts of him as

> "bearing himself to his equals in age as a brother, to his elders as a son, to children as a father, being adorned with all virtue."

Though much later in date than St. Paul this inscription is not dependent on the New Testament; both it and St. Paul have been influenced by old tradition. Pithy sayings of ancient teachers, such as Wetstein [3] has collected in his note on the New Testament passage, were in the time of St. Paul commonplaces of popular ethics. They were taken over by him (perhaps after reading them in inscriptions) with a sure instinct of appreciation for noble thought and pregnant expression, and in the same way their echo reaches us again later on from the Black Sea.

Much might be said about ancient popular ethics in general and the fruitful effects of the same on

[1] 1 Tim. v. 1, 2, *πρεσβυτέρῳ μὴ ἐπιπλήξῃς, ἀλλὰ παρακάλει ὡς πατέρα, νεωτέρους ὡς ἀδελφούς, πρεσβυτέρας ὡς μητέρας, νεωτέρας ὡς ἀδελφὰς ἐν πάσῃ ἁγνείᾳ.*

[2] *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* ed. Latyschev, I. No. $22_{28ff.}$ (cf. IV. p. 266 f.), *τοῖς μὲν ἡλικιώταις προσφερόμενος ὡς ἀδελφός, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις ὡς υἱός, τοῖς δὲ παισὶν ὡς πατήρ, πάσῃ ἀρετῇ κεκοσμημένος.*

[3] *Novum Testamentum Graecum*, II. p. 339.

early Christian popular ethics. The otherwise somewhat barren inscriptions,[1] especially complimentary and funeral inscriptions, yield an abundance of ethical detailed material. The praises lavished on the meritorious citizens, or the thankfully commemorated good qualities of deceased persons, will not always tell us what those people were really like, but all such statements reflect the moral ideals of the men who set up the inscriptions, and whatever seems stereotyped may be reckoned part of the world's fixed moral consciousness at the time. It is once more a mark of St. Paul's fineness of perception that, far from denying the world all moral attributes, he credits the heathen[2] with a general fund of real morality regulated by conscience, in the same way as he praises the depth of their religious insight.[3]

In previous works[4] I have given a not inconsiderable number of examples of the secular origin of supposed exclusively "New Testament" ethical concepts. For the sake of argument I was bound to deal only with the more unusual concepts, when of course the agreement between the apostles and the world would be most striking, but if attention is paid also to the concepts belonging to everyday morality we discover an extensive common ground on which the apostles could and did take their stand. Particularly as we read the pastoral exhortations of St. Paul in his letters (and not least in the Pastoral Epistles) and others imitating them, we feel that, instead of being spoken to the winds like so much obsolete wisdom, they were bound to find in the

[1] For the literary sources I refer to the works of Georg Heinrici and Paul Wendland.

[2] Cf. especially Rom. ii. 14 ff.

[3] Acts xvii. 28.

[4] Especially in *Bibelstudien* and *Neue Bibelstudien* (= *Bible Studies*).

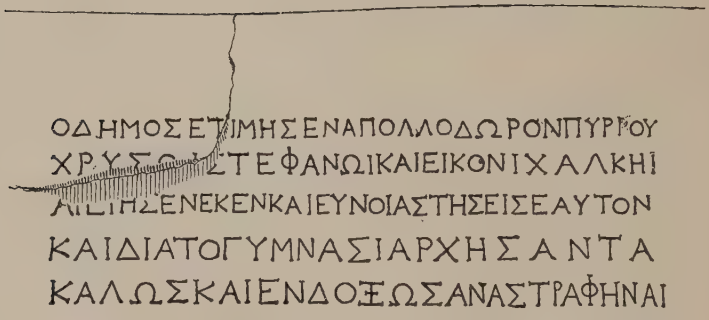

FIG. 47.—Marble Pedestal from Pergamum with an Inscription in honour of the Gymnasiarch Apollodorus of Pergamum. Roman Period. Original still at Pergamum. By permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums at Berlin.

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popular consciousness of that day a powerful reverberating medium.

Here is an example. The expressions "conversation," "to have conversation,"[1] etc. (A.V.), in an ethical sense (="behaviour, manner of life," "behave, live," etc., R.V.), are frequent in the apostolic writers, and many commentators explain them as a Hebraism. But they were common to the ancient world as a whole, and it is senseless to make a difference between Semitic and non-Semitic. I have given the necessary quotations elsewhere already,[2] but here is an additional illustration that appeals to the eye: an inscription[3] (Fig. 47) in honour of the Gymnasiarch Apollodorus, the son of Pyrrhus, on a marble pedestal in the gymnasium at Pergamum, of the Roman period (after 133 B.C.). It reads thus:—

ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν Ἀπολλόδωρον Πύρρου
χρυσῶι στεφάνωι καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῆι
ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν
καὶ διὰ τὸ γυμνασιαρχήσαντα
καλῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως ἀναστραφῆναι.

The people honoured Apollodorus, the son of Pyrrhus, with a golden crown and a brazen image by reason of his virtue and goodwill towards them, and because of his good and glorious behaviour when he was Gymnasiarch.

[1] ἀναστροφή and ἀναστρέφεσθαι.

[2] *Bibelstudien*, p. 83; *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 22; *Bible Studies*, pp. 88, 194; and, before that, E. L. Hicks in the Classical Review, 1 (1887) p. 6; and now Moulton and Milligan, The Expositor, March 1908, p. 269; W. H. P. Hatch, *Some Illustrations*, p. 136 f.

[3] *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, No. 459. The facsimile there given on the scale of 1 : 7·5 is reproduced here (Fig. 47) by kind permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums, Berlin. (The translation of the inscription in the first edition of this book was incorrect, as pointed out by Johannes Imelmann; cf. also Eberhard Nestle, Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 28 [1908] col. 1527.)

Extraordinarily interesting are the cases in which the apostles, being still in living contact with the lower classes, adopt the fine expressions which, coined in the workshop and the marketplace, are a terse and pithy presentment of what the people thought was good. There is a phrase we find on the tombstone of a humble man[1] of the early Empire in a country district not far from the home of St. Paul in the south-west of Asia Minor. To the eye wearied with the bombast of overloaded eulogy in showier inscriptions it appears scarcely noticeable at first, and yet how eloquent in reality is this simple form of praise: Daphnus, the best among the gardeners, has raised himself a hero's resting-place (Heroön), and now has reached this goal,[2]

"after that he had much laboured."

To any one with a sense for beauty in simplicity these lines concerning the much labour of the gardener Daphnus are as a green spray of ivy tenderly clasping the tombstone of its old friend. And the words of St. John, in the Revelation, are no less racy of the people when, recording the voice heard from heaven, he gives a slight Asiatic tinge[3] to an old Biblical phrase,[4] and says that the dead "rest from their labours."[5] St. Paul, however, the artisan missionary, catches the popular tone of his native

[1] The inscription was discovered in the village of Ebedjik (S.W. Asia Minor) in the house of the mollah Mehmet, and published by Heberdey and Kalinka, *Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien* [p. 277, n. 4 above], p. 41, No. 59, *μετὰ τὸ πολλὰ κοπιᾶσαι.*

[2] This translation of the brief *ταῦτα* of the inscription (cf. p. 189, n. 7 above) is very free.

[3] He says *κόπων* instead of *ἔργων*. He uses the latter word immediately afterwards.

[4] Cf. LXX Gen. ii. 2.

[5] Rev. xiv. 13, *ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν.*

country even better when he boasts[1] of an Ephesian Mary, while she was yet living, that

"she much laboured for you."

Again, in a Roman cemetery[2] of later date, we hear the old popular phrase re-echoed by a wife who praises her husband,

"who laboured much for me."

In fact, with regard to all that Paul the weaver of tent-cloth has to say about *labour*, we ought to place ourselves as it were within St. Paul's own class, the artisan[3] class of the Imperial age, and then feel the force of his words. They all become much more lifelike when restored to their original historical *milieu*. "I laboured more abundantly than they all"[4]—these words, applied by St. Paul to missionary work, came originally from the joyful pride of the skilled weaver, who, working by the piece, was able to hand in the largest amount of stuff on pay-day. The frequent references to "labour in vain"[5] are a trembling echo of the discouragement resulting from a width of cloth being rejected as badly woven and therefore not paid for. And then the remark to the pious sluggards of Thessalonica[6]:

"That if any should not work, neither should he eat."

[1] Rom. xvi. 6, πολλὰ ἐκοπίασεν εἰς ὑμᾶς; cf. also Rom. xvi. 12.

[2] *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 9552, inscription from the cemetery of Pontianus at Rome (date?), τεὶς [= ὅστις] μοι πολλὰ ἐκοπίασεν.

[3] St. Paul speaks of himself as a manual labourer in 1 Cor. iv. 12, and he writes to manual labourers (1 Thess. iv. 11). There are two small works of great importance in this connexion: Franz Delitzsch, *Jüdisches Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu*,[2] Erlangen, 1875; and Samuel Krauss, Parallelen im Handwerk, Vierteljahrsschrift für Bibelkunde, Talmud und patristische Studien, 3 (1907) p. 67 ff.

[4] 1 Cor. xv. 10, περισσότερον αὐτῶν πάντων ἐκοπίασα.

[5] *E.g.* Gal. iv. 11; Phil. ii. 16; 1 Cor. xv. 58.

[6] 2 Thess. iii. 10, εἴ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω.

I remember a newspaper controversy in which a social reformer, not quite so well up in his Bible as he should have been, denounced this text as a modern heartless capitalist phrase. As a matter of fact, St. Paul was probably borrowing a bit of good old workshop morality,[1] a maxim coined perhaps by some industrious workman as he forbade his lazy apprentice to sit down to dinner.

In the same way we can only do justice to the remarks in the New Testament about *wages* by examining them *in situ*, amidst their native surroundings. Jesus and St. Paul spoke with distinct reference to the life of the common people. If you elevate such utterances to the sphere of the Kantian moral philosophy, and then reproach Primitive Christianity with teaching morality for the sake of reward, you have not only misunderstood the words, you have torn them up by the roots. It means that you have failed to distinguish between the concrete illustration of a popular preacher, perfectly spontaneous and intelligible in the native surroundings of Primitive Christianity, and a carefully considered ethical theory of fundamental importance to first principles. The sordid, ignoble suggestions, so liable to arise in the lower class, are altogether absent from the sayings of Jesus and His apostle, as shown by the parable of the labourers in the vineyard and the analogous reliance of St. Paul solely upon grace.

Still more instructive than the parallelism of single ethical phrases in popular use are the formulae in which pairs of ideas or whole series of ideas have united. When in Titus ii. 4, 5 the young women are exhorted to be "loving to their husbands, loving to

[1] See Wetstein's quotations at 2 Thess. iii. 10.

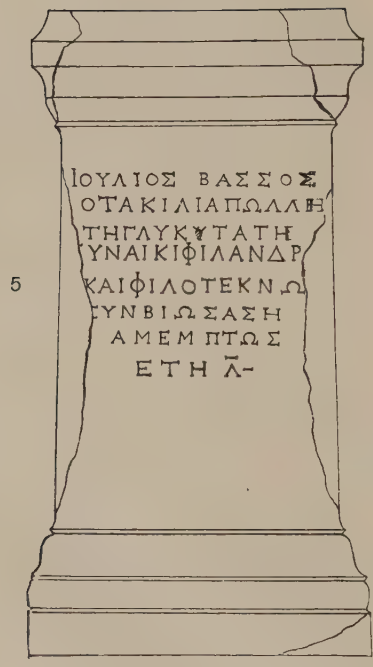

FIG. 48.—Marble Tombstone of Otacilia Polla of Pergamum, about the time of Hadrian. Now in the garden of Pasha-Oglu Hussein, in the Selinus valley, near Pergamum. By permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums at Berlin.

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their children, soberminded,"[1] this is quite a popular way of speaking, for precisely this ideal of womanhood is set up by the inscriptions. In an epitaph at Pergamum, of about the time of Hadrian[2] (Figure 48), one Otacilia Polla is called "loving to her husband and loving to her children":—

Ἰούλιος Βάσσος Ὀτακιλία Πώλλη τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ [γ]υναικὶ φιλάνδρ[ω] καὶ φιλοτέκνω συνβιωσάσῃ ἀμέμπτως ἔτη λ.	Julius Bassus to Otacilia Polla, his sweetest wife. Loving to her husband, and loving to her children, she lived with him unblamably 30 years.

That this formula was no extempore formation is proved by a quotation from Plutarch, by an inscription from Paros[3] of Imperial age, and by a metrical inscription from Tegea.[4] The collocation "loving to her husband and soberminded" is also not rare; it occurs in epitaphs for women of the Imperial period at Termessus in Pisidia,[5] Prusias on the Hypius in Bithynia,[6] and Heraclia on the Black Sea.[7]

Whole series of ethical concepts are brought together in the well-known Primitive Christian lists

[1] φιλάνδρους εἶναι, φιλοτέκνους, σώφρονας.

[2] *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, No. 604 (cf. *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 83 f. *Bible Studies*, p. 255 f.). The drawing (scale 1 : 10) is here reproduced with the kind consent of the Directors of the Royal Museums, Berlin (Fig. 48).

[3] References in *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 83 f.; *Bible Studies*, p. 255 f.

[4] Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 25 (1901) p. 279, φιλότεκνε φίλανδρε, "O thou loving one to children and husband!" The date cannot be exactly determined.

[5] *Ibid.* 23 (1899) p. 301, τὴν σώφρονα καὶ φίλανδρον, "soberminded and loving to her husband."

[6] *Ibid.* 25 (1901) p. 88, ἡ σόφρων (*sic*) καὶ φίλανδρος γυνὴ γενομένη, "who was a soberminded wife and loving to her husband."

[7] *Ibid.* 22 (1898) p. 496, ἡ φίλανδρος καὶ σ[ώ]φρων ἡ φιλόσοφος ζήσασα κοσμίως, "loving to her husband and soberminded, a lover of wisdom, she lived modestly" (cf. 1 Tim. ii. 9 for this last word).

of virtues and vices. These were no new creations, but based on Jewish and pagan series—this has long been recognised.[1] But it will be as well to give up looking for the models exclusively in philosophical literature, although there may still be much to find there.[2] The popular lists of virtues and vices are of more direct importance; they show better than the philosophical texts what had really made its way among the people. Scattered in many museums we find specimens of the counters[3] used in an ancient game resembling draughts: one side of the counter bears a number (up to 25 or 30 or 40), and on the other side is a word addressed to a person, occasionally in verbal form, *e.g.* "Art thou glad?" or "Thou wilt scarcely laugh,"[4] but nearly always substantives or adjectives, generally in the vocative case. These give us a large number of popular names of vices[5] and virtues; the Greek loan-words among the Latin lists show the Hellenistic influence, and the decidedly vulgar form of the Latin words indicates that the game was a popular one. Although we have not yet recovered all the counters necessary for the game, and the sequence of the counters is not yet certain, the parallels with St. Paul strike us immediately. Take, for instance, the list of vices[6] in 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10,

> "Fornicators, idolaters, adulterers, effeminate, abusers of themselves with mankind, thieves, covetous, drunkards, revilers, extortioners."

[1] The latest treatment of this subject, brief but excellent, is in H. Lietzmann's commentary on Rom. i. (*Handbuch zum N.T.*, III. p. 11). Abundant material was collected by Albrecht Dieterich, *Nekyia*, *Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 163 ff.

[2] The astrologers, *e.g.* Vettius Valens, also furnish plenty of material.

[3] Details in Chr. Huelsen, Tessere lusorie, Römische Mitteilungen, 11 (1896) p. 227 ff.; F. Buecheler, Rhein. Museum, New Series, 52 (1897) p. 392 ff.

[4] *gaudesne, vix rides.*

[5] The vices greatly preponderate on the counters that have been preserved.

[6] Even Lietzmann (*loc. cit.*) considers this list to be purely Jewish.

With the exception of "covetous," which is rather colourless, and "idolaters," which is not to be expected in a pagan list, all these will be found substantially, word for word, on the counters.[1]

The comic dramatists afford us help in completing these popular lists of vices. No certain explanation has yet been given of the mention of such rare crimes as parricide and matricide in the list of vices in 1 Tim. i. 9 f. The text there enumerates:—

> "The lawless and disobedient, the ungodly and sinners, unholy and profane, murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, manslayers, whoremongers, them that defile themselves with mankind, menstealers, liars, perjured persons."

Now compare the "scolding" of Ballio the pander in the *Pseudolus* of Plautus[2]: quite a number of the most characteristic terms of abuse in that popular scene occur again in St. Paul's list, either literally or in forms nearly synonymous.[3]

Nor is the parallelism between the New Testament

St. Paul:	The counters:
πόρνοι	*impudes* (the *n* wanting as in Κρήσκης, 2 Tim. iv. 10)
μοιχοί	*moice, moece*
μαλακοί	*patice*
ἀρσενοκοῖται	*cinaidus, cinaedus*
κλέπται	*fur*
μέθυσοι	*ebriose* and *vinose*
λοίδοροι	*trico?*
ἅρπαγες	*arpax*

The last word ἅρπαξ was current as a loan-word in Latin comedy. In St. Paul it should probably not be translated "robber" but rendered by some other word, like "swindler" ("extortioner," A.V., R.V.). "Robbers" were λῃσταί, with whom St. Paul became acquainted on his journeys (2 Cor. xi. 26).—For μαλακός cf. letter No. 2 above, p. 150, n. 4.

[2] Cf. Hermann Usener, Italische Volksjustiz, Rhein. Museum, New Series, 56 (1901) p. 23 ff. The passages in Wetstein, *Novum Testamentum*, II. p. 318 f., especially those from Pollux, afford a very interesting parallel to Plautus and St. Paul.

[For note 3 see next page.

and the world wanting in the corresponding lists of virtues. This is shown by comparing 2 Peter i. 5, 6 with an inscription from Asia Minor, 1st cent. B.C., in honour of one Herostratus, the son of Dorcalion.[1] The inscription mentions successively the *faith*, *virtue*, righteousness, *godliness*, and *diligence* of the person to be honoured; and the apostle incites his readers to *diligence* in *faith* (= belief), *virtue*, knowledge, temperance, patience, *godliness*, brotherly kindness, and love.[2]

8. The correspondences we have noted so far relate only to isolated details of the popular religion and popular morality of the world contemporary with the apostolic texts. The cumulative effect even of such details should be sufficiently remarkable, but

[1] Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 438.

[2]

Inscription:	2 Peter:
ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον καὶ διενένκαντα πίστει καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ δ[ικ]αιοσύνῃ καὶ εὐσεβείαι καὶ . . . τὴν πλείστ[η]ν εἰσενηνεγμένον σπουδήν.	σπουδὴν πᾶσαν παρεισενέγκαντες ἐπιχορηγήσατε ἐν τῇ πίστει ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρετήν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀρετῇ τὴν γνῶσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ γνώσει τὴν ἐγκράτειαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐγκρατείᾳ τὴν ὑπομονήν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπομονῇ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, etc.

Cf. also the remarks on the beginning of 2 Peter in *Bibelstudien*, p. 277 ff.; *Bible Studies*, p. 360 ff.

Note 3 from previous page.

[3]

St. Paul:	Plautus:
ἀνόμοις	*legirupa*
ἀσεβέσι, ἀνοσίοις	*sacrilege*
ἁμαρτωλοῖς	*sceleste*
βεβήλοις	*caenum* and *inpure*
πατρολῴαις καὶ μητρολῴαις	*parricida.—verberasti patrem et matrem*, to which the person abused answers scornfully: *atque occidi quoque potius quam cibum praehiberem.*
πόρνοις	*impudice*
ἀρσενοκοίταις	*pernities adulescentum* (this parallel is not certain)
ψεύσταις	*fraudulente*
ἐπιόρκοις	*periure*

there are besides in the New Testament whole groups of thought, the peculiar strength and beauty of which we can only appreciate from the vantage-ground of the ancient world. Recent discoveries have made it possible to reconstruct large portions of Hellenistic popular law, which was previously known only in miserable fragments, and this gives us an uncommonly valuable means of judging some of the figurative religious language of Primitive Christianity. It has of course long been known, and monographs have been written to prove, that St. Paul was strongly influenced by legal ideas ; but the fact was not sufficiently accounted for by comparisons either with Roman or with Jewish law, the latter, so far as the Diaspora was concerned, being probably for the most part a dead letter. We now receive help of a far different order from the law that was alive in the popular consciousness up and down the Hellenistic area in which the New Testament originated. A few examples will confirm this statement.

The stupendous force of dogmatic tradition, and the fact that the word *slave*[1] with its satellites has been translated *servant*, to the total effacement of its ancient significance, in our Bibles, have brought it about that one of the most original and at the same time most popular appraisals of the work of Christ by St. Paul and his school has been, I think, only vaguely understood among us.[2] I refer to the

[1] In Luther's Bible the word "slave" (*Sklave*) does not occur once, although its equivalent is used times without number in the original (Old and New Testament). *Knecht*, the word used by Luther, is not the same as "slave." [The R.V. rendering, "bondservant," in text and margin, has helped to correct the misapprehensions of English readers. "Slave" does occur in the A.V., but only twice: Jer. ii. 14, Rev. xviii. 13. TR.]

[2] Similarly the mistranslation of διαθήκη as "covenant" instead of "testament" has interfered with the right understanding of another great group of ideas. The blame in this case does not fall on Luther.

metaphor of our redemption by Christ from the slavery of sin, the law, and idols—a metaphor influenced by the customs and technical formulae of sacred manumissions in antiquity.[1] I should like to illustrate a little more particularly this instance of St. Paul's having been influenced by the popular law of the world in which he lived.

Inscriptions at Delphi have been the principal means of enlightening us concerning the nature and ritual of manumission with a religious object in ancient times.[2] The French archaeologists have discovered and published a vast number of records of manumission relating to several different centuries,[3] and particularly to that one which gave rise to the New Testament. After two thousand years the records stand to-day almost uninjured on the polygonal retaining-wall of the temple of Apollo (Fig. 49), the blocks of which seem, despite their bulk, to

[1] Johannes Weiss, *Die Christliche Freiheit nach der Verkündigung des Apostels Paulus*, Göttingen, 1902, has the merit of bringing St. Paul's idea of freedom into connexion with ancient thought on the subject. But I think the author has gone to too high a bookshelf: the inscriptions, to be found among the folios at the bottom of the bookcase, are here more instructive than the philosophers on the higher shelves, just as we saw in the case of the lists of vices, p. 320 ff. above. I agree in thinking that St. Paul was influenced by popular philosophy, but I would lay stress on the mediation, mentioned by Weiss, of popular culture, into which a great deal of philosophy had percolated.

[2] The pioneer works were Ernestus Curtius, *Anecdota Delphica*, Berolini, 1843, pp. 10–47, 56–75, and P. Foucart, Mémoire sur l'affranchissement des esclaves par forme de vente à une divinité d'après les inscriptions de Delphes (Archives des missions scientifiques, deuxième série, t. III., Paris, 1866, pp. 375–424). Cf. also Ludwig Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 374 ff. (a short account, but containing everything that is essential), and E. Schürer *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, III.[3] p. 53 f. There is much material on the subject of manumission customs in Gualterus Rensch, De manumissionum titulis apud Thessalos, Diss. Phil. Halenses, XVIII. 2, Halis Saxonum, 1908.

[3] Including two records of the manumission of Jewish slaves between 170 and 157 B.C., probably prisoners from the Maccabaean wars, cf. Schürer, III.[3] p. 27.

FIG. 49.—Retaining-wall of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, inscribed with numerous ancient records of manumissions.

have collectively the effect of a poem in stone. Climbing greenery and blue blossoms greet you from the joints of the stone if you read the texts in springtime.[1]

But these are not records of something peculiar to Delphi. Manumission on religious grounds was practised all about Parnassus and probably throughout ancient Greece, and it even made its way into Jewish and Christian ecclesiastical custom. As examples from places outside Delphi I may refer to inscriptions at Physcus in Aetolia[2] (sale to Athene, 2nd cent. B.C.), at Amphissa[3] (sale to Asclepius, Imperial period), and also in Cos[4] (sale to Adrastia and Nemesis [?], 2nd or 1st cent B.C.). Ernst Curtius[5] has collected records from Naupactus (sale to Dionysus), Chaeronia, Tithora, and Coronia (sale to Serapis), Chalia (sale to Apollo Nesiotes), Elatia and Stiris (sale to Asclepius), Daulis (sale to Athene Polias). Th. Macridy has published records from Notion.[6] We find this kind of manumission among Jews in two stone records from Panticapaeum,[7] the first of which can be certainly dated 81 A.D.; and there is a record[8] of great interest from Gorgippia,

[1] On 22 and 23 May, 1906, I was able to see these highly important remains of ancient civilisation *in situ* (Fig. 49). The topographical remarks below (p. 333) are the result of my own observation on 12 May, 1906.

[2] Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 22 (1898) p. 355.

[3] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 844.

[4] Paton and Hicks, No. 29; and now Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, p. 39 f. This is not a record of manumission, but manumission of a sacred character is mentioned in it.

[5] Cf. p. 324, n. 2 above.

[6] Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, 8 (1905) p. 155. (Pointed out to me by Theodor Wiegand, postcard, Miletus, *c.* 26 May, 1908; and by Baron F. Hiller von Gaertringen, postcard, Berlin W., 4 June, 1908.)

[7] *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*, ed. Latyschev, Vol. II. Nos. 52 and 53.

[8] *Ibid.* No. 400.

41 A.D., referring to the cult of "the Most High God." These Jewish and Judaeo-pagan records[1] are of great importance in our problem, as sure proofs of the influence of the pagan rite on Jewish Hellenism[2] in the time of the apostle Paul. Finally, it has long been recognised by experts that "manumission in the church"[3] was nothing but a Christianised form of the old Greek custom.

But between the Greek usage and the practice of the early Church there stands St. Paul, who made the ancient custom the basis of one of his profoundest contemplations about the Christ.

What was this custom? Among the various ways in which the manumission of a slave could take place by ancient law[4] we find the solemn rite of fictitious purchase of the slave by some divinity. The owner comes with the slave to the temple, sells him there to the god, and receives the purchase money from the temple treasury, the slave having previously paid it in there out of his savings. The slave is now the property of the god; not, however, a slave of the temple, but a protégé of the god. Against all the world, especially his former master, he is a completely free man; at the utmost a few pious obligations to his old master are imposed upon him.

The rite takes place before witnesses; a record is taken, and often perpetuated on stone.

The usual form of these documents must have

[1] See Schürer, III.[3] p. 53 f.

[2] For a similar process in another field cf. the prayers for vengeance from Rheneia (Appendix I. below, p. 423), which exhibit a secularisation of the Jewish ritual for the expiation of an unexplained murder.

[3] *Manumissio in ecclesia*, cf. Curtius, p. 26 f., and Mitteis, p. 375.

[4] Cf. Mitteis, p. 372 ff. The *redemptio servi suis nummis* is discussed by Lothar von Seuffert, Der Loskauf von Sklaven mit ihrem Geld, Festschrift für die juristische Fakultät in Giessen, Giessen, 1907, pp. 1–20.

been extremely well known, because they are so numerous. It is like this[1]:—

> Date. "N.N. sold to the Pythian Apollo a male slave named X.Y. at a price of — minae, for freedom (*or* on condition that he shall be free, etc.)." Then follow any special arrangements and the names of the witnesses.

Another form, which does not occur elsewhere, but which makes the nature of the whole rite particularly plain, is furnished by an inscription[2] of 200–199 B.C. on the polygonal wall at Delphi:—

Date. *ἐπρίατο ὁ Ἀπόλλων ὁ Πύθιος παρὰ Σωσιβίου Ἀμφισσέος ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι σῶμ[α][3] γυναικεῖον, ἃι ὄνομα Νίκαια, τὸ γένος Ῥωμαίαν, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν τριῶν καὶ ἡμιμναίου. προαποδότας[4] κατὰ τὸν νόμον Εὔμναστος Ἀμφισσεύς. τὰν τιμὰν ἀπέχει[5]. τὰν δὲ ὠνὰν ἐπίστευσε Νίκαια τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι.*	Date. Apollo the Pythian *bought* from Sosibius of Amphissa, *for freedom*, a female slave,[3] whose name is Nicaea, by race a Roman, *with a price* of three minae of silver and a half-mina. Former seller[4] according to the law: Eumnastus of Amphissa. The *price* he hath received.[5] The purchase,[6] however, Nicaea hath committed unto Apollo, *for freedom.*

Names of witnesses, etc., follow.

St. Paul is alluding to the custom referred to in these records when he speaks of our being made free by Christ. By nature we are *slaves* of sin[7];

[1] The texts are so numerous that individual quotation is unnecessary.

[2] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 845. [3] For *σῶμα* = "slave" see above, p. 151.

[4] [*προαποδότης*, "previous vendor" (Liddell and Scott,[8] 1901, wrongly "previous traitor"; but see Addenda), in inscriptions and papyri = *προπωλητής*; often coupled with *βεβαιωτήρ*, "surety." Sosibius had bought Nicaea of Eumnastus, who thus became the guarantor of Sosibius' rightful ownership. TR.]

[5] For this *ἀπέχει* see p. 110 ff. above.

[6] Janell, *Ausgewählte Inschriften*, p. 107, wrongly translates "purchase money."

[7] Rom. vi. 17, 20, 6, 19; Titus iii. 3. The passage in Rom. vi. 6, "that the body of sin might be destroyed," is ambiguous, since "body" (*σῶμα*) may also mean "slave."

the Jew is furthermore a *slave* of the law,[1] the heathen a *slave* of his gods.[2] We become *free men* by the fact that Christ *buys* us. And He has done so :—

> "Ye were bought with a price,"

says St. Paul in two places,[3] using the very formula of the records, "with a price."[4] Again,

> "For freedom did Christ set us free,[5] . . . ye were called for freedom"[6]

—in these words of St. Paul we have literally the other formula of the records.[7] In numerous records of manumission the nature of the newly obtained liberty is illustrated by the enfranchised person's being expressly allowed henceforth to

> "do the things that he will."[8]

St. Paul, therefore, is referring to the danger of a relapse into servitude when he points to the possible

[1] Gal. iv. 1–7, v. 1.

[2] Gal. iv. 8, 9.

[3] 1 Cor. vi. 20, vii. 23, *τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε*. [*ἀγοράζειν* is used of the purchase of slaves in the will of Attalus III., 133 B.C., Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 338_{23}. For *τιμή*, "price," in the sale of a slave, cf. also 1 Clem. lv. 2.] The repetition of this brief, but expressive, and exceedingly popular saying leads us to imagine that it was a favourite watch-word also in the apostle's spoken sermons. Cf. also Gal. iv. 5, "to redeem them that were under the law" (*ἐξαγοράσῃ*).

[4] *τιμῆς* (*τιμᾶς*) is quite a stereotyped expression in the records, of course with the addition of a definite sum. But *τιμῆς* can also be used absolutely, as shown by the great document containing royal ordinances of Euergetes II., 118 B.C., The Tebtunis Papyri, No. $5_{185,\ 194,\ 20}$, cf. the editorial note p. 50 f. Luther's translation "dearly bought" can hardly be right. St. Paul is not emphasising the amount of the price, but the fact that the redemption has taken place.

[5] Gal. v. 1, *τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠλευθέρωσεν*.

[6] Gal. v. 13, *ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε*.

[7] *ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ*, cf. Curtius, pp. 17, 32. The formula is common at Delphi, Naupactus, and Tithora. Rensch, p. 100, refers to G. Foucart, De libertorum condicione apud Athenienses, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1896, p. 14 f.

[8] *ποιῶν ὅ κα θέλῃ*, cf. Curtius, pp. 17, 39, and especially Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, p. 390.

result of the conflict between flesh and spirit with these words [1]:—

> "that ye may not do the things that ye would."

Numerous manumissions, again, expressly forbid, sometimes under heavy penalties, that the enfranchised shall ever "*be made a slave*" [2] again. We now see how wicked is the intention of those [3]

> "who . . . spy out our liberty, which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage."

And we understand warnings like this [4] in the letters:—

> "For freedom did Christ set us free: stand fast therefore, and be not entangled again in a yoke of bondage,"

and the still more moving exhortation [5]:—

> "Ye were bought with a price, become not slaves of men."

Christians cannot become slaves of men because they have become "slaves of Christ" [6] by purchase, and have entered into the "slavery of God" [7] or "of righteousness." [8] But, as in every other case of purchase by a god, the slave of Christ is at the

[1] Gal. v. 17, *ἵνα μὴ ἃ ἐὰν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε.* Note the context; "under the law" (v. 18) also points to slavery.

[2] *καταδουλίζειν* or *-εσθαι*, and similar formulae, cf. Curtius, p. 43.

[3] Gal. ii. 4, *κατασκοπῆσαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν.*

[4] Gal. v. 1.

[5] 1 Cor. vii. 23. The allusion is to moral slavery to human lusts and desires. Christians should be slaves of the brethren.

[6] The expression *δοῦλος Χριστοῦ* is so common in St. Paul that there is no need to give instances. It is not a consequence of the metaphor of manumission, but, though older than that metaphor, it fits in admirably with it.

[7] Rom. vi. 22.

[8] Rom. vi. 18.

same time free: he is "the Lord's (*i.e.* Christ's) freedman," [1] even when he is outwardly the slave of a human lord. When, further, in numerous documents this pious obligation is imposed upon the enfranchised slave [2]:—

> "let him remain with N.N." (his former master),

or when we hear occasionally [3]:—

> "let Cintus abide with Euphronius . . . behaving decently,"

we are reminded of expressions in St. Paul, *e.g.*

> "let him abide with God," [4]

and especially of this one:—

> "that which is decent, and attending upon the Lord without distraction." [5]

If this last example is not fully parallel to the pagan formulae because the reference in St. Paul is to the new master, it corresponds nevertheless to the Jewish formulae of manumission from Panticapaeum,[6] which lay on the enfranchised slave the obligation to be loyal to the synagogue.[7]

[1] *ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου*, 1 Cor. vii. 22. So also Curtius, p. 24, is of opinion that the expression "freedman of the god Aesculapius" (*libertus numinis Aesculapii*) in a Latin inscription possibly originated in a sacred manumission. On St. Paul's expression see more below, p. 382.

[2] *παραμεινάτω* and similar formulae, cf. Curtius, p. 39 f.; Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, p. 386 f.; Rensch, p. 107 ff. A good example is the inscription from Delphi 173–2 B.C., Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 850, *παραμεινάτω δὲ παρὰ Ἀμύνταν Σωτήριχος ἔτη ὀκτὼ ἀνεγκλήτως*, "but let Soterichus abide with Amyntas eight years, blamelessly."

[3] *Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes*, publiées par C. Wescher P. Foucart Paris, 1863, p. 65, No. 66, *παραμεινάτω* [*δὲ*] *Κίντος παρὰ Εὐφρόνιον . . . εὐσχημονίζων.*

[4] 1 Cor. vii. 24 (in close proximity to the principal passage, "ye were bought with a price"), *μενέτω παρὰ θεῷ.*

[5] 1 Cor. vii. 35 (cf. also "blamelessly" in the inscription quoted in note 2 above), *τὸ εὔσχημον καὶ εὐπάρεδρον τῷ κυρίῳ ἀπερισπάστως.*

[6] Page 325 above.

[7] On the technical terms there used cf. p. 100 above.

These parallels do not exhaust the cases in which the apostle took his stand on this custom of the ancient world. All that St. Paul and St. John[1] have to say about *freedom* has this background; but, most important of all, the frequently misunderstood conception of *redemption*,[2] *i.e. buying-off* and hence *deliverance* (from sin, the law, etc.), belongs, as St. Chrysostom knew and pointed out,[3] to the same complex of ideas. The inscription of Cos, above referred to, uses this very word—a rare one—to describe sacral manumission.[4]

St. Paul's predilection for this whole group of images would be most beautifully accounted for if we knew him to have been previously acquainted with the Greek form of our Lord's deeply significant saying about the *ransom*.[5] And we have no reason to doubt that he was.[6] But when anybody heard the Greek word λύτρον, "ransom," in the first century, it was

[1] Cf. especially John viii. 36, "if the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed," a beautiful saying, quite in the character of St. Paul. The word ἐλευθερόω, which is here used, is found in innumerable documents of manumission.—The metaphor has been taken up also by other apostles, and in some cases further elaborated.

[2] ἀπολύτρωσις. This rare word occurs seven times in St. Paul!

[3] On Romans iii. 24, καὶ οὐχ ἁπλῶς εἶπε λυτρώσεως, ἀλλ' ἀπολυτρώσεως, ὡς μηκέτι ἡμᾶς ἐπανελθεῖν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν δουλείαν, "and he said not simply 'ransoming' (*lytrosis*) but 'ransoming away' (*apolytrosis*), so that we come not again into the same slavery" (cf. R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, 7th ed., London, 1871, p. 273). With this sentence from St. Chrysostom cf. the provisions in the records, as mentioned above, against reducing the man to slavery again. In Theophylact, a late writer, we find the old apostolic metaphor already varnished over (Trench, p. 274). Much material is given by Joseph Wirtz, *Die Lehre von der Apolytrosis*. Untersucht nach den heiligen Schriften und den griechischen Schriftstellern bis auf Origenes einschliesslich, Trier, 1906. Later ecclesiastical speculation generally inclined to the view that redemption from the slavery of Satan was meant.

[4] It is called first ἀπελευθέρωσις, and then ἀπολύτρωσις (Herzog, p. 39 f.): those who perform the ἀπελευθέρωσις are not to make formal record of the ἀπολύτρωσις until the priests have reported that the necessary sacrifice has been made. See p. 325, n. 4.

[5] Mark x. 45 = Matt. xx. 28, λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν, "a ransom for many."

[6] 1 Tim. ii. 6 certainly sounds like an echo.

natural for him to think of the purchase-money for manumitting slaves. Three documents[1] from Oxyrhynchus relating to manumissions in the years 86, 100, and 91 or 107 A.D. make use of the word. "Under Zeus, Ge (=Earth), Helios (=Sun) for a ransom,"[2] is the phrase used in the first two documents, and it is not impossible that all three adumbrate traces of sacral manumission.[3]

I refrain from entering into a criticism here of the remarkable obscurations and complications which this whole circle of ancient popular metaphors has undergone at the hands of modern dogmatic exegesis. I would rather point out that St. Paul, in expanding and adapting to the Greek world[4] the Master's old saying about ransom, was admirably meeting the requirements and the intellectual capacity of the lower classes. For the poor saints of Corinth, among

[1] The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Nos. 48, 49, and 722.

[2] ὑπὸ Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον ἐπὶ λύτροις. The plural is most usual. The singular λύτρον for a slave's redemption-money is found several times (together with the plural λύτρα) in inscriptions from Thessaly, cf. Rensch, p. 101 f.—On λύτρον (λύτρα) cf. also Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, p. 388, and especially a remarkable inscription on a votive relief from Köres near Koula in Asia Minor (1894 in the *konak* at Koula), printed in Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 197: Γαλλικῷ Ἀσκληπιάς, κώμη Κερυζέων, παιδίσχη Λιογένου λύτρον, "To Gallicus [=the god Men], Asclepias (village of Ceryza), maidservant [cf. p. 186 n. 7 above; Buresch writes Παδίσχη] of Liogenes (Diogenes?), presents this ransom." The word here probably means that Asclepias was releasing herself from a vow. Theodor Wiegand, who published the first picture of the stone in the Athenische Mitteilungen, 1904, p. 318, informs me (postcard, Miletus, *c.* 26 May, 1908) that the original now belongs to the collection of the Lyceum Hosianum at Braunsberg.

[3] Cf. Mitteis, Hermes, 34 (1899) p. 104, and U. Wilcken's remark there on a Christian document of manumission of the year 354 A.D. containing the formula "free under earth and heaven according to [κατ', not καὶ] the service due to God the compassionate."

[4] It is a matter of great importance how gospel conceptions were expanded and adapted to the world, when we try to understand Christianity as a world religion. The most important example is the expansion of the originally Palestinian word "the Christ" (=the Messiah) into "Christ" as the world-wide name of God. Further details will be found in a small work by me, *Die Urgeschichte des Christentums im Lichte der Sprachforschung*, Tübingen, 1910.

whom there were certainly some slaves, he could not have found a more popular illustration[1] of the past and present work of the Lord. A Christian slave of Corinth going up the path to the Acrocorinthus about Eastertide, when St. Paul's letter arrived,[2] would see towards the north-west the snowy peak of Parnassus rising clearer and clearer before him, and every one knew that within the circuit of that commanding summit lay the shrines at which Apollo or Serapis or Asclepius the Healer *bought slaves with a price, for freedom.* Then in the evening assembly was read the letter lately received from Ephesus, and straightway the new Healer was present in spirit with His worshippers, giving them freedom from another slavery, *redeeming with a price* the bondmen of sin and the law—and that price no pious fiction, first received by Him out of the hard-earned denarii of the slave, but paid by Himself with the redemption-money of His daily new self-sacrifice, rousing up *for freedom* those who languished in slavery.

The question how this ancient metaphor of St. Paul's is to be interpreted in detail, I will merely mention. The chief point to examine is whether St. Paul regards redemption through Christ as a single summary act performed once for all in the past, or (and this is to me more probable) as an act of liberation experienced anew, in each single case of conversion, by every person newly incorporated in Christ. Further it may be asked whether the *price* is a necessary link in the chain of thought, or merely a pictorial detail of no ulterior significance. It is clear from 1 Peter i. 18, 19 that at a very early period the *price* was understood to be the Blood of

[1] Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 21 and the various names of slaves in 1 Cor.

[2] The assumption is rendered probable by 1 Cor. xvi. 8 and v. 7, 8.

Christ. The union of the idea of manumission with the idea of sacrifice was made easier for the ancient Christians by the fact that sacral manumission, *e.g.* at Cos, was not complete without sacrifice.[1] Finally should be pointed out the affinity between the idea of *redemption* (manumission) and the idea of *forgiveness* (remission) of our trespasses which was established for the ancients by the legal procedure they were accustomed to. In cases of non-payment of a money debt the system of personal execution[2] allowed not only arrest but even *slavery for debt.*[3]

The series of Gospel and Primitive Christian metaphors to which we have thus alluded—metaphors connected with *debt and forgiveness* (or *remission*)—are likewise taken from the legal practice of antiquity, and might receive many an illustration from the new texts. I have pointed out elsewhere that the word ὀφειλή, "debt," supposed to be peculiar to the New Testament, is quite current in the papyri.[4] So too there are plenty of original documents on papyrus to teach us the nature of an ancient *acknowledgment of debt.*[5] A large number of ancient notes of hand have been published among the Berliner Griechische Urkunden, and probably every other collection of papyri contains some specimens. A stereotyped formula in these documents is the promise to pay back the borrowed money, "I will repay"[6]; and they all are in the

[1] Cf. p. 325, n. 4 above.

[2] Cf. p. 267 above.

[3] Cf. L. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, pp. 358 f., 445 ff., and his observation on the Reinach Papyrus No. 7 (see p. 267, n. 3 above).

[4] *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 48; *Bible Studies*, p. 221.

[5] Cf. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, pp. 484, 493 f.; Gradenwitz, *Einführung*, I. p. 109 ff. One technical expression, among others, for a memorandum of debt is the word χειρόγραφον, "hand-writing," "a writing by hand," which is also used for other private contracts.

[6] Generally ἀποδώσω.

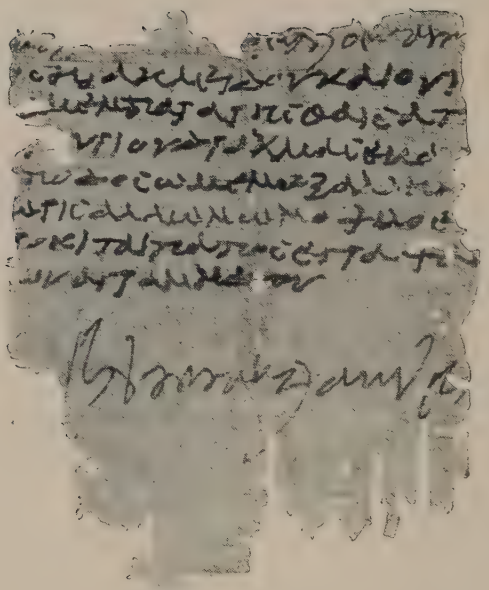

FIG. 50.—Note of Hand for 100 Silver Drachmae, 1st cent. A.D. Papyrus from the Fayûm. Now in the Berlin Museum. By permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums.

debtor's own hand,[1] or, if he could not write, in the handwriting of another acting for him with the express remark, "I have written for him." Thus, for instance, in a very vulgar note of hand for 100 silver drachmae written in the Fayûm[2] in the first century A.D. for two people who could not write by one Papus, who was himself not much of a writer, we have (Figure 50[3]):—

[ἃς καὶ ἀ]ποδόσωμεμ[sic] — — [. . . . χ]ωρὶς ἄλλων ὧν ὀφίλοε[. .][sic] — —. Πάπος ἔγραψα ὑ[πὲρ αὐτ]ωῦ[sic] ἀγραμμάτου.	. . . . which we will also repay . . . . with any other that we may owe . . . . I Papus wrote for him [*sic; it should be* them], who is not able to write.

It now becomes clear that St. Paul, who had playfully given the Philippians a sort of receipt,[4] is in the letter to Philemon (18 f.) humorously writing on behalf of the runaway slave Onesimus an acknowledgment of debt to his master:—

εἰ δέ τι ἠδίκησέν σε ἢ ὀφείλει, τοῦτο ἐμοὶ ἐλλόγα[5]. ἐγὼ Παῦλος ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί, ἐγὼ ἀποτίσω[6].	"If he hath wronged thee or oweth thee ought, put that on mine account. I Paul have written it with mine own hand, I will repay it."

The parallelism between the legal formulae and the letters of St. Paul becomes still clearer when we

[1] Hence the technical name, "hand-writing," "writing by hand" [cf. English "note of hand"]. See *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 67; *Bible Studies*, p. 247.

[2] Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 664. Wilcken recommends me, as a better example, the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus No. 269 (57 A.D.).

[3] I am indebted for the photograph to the kindness of W. Schubart.

[4] Phil. iv. 18; cf. p. 112 above.

[5] On this technical word, see p. 79 above.

[6] On this word, which is much stronger than ἀποδώσω, cf. Gradenwitz, *Einführung*, I. p. 85; also Moulton and Milligan, The Expositor, August 1908, p. 191 f.

observe that the ancient note of hand generally took the form of a *letter* acknowledging the debt.

Some ancient customs connected with the law of debt must be at the root of the celebrated passage in Col. ii. 14 where the technical expression "*handwriting*" (=bond) is employed in a religious sense and brought into a remarkable connexion with the *cross*. Christ, says the apostle, has forgiven us all the debts incurred by our trespasses. Then, with a piling-up of cognate metaphors,[1] the writer continues:—

ἐξαλείψας τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον . . . καὶ αὐτὸ ἦρκεν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου, προσηλώσας αὐτὸ τῷ σταυρῷ.	"Having blotted out the handwriting . . . that was against us . . . and He hath taken it out of the way, nailing it to the cross."

"The handwriting nailed to the cross"—does that simply mean "it is crucified," *i.e.* dead, ineffective? That would be possible. But probably the image is a much livelier one[2]: there must be an allusion to some custom which is not yet known to us. If we are unable to point to the source of "the bond nailed to the cross" it may at least be allowed in passing to refer to "*the cross on the bond.*" We have learnt from the new texts that it was generally customary

[1] Such piled-up metaphors, not admirable in point of style, but not ineffective in a popular sermon, often occur in St. Paul.

[2] It was at least a right instinct for the technical something that led many commentators to conjecture that bonds were cancelled in antiquity by perforation with a nail. But, as far as I know, nail perforations are found only on inscribed leaden rolls, *e.g.* the leaden tablet from Hadrumetum (*Bibelstudien*, frontispiece and p. 26; not given in *Bible Studies*); but the nails were not meant to annul the text. [On the use of nails in magic cf. Richard Wünsch, Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon, Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Ergänzungsheft 6, Berlin, 1905, p. 43 f.] Moreover, as Erich Haupt very rightly points out in his note on the passage (Meyer's *Kommentar*, 8/9[8.7], Göttingen, 1902, p. 96), the main point with St. Paul is not the nailing in itself, but the nailing to the cross.

to cancel a bond (or other document) by crossing it out with the Greek cross-letter Chi (X). In the splendid Florentine papyrus,[1] of the year 85 A.D., of which use has been made before (Figure 41), the governor of Egypt gives this order in the course of a trial :—

"Let the handwriting be crossed out."[2]

The same technical word, χιάζω, "I cross out," occurs in other similar contexts in papyri of New Testament age,[3] but the Florentine passage is especially valuable as showing that the custom of crossing out (which has endured down to our own day) was not a mere private one, but also official. We have moreover recovered the originals of a number of "crossed-out"[4] I.O.U.'s : there are several at Berlin,[5] some at Heidelberg,[6] and in other collections. The subject is perhaps not without some bearing on the origin of later allegorical and mystical trifling with the cross-letter Chi among Christians.

Starting once more from the I.O.U. formulae of the Epistle to Philemon we can touch on yet another conception of Hellenistic law which was early applied metaphorically within the Christian range of religious

[1] No. $61_{65f.}$; p. 266 f. above.

[2] καὶ ἐκ[ἐ]λευσε τὸ χειρ[ὁ]γραφον χιασθῆναι: the last two lines in the facsimile (Fig. 41).

[3] Grenfell and Hunt, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part II. p. 243, quote it as occurring in Nos. 362_{15} (75 A.D.), 363_{8} (77–79 A.D.) ; they admit it in a restored reading, No. 266_{15} (96 A.D.).

[4] Of course the simple Chi is often somewhat altered, and no doubt other forms of erasure will be discovered.

[5] Berliner Griechische Urkunden, Nos. 101 (114 A.D.), 272 (138–139 A.D.), 179 (*t.* Antoninus Pius). This last has been reproduced in facsimile and explained by Gradenwitz, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, I. frontispiece and p. 95 ff. [but see Wilcken, Deutsche Lit.-Ztg. 21 (1900) col. 2469.] It exhibits a whole network of Chi-strokes, like the Heidelberg specimens and the London Papyrus No. 336.

[6] Nos. 8c, and 26, unpublished.

ideas, viz. the conception of agency. Here also the new texts have opened up quite new views.

"Roman law, as is generally and according to the sources in the Corpus Juris rightly taught, gave on principle no recognition to direct agency, *i.e.* acting in the name and at the expense of the principal, in whose person arise the rights and duties resulting from the business. Certain exceptions, especially direct agency in the acquisition of property, were gradually acknowledged, 'but the most important department of private law, that of obligatory contracts, remained entirely closed to direct agency.'" In these words Leopold Wenger[1] sketched what was known of agency in antiquity before the papyri came to enlighten us. Afterwards he himself in a very informing monograph on *Die Stellvertretung im Rechte der Papyri*[2] worked up the material so far accessible in the newly discovered legal documents of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, explaining from the original records, which are sometimes wonderfully well preserved, the facts concerning agency in public law, agency in actions, and agency in private law. It follows that the idea of agency must certainly have been one of the best-known elements of popular law in Egypt, and from many other analogies we may perhaps assume that Egypt, whose bundles of documents have been re-discovered, is here also only the paradigm for the other portions of the former Empire of Alexander, whose records, so far as they relate to actions and private law, have almost entirely disappeared.

The supposition is perhaps confirmed by the use

[1] *Papyrusforschung und Rechtswissenschaft*, Graz, 1903, p. 26 f. At the end he is citing Josef Hupka, *Die Vollmacht*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 7.

[2] Leipzig, 1906.

which St. Paul, the man of Asia Minor, makes of the idea of agency, which had certainly become dear to him also through his Jewish education.[1] The wish expressed (Philemon 13) that Onesimus, the slave who has run away from his master Philemon at Colossae, and is now with St. Paul, might serve the apostle in his captivity as the agent[2] of Philemon, would be, if there is really a legal allusion here at all, explainable even on Roman principles—the slave represents his master.[3] But when St. Paul, after speaking of his convert Onesimus in verse 10 as his *child*, goes on to pledge himself for him financially in terms of a bond, this corresponds best to a father's agency for his son, as in the Greek law and Hellenistic law of the papyri.[4]

Altogether, therefore, the idea of agency, which is employed in several important statements of St. Paul about the past and present work of Christ, cannot be regarded as a foreign body inside Hellenistic Primitive Christianity, but must be reckoned one of the many thoroughly popular means to make things plain which the earliest propaganda adopted. More important than single passages on the vicarious work of Jesus in the past is the general view taken of His vicarious present activity. This view, hinted at in the gospels,[5] was probably started by St. Paul[6]; it grew to full maturity and attained classical formulation[7] in the

[1] On agency in the religious contemplation and speculation of Judaism cf. Ferdinand Weber, *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften*,[2] pp. 292 ff., 326 ff., 361. Here again one can see how closely the "Semitic" may come in contact with the Hellenistic in matters of culture.

[2] That is the meaning of *ὑπὲρ σου* in Philemon 13, just as in so many papyri the scribe representing an illiterate debtor writes *ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ*, "for him," "as his agent," *e.g.* p. 153 above, letter 3, and p. 335.

[3] Cf. Wenger, *Die Stellvertretung*, p. 157 ff.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 169 f., 235.

[5] Mark xiii. 11; cf. Matt. x. 19 f.; Luke xii. 11 f., xxi. 14 f.

[6] As it happens, St. Paul has not used the word Paraclete in his letters; but the idea is clearly there in Rom. viii. 26–34.

[7] John xiv. 16, 26, xv. 26, xvi. 7; 1 John ii. 1.

Johannine writings. Christ is our Paraclete, *i.e.* advocate, our representative in the trial, our intercessor, comforter. Again the new texts help us to understand what a thoroughly popular conception was covered by this primitive and deeply expressive element of our religious vocabulary. The work of the advocate in the Hellenistic world has been illustrated by Mitteis,[1] Gradenwitz,[2] and Wenger[3] with so many speaking examples, notably the reports of actual cases, which have lost nothing of their freshness and colour, that it has become simply tangibly clear.[4] It should be specially pointed out that the Pauline formula "through Christ," so often wrongly explained, but recognised by Adolph Schettler[5] in its true character and relative unambiguity, is in many passages intelligible only if we start from the thought of the Paraclete.[6]

Much more might be said about the background of the New Testament figurative language, but I am not aiming here at completeness of statement. I am content to have shown by some examples[7] the importance of the whole subject. Perhaps the most

[1] *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, pp. 150, 189 ff.

[2] *Einführung*, I. p. 152 ff.

[3] *Die Stellvertretung*, pp. 123 ff., 150 ff.

[4] For Asia cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 35, 15 (von Arnim, p. 335 f.).—The popularity of this particular word is perhaps best shown by the fact that it has gone over as a borrowed word into Hebrew and Aramaic.

[5] *Die paulinische Formel "Durch Christus,"* Tübingen, 1907.

[6] Cf. p. 123 n. 16 above, and Schettler, p. 28 f.

[7] I have given other examples elsewhere already; cf. the notes on adoption, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 66 f., *Bible Studies*, p. 239; on *evictio* and *arrha*, *Bibelstudien*, p. 100 f., *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 56, *Bible Studies*, pp. 108 f., 183 f., 230 (also Moulton and Milligan, The Expositor, Sept. 1908, p. 280); on ἀγγαρεύω, *B. St.*, p. 81 f., *B. Studies*, p. 86 f.; ἄξίωμα, *B. St.*, p. 87 f., *B. Studies*, p. 92 f.; γέγραπται, *B. St.*, p. 109 f., *N. B. St.*, p. 77 f., *B. Studies*, pp. 112 f., 249 f.; δίκαιος, *B. St.*, p. 112 f., *B. Studies*, p. 115 f. (also Moulton and Milligan, The Expositor, Dec. 1908, p. 565 f.); εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, p. 123 above; ἔντευξις, *B. St.*, pp. 117 f., 143, *B. Studies*, pp. 121, 146; πράκτωρ, *B. St.*, p. 152, *B. Studies*, p. 154; πρεσβύτεροι, *B. St.*, p. 153 ff., *N. B. St.*, p. 60 ff., *B. Studies*, pp. 154 f.,

necessary investigation still waiting to be made is that relating to the word διαθήκη, which so many scholars translate unhesitatingly "covenant." Now as the new texts help us generally to reconstruct Hellenistic family law and the law of inheritance, so in particular our knowledge of Hellenistic wills has been wonderfully increased by a number of originals on stone or papyrus. There is ample material to back me in the statement that no one in the Mediterranean world in the first century A.D. would have thought of finding in the word διαθήκη the idea of "covenant." St. Paul would not, and in fact did not. To St. Paul the word meant what it meant in his Greek Old Testament, "a unilateral enactment," in particular "a will or testament." This one point concerns more than the merely superficial question whether we are to write "New Testament" or "New Covenant" on the title-page of the sacred volume; it becomes ultimately the great question of all religious history: a religion of grace, or a religion of works? It involves the alternative, was Pauline Christianity Augustinian or Pelagian?[1]

233 f.; *εἰς ἀθέτησιν*, *N. B. St.*, p. 55 f., *B. Studies*, p. 228 f.; *ἀκατάγνωστος*, *N. B. St.*, p. 28 f., *B. Studies*, p. 200; *ἀπόκριμα*, *N. B. St.*, p. 85, *B. Studies*, p. 257 (also Moulton and Milligan, The Expositor, Aug. 1908, p. 187); *ἐμμένω*, *N. B. St.*, p. 76 f., *B. Studies*, p. 248 f.; *τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος*, *N. B. St.*, p. 57, *B. Studies*, p. 230; *ἐπίσκοπος*, *N. B. St.*, p. 57 f., *B. Studies*, pp. 156, 230 f.; *πρᾶγμα*, *N. B. St.*, p. 60, *B. Studies*, p. 233; *ἐκ συμφώνου*, *N. B. St.*, p. 82 f., *B. Studies*, p. 255; *τήρησις*, *N. B. St.*, p. 95, *B. Studies*, p. 267; *χωρίζομαι*, *N. B. St.*, p. 67, *B. Studies*, p. 247. Several new examples are given in Chapters II. and III. of this book.

[1] See the hints in my little sketch, *Die Hellenisierung des semitischen Monotheismus*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 175 [15]. Future investigators will find matter of great importance in Eduard Riggenbach's "Der Begriff der ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ im Hebräerbrief" in Theologische Studien Theodor Zahn zum 10 Oktober 1908 dargebracht, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 289–316. Cf. also Moulton and Milligan, The Expositor, Dec. 1908, pp. 563, 565. Frederick Owen Norton's "Lexicographical and Historical Study of ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ from the earliest times to the end of the classical period," Chicago, 1908, does not get far enough to deal with the period of the Greek Bible.

9. Closely connected with the lower classes by the ties of popular language and non-literary culture, by the realism of religious imagery, by popular morality and popular law, Primitive Christianity displays moreover in one group of its most characteristic utterances a tone that might be interpreted as one of protest against the upper classes, and which certainly has that effect, although it arose less from conscious political or social antipathies than from the passionate determination of the monotheistic cult of Christ to tolerate no compromises. I mean the strongly pronounced tone of protest against the worship of the Caesar.[1] In so far as the religious adoration of the sovereign is the crown and summit of the culture of the ruling classes,[2] the Primitive Christian abhorrence of emperor worship does form an upper line of demarcation, and in course of time it unites here and there with those political and social instincts of the oppressed which had long been present in Judaism.

Politically the earliest Christianity was comparatively indifferent,[3] not as Christianity, but as a movement among the humble classes, whose lot had undoubtedly been on the whole improved by the Imperium. The fire of national hatred of the foreigner which smouldered in Palestine remained practically confined to this area, and seems to have gained no hold among the disciples of Jesus at

[1] H. A. A. Kennedy's "Apostolic Preaching and Emperor Worship," The Expositor, April 1909, pp. 289–307, takes a similar view. His article was written before the publication of this book (letter, Toronto, 13 October, 1908).

[2] Cf. the brief but comprehensive account of emperor worship by U von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Geschichte der griechischen Religion" in the Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts, 1904, Frankfurt am Main, p. 23 ff.

[3] Heinrich Weinel, in his otherwise excellent work, *Die Stellung des Urchristentums zum Staat*, Tübingen, 1908, exaggerates the political antipathies of the earliest Christianity.

the outset. Their opponents were none other than His opponents, viz. the leaders of the nation itself, and the expectation of the coming kingdom of God is much more of a polemic against the Scribes and Pharisees than against the Romans.

St. Paul, too, in spite of occasional conflicts with Roman officials on his journeys, had probably in his own person more often experienced the blessings than the burdensome constraint of State organisation. In what was to him personally the most momentous legal affair of his life he asserted his rights as a citizen[1] and appealed to the Caesar. He sees no theoretical difficulties in all the small political questions that affect the humble individual: to respect and pray for the powers in authority is as natural to him as the payment of tribute and custom.[2] It is no right view of the subject to say that Paul was indifferent to political problems because of his religious expectations of a coming end; if anything, those expectations were calculated to make him interested in politics. The fact is that political interest and political activity were on the whole remote from the class to which he belonged. The comparatively marked indifference of St. Paul to politics is not specifically connected with Primitive Christianity, its causes are secular and social.

All the more sensitive, however, was Primitive Christianity in its own most special field, the religious, on which all its passion was concentrated. The deification of the Caesars was an abomination to

[1] Acts xxii. 27. On the whole subject cf. Theodor Mommsen, "Die Rechtsverhältnisse des Apostels Paulus," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 2 (1901) p. 81 ff.

[2] The first volume of Wilcken's *Griechische Ostraka*, with its evidence of 218 different kinds of dues payable in Egypt, is a splendid commentary on Rom. xiii. 7.

Christianity from the beginning. It is very probable that this antipathy was inherited by the daughter from monotheistic Judaism. In those words of quiet delicacy in which Jesus names both the Caesar and God, we see already the place reserved for God which belongs to Him alone.[1] Two generations later the Book of the Revelation, coming from the classical land of emperor worship, gives most powerful voice to the religious contrast, which by that time was heightened by the political resentment of the oppressed. This access of passion would be historically unintelligible were it not for the years that lie between the calm dignity of Jesus and the volcanic ardour of the Apocalypse. With the lapse of time, the religious antithesis must have been felt more and more acutely until at length imprinted on the Christian conscience in indelible characters.

And so it really was. If it has not been seen before, that is because the literary sources of the Imperial age are particularly deficient on the point. The new texts, however—some of which are themselves direct evidence of the cult of the Caesar—enable us to judge of the feelings aroused by exhibitions of the cult of the sovereign even at the time of St. Paul's mission in the minds of those who had nothing but their God in Christ and their conscience.

It must not be supposed that St. Paul and his fellow-believers went through the world blindfolded, unaffected by what was then moving the minds of men in great cities. These pages, I think, have already shown by many examples how much the New Testament is a book of the Imperial age. We may certainly take it for granted that the Christians

[1] Cf. p. 247 above.

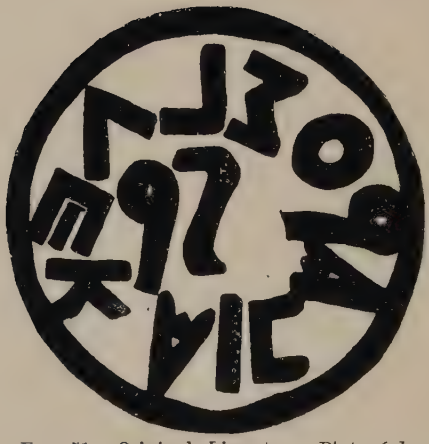

FIG. 51.—Original Limestone Plate (*charagma*) inscribed with the seal of Augustus. Egypt, 5–6 A.D. Now in the Berlin Museum. By permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums.

[p. 345

of the early Imperial period were familiar with the institutions and customs that the Empire had brought with it. That they were familiar even with apparently out-of-the-way points is shown, for instance, by the allusion in Rev. xiii. 16 f. to the custom, now known to us from the papyri, of imprinting on deeds of sale and similar documents a stamp which contained the name and regnal year of the Emperor and was called, as in the Revelation, a *charagma*. To the examples previously given[1] from Augustus to Trajan there now comes a welcome addition in the form of an imperial stamp affixed to documents[2] from the Fayûm, dated 48 A.D. As a concrete illustration I reproduce[3] here an actual-size facsimile of one of the original stamps, a soft plate of limestone now in the Berlin Museum (Figure 51). The legend, the letters of which are of course reversed, runs :—

L λε Καίσαρος	In the 35th year of the Emperor
γρ(αφεῖον ?)	Scribe's chamber (?)

If such superficial details were known among the people, how much more so the deification of the emperor, with its glittering and gorgeous store of the very loftiest terms employed in worship, compelling every monotheistic conscience to most powerful reaction! Such jewels were never intended for mortal brow! And so from out the despised mass of the unknown Many the hard and deformed hands of the saints in Christ stretch forth and appropriate from the crown of the Caesars such old and new divine insignia as offered, and deck therewith their Son of God, whose they are, because before

[1] *Neue Bibelstudien*, pp. 68–75 ; *Bible Studies*, p. 240 f. ; cf. also Wilcken, Archiv f. Papyrusforschung, 1, p. 76, and J. C. Naber, *ibid.* pp. 85 f., 316 ff.

[2] Berliner Griechische Urkunden, No. 748.

[3] *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 71 ; cf. *Bible Studies*, p. 243.

He was set over them He had stood beside them; who became poor with the poor, who humbled Himself with the lowly and humble and had lived submissively in the likeness of a slave, and who after a shameful death on the cross had been raised by God and had received a name which is above *all* names.[1]

And that is what we may actually observe. The cult of Christ goes forth into the world of the Mediterranean and soon displays the endeavour to reserve for Christ the words already in use for worship in that world, words that had just been transferred to the deified emperors or had perhaps even been newly invented in emperor worship. Thus there arises a polemical parallelism between the cult of the emperor and the cult of Christ, which makes itself felt where ancient words derived by Christianity from the treasury of the Septuagint and the Gospels happen to coincide with solemn concepts of the Imperial cult which sounded the same or similar.

In many cases this polemical parallelism, which is a clear prophecy of the coming centuries of martyrdom, may be established by very ancient witness. In other cases the word which corresponds with the Primitive Christian term of worship may turn up only in later texts relating to the cult of the emperors. It could hardly be otherwise considering the fragmentary nature of the tradition.[2] I am sure that in certain

[1] 2 Cor. viii. 9; Phil. ii. 5–11. These two passages certainly give the strongest outlines of Pauline "Christology," at any rate those most effective with a popular auditory.

[2] The New Testament also uses technical terms of contemporary constitutional law which by accident are not known to us from other sources until later, *e.g.* Acts xxv. 21, *εἰς τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ διάγνωσιν*, "for the decision of Augustus." *διάγνωσις* is a technical expression for the Latin *cognitio*, but is not found elsewhere until the end of the 2nd cent. A.D. in the title of an official in a Roman inscription, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XIV. No 1072 (also with the genitive *τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*, as in the Acts), *ἐπὶ . . . διαγνώσεων τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*, "a . . . cognitionibus Augusti."

cases a polemical intention against the cult of the emperor cannot be proved; but mere chance coincidences might later awaken a powerful sense of contrast in the mind of the people.

It cannot be my task to collect together the whole gigantic mass of material in even approximate completeness; I can only offer a selection of characteristic parallelisms. Those versed in the subject will agree with me that it is not always possible in such cases to distinguish between the Imperial *cult* and the Imperial *law*; the Imperial cult was in fact a portion of the law of the constitution.

The work, already referred to,[1] of David Magie on the official formulae of the Imperial age is of great help here. It does not, however, in the least exhaust the epigraphical and papyrological material; by far the larger number of my examples are derived from my own reading of the texts.

I begin with the family of ideas which groups itself round the word θεός, "God." There can be no question of any kind of Christian borrowings from the language of the Imperial cult, because both the cult of Christ and the cult of the emperor derive their divine predicates from the treasure-house of the past. But the words compounded with or derived from "God" in the Imperial cult were the most likely to arouse the sensation of contrast; they were known to every plain Christian man by reason of their frequent occurrence, and their lack of all ambiguity brought even the very simplest souls, in fact the very simplest souls rather than others, into the most painful conscientious difficulties. Even St. Paul declared one of the signs of Antichrist to be that he would proclaim himself as *God*.[2] We may leave to themselves all

[1] Page 113, n. 2.

[2] 2 Thess. ii. 4.

the minuter side-issues, *e.g.* the date when the divine titles were first bestowed on the living sovereign. As we are specially concerned with what the Primitive Christians felt, we need only point out that the problem of this contrast is older than the Imperial period. Under the successors of Alexander, who handed on to the Empire ready-made all the essential forms used in the adoration of the sovereign, exactly the same problem confronted the pious Jew into whose hands fell, let us say, the coins of the Seleucidae[1] with the legend "God" upon them applied to the kings. The Imperial age strengthened the feeling of contrast, since all the titles formerly bestowed on the various smaller rulers were now concentrated on one great ruler, and the conjecture made above[2] that the apocalyptic number 616 means "Caesar God"[3] appears in this connexion fairly obvious.

A few examples will show with what force those titles must have struck upon a monotheistic conscience. In an official inscription[4] the town council of Ephesus, in conjunction with other Greek cities of Asia, spoke of Julius Caesar, who was then Dictator, as "the God made manifest, off-

[1] To take one example out of many: a coin of the city of Aradus in Phoenicia has the legend Βασιλέως Δημητρίου θεοῦ Φιλαδέλφου Νικάτορος (Demetrius II., Nicator, 144 B.C.), Journal internat. d'archéologie numismatique, 3 (1900) p. 148. The title "god" was however applied to Antiochus II. in the 3rd cent. B.C., cf. J. Rouvier, *ibid.* p. 146; also to Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, *ibid.* 4 (1901) p. 202.—Ptolemaic parallels are very plentiful.—The Attalidae of Pergamum seem to have been less assuming (Max L. Strack, Rheinisches Museum, New Series, 55 [1900] p. 180 f.).—The best account of the whole matter is given by E. Kornemann, "Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte," Beiträge zur alten Geschichte [Klio] 1, pp. 51–146. [2] Page 277, n. 1.

[3] Καῖσαρ θεός. The word "Caesar" of course means "Emperor" here.

[4] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 347, τὸν ἀπὸ Ἄρεως καὶ Ἀφροδε[ί]της θεὸν ἐπιφανῆ καὶ κοινὸν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου σωτῆρα. The combination of σωτήρ and θεός, which is also used of Augustus, Inschriften von Olympia, No. 53 [quoted by Wendland, Zeitschrift f. d. neutest. Wissenschaft, 5 (1904) p. 342], is much

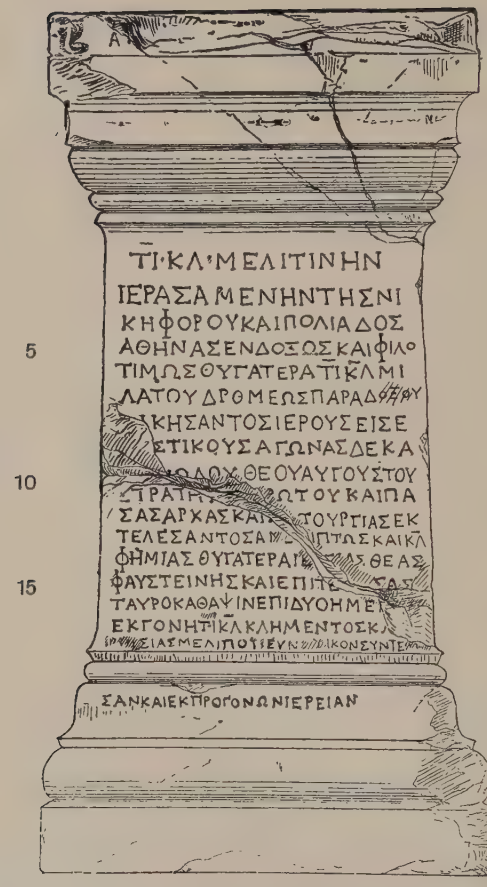

FIG. 52.—Marble Pedestal from Pergamum with an Inscription in honour of a Priestess of Athene. Imperial Period. Now in the Berlin Museum. By permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums.

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spring of Ares and Aphrodite, and common saviour of human life." An inscription from Socnopaei Nesus in the Fayûm, dated 17 March, 24 B.C., gives to Augustus the title "god of god"[1]; the calendar inscription of Priene (Figure 60) speaks of the birthday of Augustus simply as the birthday "of the god"[2]; and, to mention one very remarkable instance from the time of St. Paul, Nero is actually called, in a votive inscription[3] of the before-mentioned[4] Gaius Stertinius Xenophon of Cos, "the good god," with which, for the sake of the contrast, one may compare the classical saying in the gospel,[5] "There is no man good, but one, that is God." Further quotations for the title "god" are unnecessary; the nets break if we try to get them all.[6] Merely as an ocular demonstration of the way in which the inscriptions dinned this term of worship every day into the ears of every one that could read, I reproduce here an inscription of the Imperial age from Pergamum[7]

older: a votive offering at Halicarnassus, 3rd cent. B.C. (*The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, IV. 1, No. 906), is dedicated to the honour "of Ptolemy the saviour and god," Πτολεμαίου τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ θεοῦ. The double form "God and Saviour" afterwards became important in early Christian usage.

[1] Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 655, θεοῦ ἐκ θεοῦ. This formula is Ptolemaic (cf. the Rosetta Stone in honour of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, *ibid.* No. 90_{10}, ὑπάρχων θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς καθάπερ Ὧρος ὁ τῆς Ἴσιος καὶ Ὀσίριος υἱός, "he is god of god and of goddess, as Horus the son of Isis and Osiris") and becomes very important later in Christianity.

[2] Inscriften von Priene, No. $105_{40f.}$ [ἡ γενέθλιος] τοῦ θεοῦ.

[3] Paton and Hicks, No. 92; cf. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, p. 196, ἀγαθῷ θεῷ. No other example of this title for an emperor is known at present.

[4] Cf. pp. 248, 294 above.

[5] Mark x. 18 = Luke xviii. 19 (cf. Matt. xix. 17), οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός.

[6] Many instances from a single city, in Thieme, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander und das Neue Testament*, p. 28.

[7] Die Inschriften von Pergamon, No. 523. The facsimile (Figure 52) is reproduced by kind permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums, Berlin. Cf. also Fig. 53.

(Figure 52) which mentions in line 10 a Hymnodus of the god Augustus, and in line 14 f. a priestess of the goddess Faustina (wife of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius).

I have already treated of the title θεοῦ υἱός, "son of God," in another place.[1] I remember discussing with a librarian friend of mine the fact that in many inscriptions and papyri of the Greek East Augustus[2] is called "the son of a god." My friend, a classical scholar, smiled benignly and said there could be no significance in that, "for" it was a translation of the Latin *divi filius*. I do not think that a Christian out of one of St. Paul's churches would have smiled at the expression or have considered it non-significant.[3] St. Paul's preaching of the "son of God" had so quickened his religious feelings that he was bound to protest against the adornment of any other with the sacred formula. New individual quotations are unnecessary here; I give, again for ocular demonstration, only two inscriptions. Five fragments of a marble pedestal from Pergamum[4] (Figure 53) bear this inscription, which was put up in honour of Augustus while he was still alive:—

[Αὐτοκράτ]ορ[α Κ]αίσαρα [θ]εοῦ υἱὸν θεὸν Σεβαστὸ[ν]
[πάσης] γῆ[ς κ]αὶ θ[α]λάσσης [ἐ]π[όπ]τ[ην]

The Emperor, Caesar, son of a god, the god Augustus, of every land and sea the overseer.

[1] *Bibelstudien*, p. 166 f.; *Bible Studies*, p. 166 f. Friedrich Pfister, Südwestdeutsche Schulblätter, 25 (1908) p. 345 f., tries to account for the legend that Augustus dedicated an altar to Christ the Son of God by supposing that a votive inscription dedicated to the Emperor as "the son of a god" was misinterpreted.

[2] Also his successors, with the name of their divine father inserted.

[3] Cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts, 1904, p. 24: "Whoever regards the *divi filius* as empty ornament, or fraud, does not understand either the time or the man (Augustus)."

[4] Die Inschriften von Pergamon, No. 381. The facsimile (Fig. 53) is reproduced with authority from the Directors of the Royal Museums at Berlin.

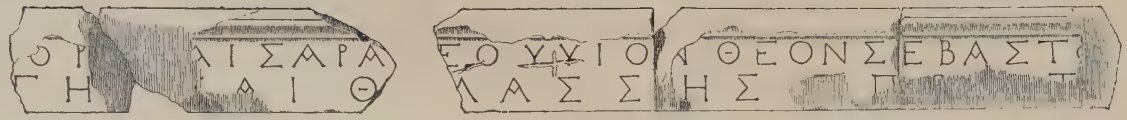

FIG. 53.—Marble Pedestal from Pergamum with an Inscription in honour of Augustus. Age of Augustus. Now in the Berlin Museum. By permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums.

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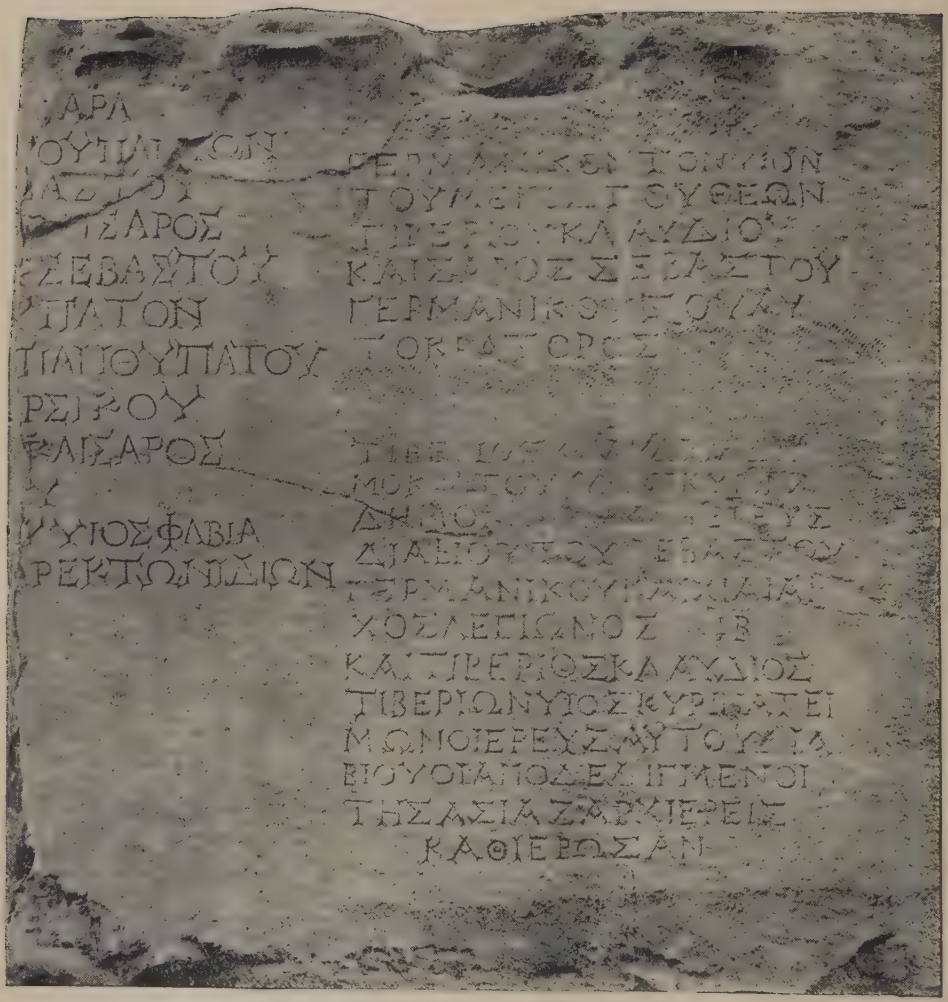

FIG. 54.—Marble Slab from Magnesia on the Maeander with a Votive Inscription for Nero, 50–54 A.D. Original at Pergamum; plaster cast in the Berlin Museum. By permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums.

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"Overseer" as a title of honour in this inscription recalls the use of the same word as a predicate of God in Judaism and Primitive Christianity.[1]

Then an example of St. Paul's time—a votive inscription for Nero on a marble slab at Magnesia on the Maeander[2] (Figure 54), between his adoption by Claudius and his accession to the throne (50 and 54 A.D.). Nero is called (line 3 ff.) "Son of the greatest of the gods, Tiberius Claudius," etc.[3]

The adjective θεῖος, "divine," belonging to the same family-group of meanings, is, like the Latin *divinus*, very common[4] in the sense of "Imperial" throughout the whole Imperial period. So firmly had it established itself in the language of the court that it is found even in the period when Christianity was the religion of the State—a period far removed from the Primitive Christian standard of conscience. I will give but one example from the earliest, and a few from the later and latest period.[5] The calendar inscription of Priene (Figure 59), about 9 B.C., speaks of the birthday of Augustus "the most divine Caesar."[6] The usage continues through the centuries, *e.g.* in the phrases[7] "divine commandments," "divine writings," "divine grace." In the third volume of *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*[8] we have no less than ten documents in

[1] ἐπόπτης used of God in Additions to Esther v. 1 (xv. 2); 2 Macc. iii. 39, vii. 35; 3 Macc. ii. 21; and Clem. Rom. 1 Cor. lix. 3. Cf. p. 429 below.

[2] *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander*, No. 157b; the facsimile (Plate VIII.) is here reproduced (Fig. 54) by kind permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums, Berlin. The text on the left of the plate belongs to another inscription.

[3] τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ μεγίστου θεῶν Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου, etc. Cf. Thieme, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander und das Neue Testament*, p. 33.

[4] I cannot understand why Magie (p. 31) says the word was seldom used.

[5] Cf. p. 87 above, and *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 45 (= *Bible Studies*, p. 218).

[6] Inschriften von Priene, No. 105$_{29}$ τοῦ θειοτάτου Καίσαρο[ς].

[7] Cf. ἐντολή, γράμματα, below, p. 380 f.

[8] See the index of that volume, p. 333.

which Christian emperors are called "our most divine Lord"[1]—Justinian twice, 558 and 561 A.D.; Justin II. four times, 567, 568, 571, 576; Tiberius II. twice, 582; Maurice once, 583; Heraclius once, 633 A.D. Similarly we find θειότης, "divinity," used of the (Christian) Emperor's majesty,[2] this also, of course, being taken over from the old language of religious observance.

In this connexion some light is perhaps thrown on the old title θεολόγος, "the theologian," bestowed on the author of the Apocalypse. The well-known explanation, that he was so called because he taught the divinity of the Logos, is so obviously a little discovery of later doctrinaires, that it does not merit serious discussion. The title is much more likely to have been borrowed from the Imperial cult. The *theologi*, of whom there were organised associations, were quite well-known dignitaries in the Imperial cult of Asia Minor, against which the Apocalypse protests so strongly. I have given the quotations elsewhere,[3] and it is significant that the examples come from the very cities mentioned in the Apocalypse, Pergamum, Smyrna, Ephesus. When we further consider that these "theologians," whom we may probably regard as the official special preachers in connexion with the Imperial cult in Asia Minor, were often Hymnodi[4] at the same

[1] τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου. The superlative is still used as under Augustus.

[2] *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, Vol. II. p. 273, No. 233 (345 A.D.). Other quotations in E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*, p. 572.

[3] *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 58 f.; *Bible Studies*, p. 231 f. Cf. also Wilhelm Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, pp. 140, 214.

[4] References, *ibid.* The Greek expression is ὑμνῳδός, "singer of hymns," *e.g.* Die Inschriften von Pergamon, No. 523_{10}, Figure 52 above, p. 349. Minute details of the functions of the Hymnodi are given in the Pergamum inscription No. 374, which has been excellently commented on by Max Fränkel, and two portions of it are facsimiled below (Figs. 57 and 58). Hugo Koch, writing

time, the borrowing of the title becomes all the more intelligible. John the Theologian, the herald[1] of the true and *only*[2] God, is at the same time His great Hymnodus, leader of the choir of those who sing "a new ode"[3] and "the ode of Moses, the slave of God, and the ode of the Lamb."[4]

Most important of all is the early establishment of a polemical parallelism between the cult of Christ and the cult of Caesar in the application of the term κύριος, "lord." The new texts have here furnished quite astonishing revelations.[5]

It was previously known that Augustus and Tiberius had scorned the title of "lord," because it directly contradicted the Roman conception of the empire as a "principate." "Lord" is a term instinct with Oriental feeling; the kings of the East have from time immemorial been "lords," and their subjects nothing better than slaves.

The same conception runs through the Oriental religions, which delight to express the relation of the divinity to the worshipper as that of the "lord,"

from Braunsberg, 25 November, 1908, refers me to his book *Ps.-Dionysius in seinen Beziehungen zum Neuplatonismus und Mysterienwesen*, 1900, pp. 38-49.

[1] "Herald of God" is perhaps the best translation of θεολόγος. A memory of this meaning lingers in John Chrysostom, who calls the author of the Apocalypse θεολόγον θεοκήρυκα, "theologian and herald of God," *Orat.* 36 (cf. Suicerus, *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*, s.v. θεολόγος); so too an Anonymus in Boissonade, *Anecdota*, 5, p. 166 (quoted in the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, s.v. θεοκῆρυξ). In the word "theologus" the primary sense is that of a prophet; the doctrinal sense that now prevails among us is secondary.

[2] In Rev. xv. 4 the word "only" has been inserted by John in the Old Testament quotation.

[3] Rev. v. 9, xiv. 3.

[4] Rev. xv. 3. Cf. the many other hymn-like portions of the Revelation.

[5] I pointed out the essential lines in the history of this word in Die Christliche Welt, 14 (1900) col. 291; cf. also Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 27 (1906) col. 588 f. Similarly Lietzmann, *Handbuch zum N.T.* III. (1906) p. 53 ff. Cf. also Weinel, *Die Stellung des Urchristentums zum Staat*, p. 19; and W. H. P. Hatch, *Some Illustrations*, p. 139 f. There is also important matter in Ferdinand Kattenbusch, *Das apostolische Symbol*, II., Leipzig, 1900, p. 605 ff.

or, as we saw in the inscription of the beggar-priest of the Syrian goddess from Kefr-Hauar,[1] of the "lady" to the slave. In religious history the most important illustration of this is undoubtedly the Old Testament, especially in the Greek Septuagint translation, which, following Jewish custom, has even replaced the divine name Jahveh by "Lord."[2]

But we find "lord" or "lady" as divine names[3] extending also into a number of cults of the Graeco-Roman world. "The lord Serapis," to take but one example, encountered us in the letters of Apion, the soldier,[4] and the prodigal son Antonis Longus.[5] It may be said with certainty that at the time when Christianity originated "Lord" was a divine predicate intelligible to the whole Eastern world. St. Paul's confession of "Our Lord Jesus Christ"—his cosmopolitan expansion of an Aramaic title[6] for Jesus the Messiah, employed by the Primitive Christians and occasionally even by himself in the world—was, like the complemental thought, that the worshippers are the "slaves"[7] of the Lord, understood in its full meaning by everybody in the Hellenistic East, and the adoption of the Christian terms of worship was vastly facilitated in consequence. This becomes still clearer if we compare, for instance, St. Paul's

[1] Above, p. 109. Cf. also the inscription from the temple of Isis at Philae, p. 356, n. 6 below.

[2] On the far-reaching importance of this substitution see my little sketch *Die Hellenisierung des semitischen Monotheismus*, p. 173 [13] ff.

[3] I have already referred (*ibid.* p. 174 [14]) to the article "Kyrios" in W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie.*

[4] Page 168 and Fig. 24 above.

[5] Page 176 and Fig. 26 above.

[6] *Marana* = Our Lord, 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

[7] This thought, also Eastern in origin, was specially adapted to the Hellenistic world by St. Paul through the metaphor of sacral manumission; see p. 324 ff. above.

expression "the table of the Lord (Jesus Christ)," 1 Cor. x. 21, with the analogous Egyptian expression,[1] "the table of the lord Serapis,' which has been discovered in the papyri.[2]

This is no doubt a case of independent parallelism. St. Paul's expression was most probably influenced by such passages as Malachi i. 7, 12, and Ezekiel xxxix. 20, xliv. 16 in the Greek Old Testament. Another Pauline phrase, "the table of devils" (1 Cor. x. 21), seems to be connected with Isaiah lxv. 11, Septuagint version. It is of course chronologically possible, but not at all probable, that the Serapis formula was influenced by the Christian one. All that can be said at present is that the two formulae are found side by side, and that no genealogical connexion is perceivable. The Egyptian analogy shows that in yet another vital point the language of ancient Christianity was approached by a usage of ancient paganism. St. Paul himself, wishing to make the Corinthians realise the nature of the Lord's Supper, alluded to the analogy of the sacred feasts of the pagans (1 Cor. x. 19–21).

Now it has generally been assumed hitherto that the Roman emperors were first named "lord" or "our lord" from Domitian onward, *i.e.* not until after St. Paul's time. That may be true of Rome and the West. In the East, however, as the records now show, the ancient title, which had long been in use in the language of the native courts, and had moreover an essential touch of the religious

[1] Cf. Die Christliche Welt, 18 (1904) col. 37.

[2] The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Nos. 110 and 523, 2nd cent. A.D., invitations to "sup at the table [literally "couch" or "sofa"] of the lord Serapis," *δειπνῆσα εἰς κλείνην τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος*. Wilcken refers to Archiv, 4, p. 211. These invitations are at the same time an excellent illustration of 1 Cor. x 27; cf. Die Christliche Welt, 18 (1904) col. 36 f.

about it, was bestowed on the emperors much earlier. The subsequent victory of the "Dominate" over the "Principate"[1]—ultimately a victory of Oriental over Roman feeling—was thus foretold centuries in advance.

Here too Hellenistic culture paved the way,[2] at least in Egypt. As it had been usual to address the Pharaoh with "O king, our lord,"[3] so a Munich Papyrus gives as one of the official titles of King Ptolemy IV. Philopator (221–205 B.C.), translated into Greek, "lord of the diadems"[4]; and the Rosetta Stone[5] attaches the same title to Ptolemy V. Epiphanes (205–181 B.C.). Still more remarkable is it, however, when on 12 May 62 B.C. a high Egyptian official in an inscription on the door of the temple of Isis on the island of Philae calls Ptolemy XIII. "the lord king god,"[6] or when in an inscription from Alexandria of the year 52 B.C. the co-regents with this king (Ptolemy XIV. and Cleopatra) are called "the lords, the most great gods."[7] It cannot, therefore, have sounded foreign to Egyptian ears when the Egyptian translators of the Old Testament into Greek rendered quite literally[8] the Semitic "Lord King" which occurs

[1] *I.e.* in constitutional law the victory of the theory that the Caesar is "Lord" over the other theory that he is "First" in the State.

[2] Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 54 middle, disputes this.

[3] Cf. U. Wilcken, Zeitschrift für die ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, 35 (1897) p. 84.

[4] *κύριος βα[σιλειῶν]*; cf. Wilcken, Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 1, p. 481 ff.

[5] Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 90$_1$.

[6] *Ibid.* No. 186$_8$, *τοῦ κυρίου βασιλ[έ]ος θεοῦ*. Before that he says *ἥκω πρὸς τὴν κ[υ]ρίαν Ἶσιν*, "I came to the lady Isis"—a good example of "lady" as a divine title (cf. above, p. 354), but still more important as an analogue to the use of *ἥκω*, "I come," in the language of worship: cf. the Septuagint Psalter and John vi. 37, *πρὸς ἐμὲ ἥξει*, "shall come to Me."

[7] Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1902, p. 1096, *τοῖς κυρίοις θεοῖς μεγίστοις* (cf. the explanation by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *ibid.*).

[8] *κύριος βασιλεύς* is therefore common in the LXX, including the Apocrypha.

not unfrequently in the original. Semitic and Egyptian here coincided, and when we find the same title applied to the Herods in Greek inscriptions [1] of Palestine (and other places), that is only another instance of the parallelism already insisted on between Egyptian and Palestinian culture.

It is therefore in accordance with Egyptian or Egypto-Semitic custom that in numerous Greek inscriptions, papyri, and ostraca of the earliest Imperial period the title "lord" is attached to the Caesars by Egyptians and Syrians. An inscription from Abila in Syria, which afterwards names "the lord Cronos," speaks of "the lords Augusti," [2] by which perhaps Tiberius and his mother Livia are meant.[3] There is literary record that Caligula allowed himself to be called "lord." [4] An Egyptian document [5] of the year 49 and an ostracon [6] from Thebes of the year 54 call Claudius "the lord."

For Nero "the lord," *i.e.* in the time of the most important of St. Paul's letters, the number of examples suddenly rushes up tremendously. Wilcken's book alone contains 27 ostraca dated after Nero "the lord," among them the one of 4 August 63 which is facsimiled above.[7] My own collection also contains some yet unpublished Neronian *Kyrios*-ostraca. We find the title "lord" applied to Nero also in papyrus documents, of which a good example is the letter of Harmiysis, 24 July 66, of which a picture is given

[1] A number of examples in Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 415 (Herod the Great), 418 (41 A.D., Herod Agrippa I.), 423, 425, 426 (Herod Agrippa II.).

[2] *Ibid.* No. 606, *τῶν κυρίων Σε[βαστῶν]*.

[3] So Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, I.² p. 603, and Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, note on No. 1086.

[4] Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 3; cf. Christoph Schoener, Ueber die Titulaturen der römischen Kaiser, Acta Seminarii Philologici Erlangensis, 2 (1881) p. 476.

[5] The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, No. $37_{5f.}$

[6] Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, No. 1038

above (Figure 21). The officials who sign the document use the title three times. It is a very important fact that under Nero we first find the *Kyrios*-title in an inscription in Greece. The marble tablet of Acraephiae in Boeotia[2] which has yielded such an extraordinarily rich harvest, and which immortalises, among other things, a speech made by Nero at Corinth in November 67, contains a decree of honour in which the Boeotian town calls him once "lord of the whole world," and then, what is in my opinion more important, simply "the lord Augustus," divine honours being awarded him by the decree This important inscription shows how far the East had already penetrated on its march of conquest into the West. A living illustration of the inscription and the forebodings it arouses is supplied by the journey undertaken a year before (66 A.D.) by the Persian king Tiridates to do homage to the Emperor. Tiridates came from the East to Italy and did homage to Nero at Naples as "the lord" and in Rome as "the god."[3]

The fact that a New Testament writer[4] well acquainted with this period makes Festus the Procurator speak of Nero simply as "the lord," now acquires its full significance in this connexion. The insignificant detail, questioned by various commentators, who, seated at their writing-tables in Tübingen or Berlin, vainly imagined that they knew the period better than St. Luke, now appears thoroughly credible.

[1] Page 160.

[2] Most easily accessible in Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 376_{31}, *ὁ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου κύριος Νέρων*; 376_{55}, *τοῦ κυρίου Σεβαστοῦ* [*Νέρωνος*].

[3] Albrecht Dieterich, Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 3 (1902) p. 9ff. has seen in this journey, which is recorded by Dio Cassius and others, one of the motives of the gospel story of the Adoration of the Magi.

[4] St. Luke, Acts xxv. 26.

Further examples of the *Kyrios*-title down to Domitian could be easily given, especially from the ostraca,[1] but they are not necessary. It is sufficient for our purpose to have realised the state of affairs in the time of Nero and St. Paul. And then we cannot escape the conjecture that the Christians of the East who heard St. Paul preach in the style of Phil. ii. 9, 11 and 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6 must have found in the solemn confession[2] that Jesus Christ is "the Lord" a silent protest against other "lords," and against "the lord," as people were beginning to call the Roman Caesar. And St. Paul himself must have felt and intended this silent protest,—as well as Jude, when he calls Jesus Christ "our *only* master and Lord."[3]

Not many years later, soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, Jewish rebels in Egypt, so Josephus[4] tells us (doubly credible when one knows the Egyptian use of the title "lord" at this time), refused to call the Caesar "lord," because they "held God alone to be the Lord,"—and died as martyrs, men and boys. Though the grief and resentment of these desperate ones did not burn in those who loved Jerusalem before the catastrophe of the year 70, yet St. Paul and his friends were one with them in the religious protest against the deification of the Caesar. And a hundred years later the Christian exclusive confession of "our Lord Jesus Christ," which could not but sound politically dangerous to a Roman official (from

[1] My collection contains, for instance, some Vespasian-ostraca with the title *Kyrios*.

[2] "God hath given Him [Jesus Christ] a name [= Kyrios] which is above every name . . . that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord [Kyrios]," Phil. ii. 9, 11; ". . . as there be gods many, and lords many; but to us there is but one God . . . and one Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. viii. 5, 6).

[3] τὸν μόνον δεσπότην καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν, Jude 4.

[4] *Jewish Wars*, VII. x. 1.

Domitian onwards "our lord" is found applied to the Caesars),[1] led to Christian martyrdoms. In the case of Polycarp, at Smyrna in the year 155, it was a question of the "lord"-formula. "What is the harm in saying 'lord Caesar'?" the Irenarch Herod and his father Nicetes asked the saint seductively.[2] The scene enacted on 17 July 180 at Carthage before the judgment-seat of the Proconsul P. Vigellius Saturninus stands out even more plainly.[3] The Roman official commands the Christian Speratus of Scili (Scilli) in Numidia[4]: "Swear by the genius of our lord the Emperor!" And the Christian answers: "I know no imperium of this world, . . . I know my Lord, the King of kings, and Emperor of all nations."[5]

That the old polemical parallelism was felt even after Christianity became the state religion, is shown perhaps by the fact that the Christian emperors, though they did not drop the title of "lord," often chose another Greek word instead. In Greek titles of Christian emperors in the papyri the word *Kyrios* is conspicuously eclipsed by the title *Despotes* (which occurs towards the end of the 3rd cent.[6]), as though

[1] Alfr. Fincke, De appellationibus Caesarum honorificis et adulatoriis, Diss. Regimonti Pr. [1867] p. 31 f.

[2] *Martyrium Polycarpi*, viii. 2, τί γὰρ κακόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν· κύριος Καῖσαρ; Extraordinarily characteristic of the Christian sense of the contrast is the date of this Martyrium (c. 21)—month, day, hour, names of the high priest and the proconsul, and then in the place where one would expect the Imperial regnal year: βασιλεύοντος δὲ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ᾧ ἡ δόξα, τιμή, μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν ἀμήν, "and Jesus Christ reigning for ever, to whom is the glory, honour, greatness, and an eternal throne from generation to generation, Amen."

[3] Passio Sanctorum Scilitanorum, in R. Knopf's *Ausgewählte Märtyreracten*, p. 34 f. Quoted in this connexion by Lietzmann, p. 55.

[4] Iura per genium domni nostri imperatoris.

[5] Ego imperium huius seculi non cognosco, . . . cognosco domnum meum, regem regum et imperatorem omnium gentium.

[6] Cf. Wilcken, Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 4, p. 260.

Kyrios was intended to be reserved for the heavenly Lord.

The Church of England prays "through Jesus Christ our Lord" for "our most gracious Sovereign Lord" the King, and there is no offence in the collocation, but few users of the prayer ever dream of what lies behind those words—that there were times in which the most earnest among Christians went to execution rather than transfer to a man the divine title of their Saviour.

Still more strikingly than with the substantive, the parallelism between the language of Christianity and the official vocabulary of Imperial law shows itself in the use of the adjective κυριακός, "belonging to the Lord," "Lord's." Familiar to every reader of the New Testament from 1 Cor. xi. 20 and Rev. i. 10, where it occurs in the phrases "the Lord's supper" and "the Lord's day" (*i.e.* probably[1] Sunday), it may certainly be described as a very characteristic word of the early language of Christian worship, and it was formerly considered as a specifically Biblical and ecclesiastical word, some even going so far as to regard it as a coinage of St. Paul's. But as a matter of fact St. Paul took it from the language of contemporary constitutional law, in which it meant "Imperial." I have shown elsewhere[2] on the authority of papyri and inscriptions that the word was common in Egypt and Asia Minor during the Imperial period in certain definite phrases, *e.g.* "the lord's treasury" = imperial treasury, "the lord's service" = imperial

[1] The Old Testament "day of the Lord" might perhaps be meant. Later, however, the expression is often used for Sunday.

[2] *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 44; *Bible Studies*, p. 217 f. For the two mistakes in the spelling of the place-names at the end of paragraph 1 in the German edition, I am not responsible. Read, of course, "Aphrodisias" and "Thyatira." Cf. also W. H. P. Hatch, *Some Illustrations*, p. 138 f.

service, and I could now perhaps quadruple the number of examples from the 2nd cent. A.D. onwards.

Instead of doing so here, I will only show a picture (Figure 55) of the inscription containing the oldest example yet known of the official use of the word in the Imperial period. It is an edict of the Praefect of Egypt, Ti. Julius Alexander, 6 July, 68 A.D., inscribed on the wall of the propylon of a temple at El-Khargeh in the Great Oasis.[1]

In this edict the high Roman official, who was also a Jew like St. Paul, uses the word κυριακός twice. In line 13 he speaks of the "imperial finances,"[2] and in line 18 of the "imperial treasury."[3] In their bearing on the methods of research these passages are extremely instructive. Scholars who only believe in the borrowing of secular words for purposes of the Christian religion when they are shown pre-Christian quotations,[4] will hardly wish to assert here that the Praefect of Egypt had borrowed the remarkable word which he uses a few years later than St. Paul from Christianity and introduced it into his own vocabulary of constitutional law. It is much more likely to be the case that the presumably older Hellenistic (perhaps Egypto-Hellenistic)[5] word κυριακός was in use as a technical

[1] The best edition so far is that of Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 669; all further literature *ibid.* The photograph of this important inscription is due to Professor Moritz, of Cairo. A diapositive of this (lines 1–46), which I received from Baron F. W. von Bissing through Wilcken's kind mediation, has been used for Fig. 55. The gigantic inscription can here only be given in a greatly reduced form; but with a magnifying glass even inexperienced persons can probably check the text roughly to some extent.

[2] ταῖς κυριακαῖς ψήφοις; cf. Wilcken, Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 4, p. 240.

[3] τὸν κυριακὸν λόγον.

[4] Cf. p. 72f. above.

[5] Cf. the Egypto-Hellenistic use of the substantive κύριος in sacral language, p. 356 above.

FIG. 55.—Wall of the Propylon of the Temple at El-Khargeh (Great Oasis) inscribed with an Edict of the Praefect Ti. Julius Alexander, 6 July, 68 A.D., lines 1–46. From a diapositive obtained by U. Wilcken.

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expression of constitutional law before St. Paul, though it happens not to be discoverable in constitutional use until after St. Paul had introduced it into the language of Christian worship.

In line 3 of the same inscription the Strategus of the Great Oasis, Julius Demetrius, who had to publish the Praefect's edict, distinguishes the day of publication (1 Phaophi = 28 September, 68 A.D.) by a name which must also be noted in this connexion, viz. *Julia Sebaste.*[1] This name for a day, shortened to *Sebaste*, occurs very frequently in the Imperial period, both in Egypt and in Asia Minor. It was first made known to us by the new texts, and although the problems it raises are not all solved yet, it may be said with certainty that it means something like "Emperor's Day"; that is to say, a certain day[2] of the month received the name *Sebaste* in honour of the Emperor. On collecting the examples known to me some time ago,[3] I said that this name, formed probably after some Hellenistic model,[4] was analogous to the Primitive Christian "Lord's Day" as a name for Sunday.[5] But the more I regard this detail in connexion with the great subject of "Christ and the Caesars," the more I am bound to reckon with the possibility

[1] Ἰουλίᾳ Σεβαστῇ. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I. p. 813, considers it possible that the expression does not here denote a day.

[2] Or certain days of the month? Or (later) a certain day of the week??

[3] *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 45 f.; *Bible Studies*, p. 218 f.; and *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 3, col. 2815 f. References are there given to other literature on the subject, the chief additions to which are Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, 1, p. 812 f., and H. Dessau, Hermes, 35 (1900) p. 333 f.; cf. also Thieme, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander und das Neue Testament*, p. 15 f.

[4] Cf. the "King's Day" in the time of the Ptolemies, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 3, col. 2815 f.

[5] E. Schürer expressed himself in agreement with this, Zeitschrift für die neutestamentl. Wissenschaft, 6 (1905) p. 2. A. Thumb, Zeitschrift für Deutsche Wortforschung, 1 (1900) p. 165, and Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 2, p. 424, comes also to my conclusion.

that the distinctive title "Lord's Day" may have been connected with conscious feelings of protest against the cult of the Emperor with its "Emperor's Day."

The "Sebaste Day," although never mentioned in literature, cannot have been a passing fancy of the "adulators."[1] The ostraca show it as an Eastern institution familiar even to the lower orders in the period which saw the birth of Christianity. Wilcken[2] was able to refer to seven ostraca, ranging from 15 to 44 A.D., which are dated by the Sebaste Day. My own collection contains an eighth example, from Thebes, end of August or September 33 A.D. (Figure 56), which Wilcken has deciphered for me. As a document from the hand of a simple money-changer it may serve to supplement the high official's inscription in the Oasis:—

διαγέγρα(φεν)[3] *Ὧρος Περμάμιος ὑπ(ὲρ) χω(ματικοῦ)*
ιθ L[4] ϛ[5] *ἓξ τετροβο*$^{\lambda}$[6] *καὶ βα*$^{\lambda}$*(ανικοῦ) τετροβο*$^{\lambda}$[6]
ϩ[7] Γ[8] ϛ[5] *z* =[9] ϩ[7] *καὶ τὰ τούτ(ων) προσδ(ιαγραφόμενα)*
ἐξ —[10] ϩ[7] . L[4] K *Τιβερίου Καίσαρος*
Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ
Σεβαστῆι. Πετεμε(νῶφις) Πικ(ῶτος.)

Horus, the son of Permamis, has paid for embankment tax[11] of the 19th year six drachmae four obols, and for bath tax[12] four obols ½: they are 7 drachmae, 2½ obols; and of these the

[1] Earlier investigators misunderstood many of the institutions of the Imperial age by dismissing their technical expressions as "adulatory."

[2] *Griechische Ostraka*, 1, p. 812; and the Strassburg Ostracon No. 203, Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 4, p. 146.

[3] Or *διαγεγρά(φηκεν)*.

[4] *I.e.* *ἔτους*.

[5] *I.e.* *δραχμὰς*.

[6] *I.e.* *τετρόβολον*.

[7] *I.e.* ½ obol.

[8] *I.e.* *γίνονται*.

[9] *I.e.* 2 obols.

[10] *I.e.* 1 obol. The beginning of the line is to be extended: *ἐξ ὀβολοῦ ἡμιοβολίου*.

[11] For the embankment tax cf. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, 1, p. 333 ff.

[12] For the bath tax cf. Wilcken, *ibid.* p. 165 ff.

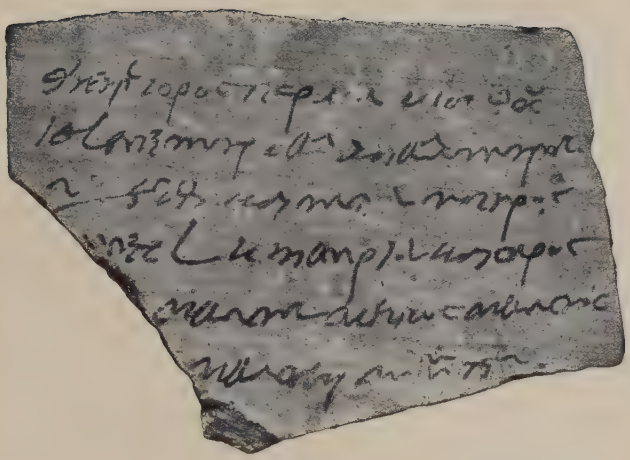

FIG. 56.—Ostracon, Thebes. Dated on a Sebaste Day in August or September, 33 A.D. Receipt for Embankment and Bath Tax. Now in the Author's collection.

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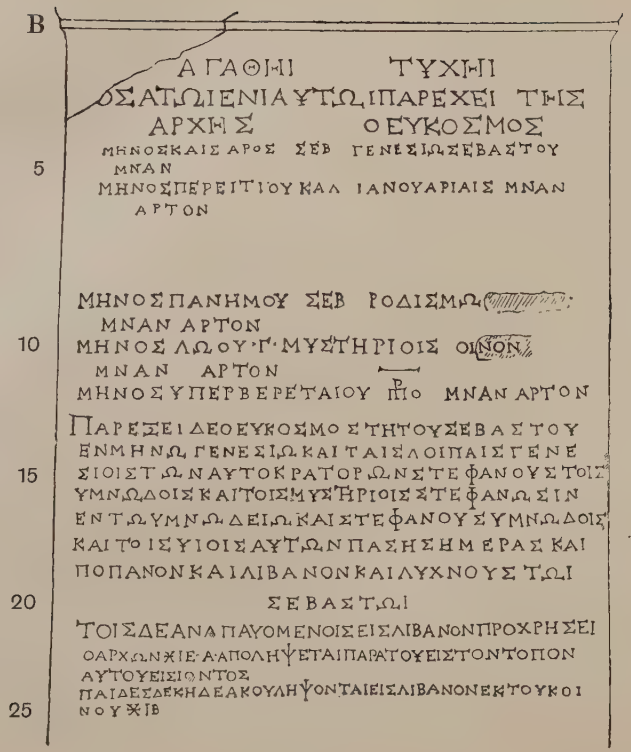

FIG. 57.

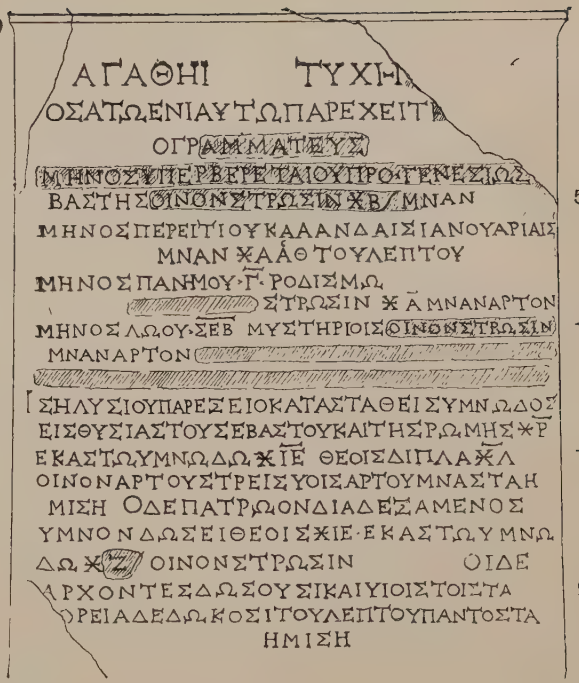

FIG. 58.

Inscription of the *Hymnodi* of the god Augustus and the goddess Rome on a marble altar at Pergamum, *temp.* Hadrian, right side (B, Fig. 57) and left side (D, Fig. 58). Now in the courtyard of the *Konak* at Pergamum. By permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums at Berlin.

further levy of 1½ obols.[1] In the year 20 of Tiberius Caesar Sebastos, in the month Sebastos, on Sebaste Day.[2] Peteme-(nophis), the son of Picos.[3]

I have already hinted that these examples from Egypt are not isolated. Here, as so often, corresponding examples from Asia Minor[4] prove the unity of the culture on the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean. To illustrate the uniformity I give here (Figures 57 and 58) two portions of the inscription at Pergamum, of the reign of Hadrian,[5] which has been mentioned already in connexion with the *hymnodi*. The name *Sebaste* is here assumed to be so well known that it is not written out in full but abbreviated in three places (B. 4, 8; D. 10) as Σεβ or $\overline{\Sigma\epsilon\beta}$.

In these three passages where the Sebaste Day is mentioned in the inscription the reference is to money payments of a religious nature which two officials, the Eukosmos and the Grammateus, of the association of hymnodi have each to make on this day. Money payments due on Sebaste Day are heard of again on an inscription at Iasus,[6] and all the ostraca that mention the Sebaste Day are receipts for money. Were then the Sebaste Days, I would ask, favourite days for effecting payments in the Hellenistic East? And I would further ask, with

[1] *I.e.* 1½ obols per stater of 4 drachmae, cf. Wilcken, Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 4, p. 147.

[2] Note the cumulation of Sebastos = Augustus. The month Sebastos is the Egyptian month Thoth, 29 August—27 September.

[3] This collector's name appears on other ostraca.

[4] *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 45 f.; *Bible Studies*, p. 218 f.; *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 3, col. 2815 f.

[5] Die Inschriften von Pergamon, No. 374 B and D. The drawing there given (p. 261) of sides B and D, on a scale of 1 : 6⅔, is here reproduced by kind permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums at Berlin (Figures 57 and 58). Cf. p. 352, n. 4 above.

[6] *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 46; *Bible Studies*, p. 219.

all caution: When St. Paul advised the Christians of Galatia and Corinth[1] to raise their contributions to the collection for the saints by instalments payable every Sunday, was he thinking of some such custom then prevalent in the world around him? The question is at least justifiable. For my own part I hesitate to return an affirmative answer, because it seems to me more probable to assume that St. Paul's advice was connected with some system of wage-paying (of which, however, I know nothing) that may have been customary in the Imperial period.

If at the pregnant words "God" and "Lord" all manner of sensations of protest were roused in the Christian worshipper against the cult of the Caesar, this was of course also the case with the still more impressive combination κύριος καὶ θεός, "Lord and God," which, as the confession of St. Thomas,[2] is one of the culminating points (originally the climax and concluding point) of the Gospel of St. John. In Christian worship it was probably a direct suggestion from the Septuagint.[3] It probably made its way into the Imperial cult from Mediterranean cults: an inscription at Socnopaei Nesus in the Fayûm, 17 March 24 B.C., already cited,[4] mentions a building dedicated "to the god and lord Socnopaeus," and an inscription of the Imperial period at Thala in the Province of Africa[5] is consecrated to "the god lord Saturnus." Under Domitian (*i.e.*, in New Testament terms, in the Johannine period) we have the first example in the cult of the Caesars.

[1] 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2. [2] John xx. 28.

[3] *E.g.* Psalm lxxxv. [lxxxvi.] 15, lxxxvii. [lxxxviii.] 2.

[4] Page 349. τῶι θεῶι καὶ κυρίω Σοκνοπαίωι.

[5] Cf. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 21 (1901) col. 475: *deo domino Saturno.*

Domitian himself arranges to be called "our lord and god."[1] In the third century the phrase becomes quite official, but its use had continued meanwhile in the East, as shown by an inscription from the Tauric Chersonese[2] in which the Emperor Antoninus Pius is called "our god and lord."

A whole chain of sensations of contrast and protest is dependent on the central thought in Primitive Christian worship, that Jesus is the βασιλεύς, the "King." In the Hellenistic East, which received its stamp from the post-Alexandrian kings, the title "king" had remained very popular,[3] and was even transferred to the Roman Emperor, as we see for example in the New Testament.[4] It has been well shown by Weinel[5] that in the age of the Revelation of St. John to confess the kingdom of Jesus was to set vibrating a tense polemical feeling against the Caesars. The clearest example is perhaps the apocalyptic formula[6] "Lord of Lords and King of Kings." The title "king of kings"[7] was originally

[1] Sueton., *Domit.* 13, *dominus et deus noster*. Further examples in Schoener, p. 476 f., and Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, I², Freiburg i. B., 1888, p. 159.

[2] *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*, ed. Latyschev, IV. No. 71η, τὸν [θε]ὸν ἀμῶν καὶ δεσπόταν.

[3] The expression νόμος βασιλικός, "the royal law," James ii. 8, occurs also in the technical usage of the surrounding world. The law of astynomy at Pergamum, carved on stone in the time of Trajan but going back probably to a time before the Christian era, has a heading, formulated perhaps by the donor of the inscription in the time of Trajan, which says: τὸν βασιλικὸν νόμον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν, "he set up the royal law out of his own means"; cf. Athenische Mitteilungen, 27 (1902) p. 48 ff. I saw the original at Pergamum on Good Friday 1906. The law is called "royal" because it was made by one of the kings of Pergamum. So too in the Epistle of James we must probably understand the term in the first place with reference to the origin of the law.

[4] 1 Tim. ii. 2; 1 Peter ii. 17. Numerous examples from inscriptions, etc., in Magie, p. 62.

[5] *Die Stellung des Urchristentums zum Staat*, pp. 19, 21 f., 50 ff.

[6] Rev. xvii. 14, xix. 16. Cf. also the confession of the martyr Speratus, p. 360 above.

[7] βασιλεὺς βασιλέων.

in very early Eastern history a decoration of actual great monarchs and also a divine[1] title, especially well known as applied to the Achaemenidae in Persia. It was suggested to the Christians not only because it was attached to God in the Greek Bible,[2] but also because according to the evidence of coins and inscriptions it was actually borne at the period in question by princes of Armenia,[3] the Bosporan kingdom,[4] and Palmyra.[5]

It would be possible in the case of many individual words[6] belonging to the retinue of "king" to prove the parallelism between the language of Christian worship and the formulae of the Imperial law and the Imperial cult. But I wish only to emphasise the characteristic main lines and accordingly dispense with details.

In the case of the word σωτήρ, "Saviour," the parallelism is particularly clear. I will simply refer to the splendid articles by Harnack[7] and Wendland,[8]

[1] Cf. Otto Pfleiderer, *Das Christusbild des urchristlichen Glaubens in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung*, Berlin, 1903, p. 95 ff. Samuel Brandt (postcard, Heidelberg, 10 December, 1908) refers for the profane use to Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, p. 281.

[2] 2 Macc. xiii. 4; 3 Macc. v. 35.

[3] A Tigranes has it occasionally on his coins from 83 to 69 B.C., Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, 20 (1903) col. 218.

[4] *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*, ed. Latyschev, IV. Nos. 200, 202 (probably Sauromates I., 93–123 A.D.); II. Nos. 27, 358.

[5] Septimius Herodianus, the second son of Zenobia, has the title in an inscription at Palmyra, Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 1, p. 85.

[6] *E.g.* ἐξουσία, κράτος, ἰσχύς, δύναμις, μεγαλειότης, θριαμβεύω, λάμπω, δόξα, τιμή, χάρις, δωρεά, φιλανθρωπία, ἀρετή, αἰώνιος. See in *Bibelstudien*, p. 277 ff., *Bible Studies*, p. 360 ff., the parallel between 2 Peter i. 11, "the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," and a Carian inscription *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* No. 2715 a, b (Stratonicia, earliest Imperial period), "the everlasting dominion of the lords the Romans." There is also material in Thieme, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander und das N.T.*

[7] "Der Heiland," Die Christliche Welt, 14 (1900) No. 2; now in his *Reden und Aufsätze*, I., Giessen, 1904, p. 307 ff.

[8] ΣΩΤΗΡ, Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 5 (1904) p. 335 ff.

and call attention to one special point. The ample materials collected by Magie[1] show that the full title of honour, "Saviour of the world," with which St. John[2] adorns the Master, was bestowed with sundry variations in the Greek expression[3] on Julius Caesar, Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, and other Emperors in inscriptions of the Hellenistic East.[4] The exact Johannine term[2] is specially common in inscriptions for Hadrian,[5] and it is only what might be expected from the parallelism between the cult of Christ and the cult of the Caesars when the adjective σωσικόσμιος,[6] "world-saving, world-rescuing," found in the papyri, alluding to Hadrian's title of "saviour of the world," and perhaps invented in his honour, afterwards turns up many centuries later Christianised and in Christian use.[7]

The word ἀρχιερεύς, "high priest," to which the Epistle to the Hebrews gave currency as a worshipful term applied to Christ, shows how a cult-word that was certainly developed within Primitive Christianity from Jewish premises entered spontaneously into the usual parallelism as soon as it found itself in the world. It was by this Greek word, as numerous

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 67 f.

[2] John iv. 42, 1 John iv. 14, σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου.

[3] σωτὴρ τῆς (ὅλης) οἰκουμένης, σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου, etc. Cf. H. Lietzmann, *Der Weltheiland*, Bonn, 1909.

[4] On the combination "God and Saviour" cf. p. 348, n. 4 above.

[5] Wilhelm Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Gesch. des Kaisers Hadrianus*, pp. 225, 226, 229.

[6] Weber, *ibid.* pp. 241, 250; Kenyon, Archiv f. Papyrusforschung, 2, p. 70 ff., especially pp. 73, 75. Σωσικόσμιος is the name of a deme of the city of Antinoë which Hadrian had founded in Egypt. Cf. also W. Schubart, Archiv f. Papyrusforschung, 5, pp. 94–103. Friedrich Pfister, Südwestdeutsche Schulblätter, 25 (1908) p. 345, points out the importance of the expression σωσικόσμιος in the history of cosmopolitanism.

[7] Cf. E. A. Sophocles' *Lexicon*, *s.v.* σωσικόσμιος (and σωσίκοσμος), and the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, *s.v.* σωσίκοσμος.

inscriptions[1] have shown, that the title *pontifex maximus*, borne by the Emperors, was translated in the East.

The parallelism exists not only with sacred titles, it goes further. Two examples are now forthcoming to prove that the word εὐαγγέλιον, "gospel, good tidings," which was in use in pre-Christian times in the profane sense of good news, and which then became a Primitive Christian cult-word of the first order, was also employed in sacral use in the Imperial cult. One of the examples is that calendar inscription of Priene, about 9 B.C., which we have mentioned[2] twice already, and which is now in the Berlin Museum. Discovered by German archaeologists on two stones of different kind in the north hall of the market-place at Priene, and published for the first time by Theodor Mommsen and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff with other allied texts and a commentary,[3] this inscription, designed to introduce the Asian calendar, has already been appreciated by Adolf Harnack[4] and Paul Wendland[5] as of great importance in the history of the sacred language of Asia Minor. Harnack translated the most important parts into German.[6] H. Winnefeld kindly obtained for me a photograph of lines 1–60, from which, with the consent of the Directors of the Royal Museums, our Figures 59 and 60 have been made, their size being less than one-quarter of the original. As far as I know these are the first

[1] See Magie, p. 64.

[2] Pages 349, 351 above.

[3] Athenische Mitteilungen, 24 (1899) p. 275 ff.

[4] "Als die Zeit erfüllet war," Die Christliche Welt, 13 (1899) No. 51; now in his *Reden und Aufsätze*, I. p. 301 ff.

[5] Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 5 (1904) p. 335 ff.

[6] The Greek text is now most easily accessible in Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 458, and Inschriften von Priene No. 105.

FIG. 59.—Block of Blue Limestone from a Pillar of the North Hall of the Market at Priene, with the Calendar Inscription, lines 1-31, *circa* 9 B.C. Now in the Berlin Museum. By permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums.

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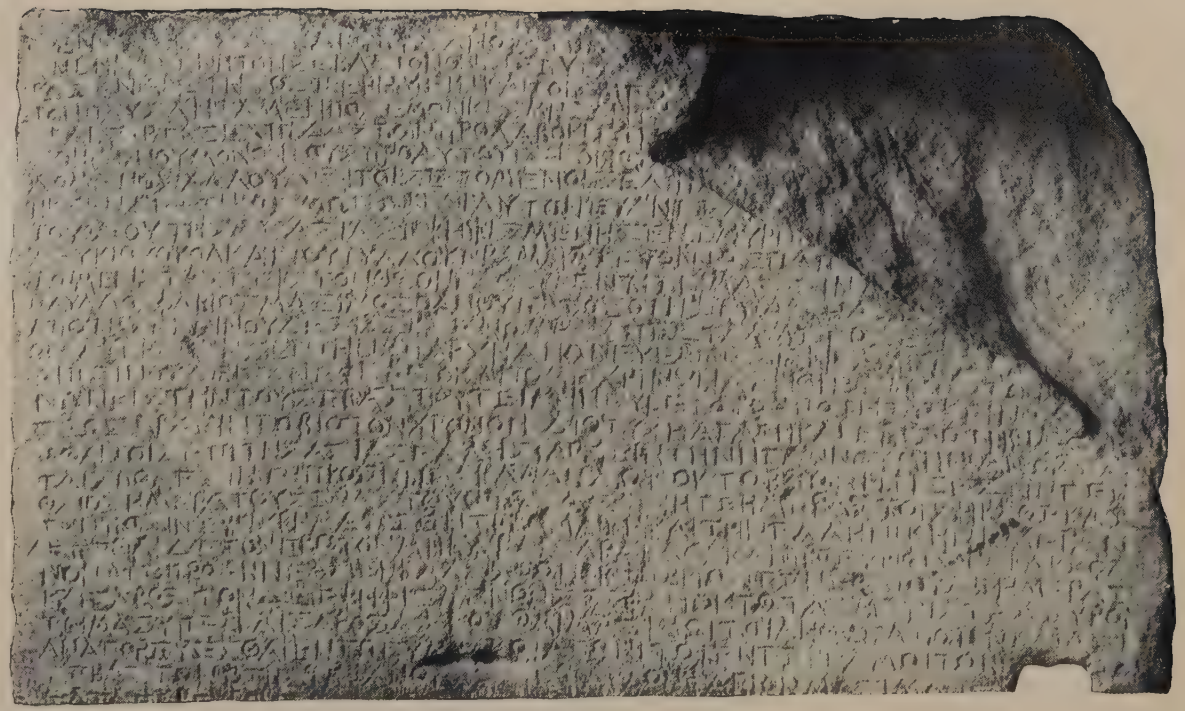

FIG. 60.—Block of White Marble from a Pillar of the North Hall of the Market at Priene, with the Calendar Inscription, lines 32–60, *circa* 9 B.C. Now in the Berlin Museum. By permission of the Directors of the Royal Museums.

facsimiles to be published of these important texts. Here we find (line 40 f., Figure 60) this remarkable sentence referring to the birthday of the Emperor Augustus :—

ἦρξεν δὲ τῶι κόσμωι τῶν δι' αὐτὸν εὐανγελί[ων ἡ γενέθλιος] | τοῦ θεοῦ.	But the birthday of the god was for the world the beginning of tidings of joy on his account.[2]

Two and a half centuries later we hear the echo of these festal trumpets when, on the receipt of the "joyful tidings" that G. Julius Verus Maximus had been appointed Caesar, an Egyptian, probably a high official, wrote to another a letter, preserved on a fragment of papyrus in the Royal Library at Berlin,[3] calling for a procession to be arranged for the gods. The fragment reads :—

ἐπεὶ γν[ώ]στ[ης ἐγενόμην τοῦ] εὐανγελ[ίο]υ[4] περὶ τοῦ ἀνηγορεῦσθαι Καίσαρα τὸν τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαΐου Ἰουλίου Οὐήρου Μαξιμίνου	Forasmuch as I have become aware of the tidings of joy concerning the proclaiming as Emperor of Gaius Julius Verus Maximus Augustus, the son of our lord, most dear to the gods, the Emperor Caesar

[1] The whole inscription consists of 84 lines.

[2] Hans Lietzmann, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1909, p. 161, translates differently.

[3] Published by G. Parthey, *Memorie dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 2, Lipsia, 1865, p. 440. Ulrich Wilcken revised the text some years ago, and very kindly supplied me with his readings, which I have adopted here (letter, Leipzig, 4 October, 1907).

[4] Lines 1 and 2 are so restored by me. Parthey read γν[ω]στ after επει; when Wilcken re-examined the fragment these letters were no longer there. For γνώστης cf. Acts xxvi. 3. A possible reading would be ἐπεὶ γν[ω]στ[εία ἐγένετο τοῦ], "now that confirmation has come of the good news"; for γνωστεία cf. *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, No. 65_5 (2nd cent. A.D.).—The first word of the second line was wrongly read by Parthey εὐανγέλθαι. To judge whether the restoration εὐανγελ[ίο]υ, suggested by Wilcken's reading εὐανγελ . . ι, is right, the papyrus must be re-examined. There is nothing else that could very well be intended.

Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σε-
β[αστο]ῦ
παῖδα Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Οὐή-
ρον
Μάξιμον Σεβαστόν,
χρή, τιμιώτατε, τὰς
θεὰς κωμάζεσθαι. ἵν'
[ο]ὖν εἰδῆς καὶ παρατύχης

Gaius Julius Verus Maximinus, pious, happy, and Augustus, it is necessary, O most honourable, that the goddesses be celebrated in festal procession. In order, therefore, that thou mayest know and be present . . .

[*Here the papyrus breaks off.*]

Yet another of the central ideas of the oldest Christian worship receives light from the new texts,[1] viz. παρουσία, "advent, coming,"[2] a word expressive of the most ardent hopes of a St. Paul. We now may say that the best interpretation of the Primitive Christian hope of the Parusia is the old Advent text,[3] "Behold, thy *King* cometh unto thee." From the Ptolemaic period down into the 2nd cent. A.D. we are able to trace the word in the East as a technical expression for the arrival or the visit of the king or the emperor.[4] The parusia of the sovereign must have been something well known even to the people, as shown by the facts that special payments in kind and taxes to defray the cost of the parusia were exacted, that in Greece a new era was reckoned from the parusia of the Emperor Hadrian, that all over the world advent-coins were struck after a parusia of the emperor, and that we are even able to quote examples of advent-sacrifices.[5]

The subject of parusia dues and taxes in Egypt has been treated in detail by Wilcken.[6] The oldest

[1] Even Cremer,[9] p. 403, could only say: "How the term came to be adopted, it would be difficult to show." He inclines to think it was an adaptation of the language of the synagogue. [2] The translation "coming again" is incorrect.

[3] Zech. ix. 9; Matt. xxi. 5. [4] Or other persons in authority, or troops.

[5] Otto Immisch (letter, Giessen, 18 October, 1908) refers to the λόγοι ἐπιβατήριοι, "speeches on entering a place," for the forms of which see Menander in the *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. Spengel, 3, p. 377 ff.

[6] *Griechische Ostraka*, I. p. 274 ff.

passage he mentions is in the Flinders Petrie Papyrus II. 39 e, of the 3rd cent. B.C., where, according to his ingenious interpretation, contributions are noted for a crown of gold to be presented to the king at his parusia.[1] This papyrus supplies an exceptionally fine background of contrast to the figurative language of St. Paul, in which *Parusia* (or *Epiphany*, "appearing") and *crown*[2] occur in collocation. While the sovereigns of this world expect at their parusia a costly crown for themselves, "at the parusia of our Lord Jesus" the apostle will wear a crown—the "crown of glory" (1 Thess. ii. 19) won by his work among the churches, or the "crown of righteousness" which the Lord will give to him and to all them that have loved His appearing (2 Tim. iv. 8).

I have found another characteristic example in a petition,[3] *circa* 113 B.C., which was found among the wrappings of the mummy of a sacred crocodile. A parusia of King Ptolemy, the second who called himself *Soter* ("saviour"), is expected, and for this occasion a great requisition has been issued for corn, which is being collected at Cerceosiris by the village headman and the elders of the peasants.[4] Speaking of this and another delivery of corn, these officials say :—

. . . καὶ προσεδρευόντων διά τε νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας μέχρι τοῦ τὸ προκείμενον ἐκπληρῶσαι καὶ τὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίαν ἀγορὰν π . . .	. . . and applying ourselves diligently, both night and day, unto fulfilling that which was set before us and the provision of 80 artabae which was imposed for the parusia of the king . . .

[1] ἄλλου (*scil.* στεφάνου) παρουσίας ιβ, "for another (crown) on the occasion of the parusia, 12 (artabae)." Cf. also *Griechische Ostraka*, I. p. 296.

[2] Cf. also p. 312 above.

[3] The Tebtunis Papyri No. 48$_{9ff.}$

[4] πρεσβυτέρων τῶν γεω(ργῶν). This is a new quotation to show the age of the title "presbyter," cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 153 f.; *Neue Bibelstudien*, p 60 ff.; *Bible Studies*, pp. 154 f., 233 f.

Are not these Egyptian peasants, toiling day and night in expectation of the parusia of their saviour king, an admirable illustration of our Lord's words (Luke xviii. 7) about the elect who cry day and night to God, in expectation of the coming of the Son of Man (Luke xviii. 8)?

Again among the Tebtunis Papyri[1] there is a bill, from the end of the 2nd cent. B.C., which mentions "the parusia of the king," while an ostracon[2] of the 2nd cent. B.C., from Thebes, reckons the expenses of the "parusia of the queen."

As in Egypt, so also in Asia: the uniformity of Hellenistic civilisation is proved once more in this instance. An inscription of the 3rd cent. B.C. at Olbia[3] mentions a parusia of King Saitapharnes, the expenses of which were a source of grave anxiety to the city fathers, until a rich citizen, named Protogenes, paid the sum—900 pieces of gold, which were presented to the king. Next comes an example of great importance as proving an undoubted sacral use of the word, viz. an inscription of the 3rd. cent. B.C., recording a cure at the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus,[4] which mentions a parusia of the healer (saviour) god Asclepius. Other examples of Hellenistic age known to me are a passage in Polybius[5] referring to a parusia of King Antiochus the Great, and two letters of King

[1] No. 116_{57}, *βα(σιλέως) παρουσίας.*

[2] Wilcken, No. 1481, *λόγος παρου(σίας) τῆ(s) βασιλ(ίσσης).*

[3] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. $226_{85f.}$, *τήν τε παρουσίαν ἐμφανισάντων τοῦ βασιλέως*, "when they announced the parusia of the king."

[4] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 803_{34}, *τάν τε π[α]ρουσίαν τὰν αὐτο[ῦ π]αρενεφάνιξε ὁ Ἀσκλαπιό[s]*, "and Asclepius manifested his parusia." For the combination of parusia with manifestation see 2 Thess. ii. 8.

[5] *Hist.* xviii. 31_4 Dübner: *ἀποκαραδοκεῖν τὴν Ἀντιόχου παρουσίαν*, "to expect earnestly the parusia of Antiochus." The verb is very characteristic, cf. Rom. viii. 19, and p. 378, n. 1 below, the petition of the small proprietors of the village of Aphrodite.

Mithradates VI. Eupator of Pontus at the beginning of his first war with the Romans, 88 B.C., recorded in an inscription at Nysa in Caria.[1] The prince, writing to Leonippus the Praefect of Caria, makes twofold mention of his own parusia, *i.e.* his invasion of the province of Asia.[2]

It is the legitimate continuation of the Hellenistic usage that in the Imperial period the parusia of the sovereign should shed a special brilliance. Even the visit of a scion of the Imperial house, G. Caesar († 4 A.D.), a grandson of Augustus, was, as we know from an inscription,[3] made the beginning of a new era in Cos. In memory of the visit of the Emperor Nero,[4] in whose reign St. Paul wrote his letters to Corinth, the cities of Corinth and Patras struck advent-coins.[5] *Adventus Aug(usti) Cor(inthi)* is the legend on one, *Adventus Augusti* on the other. Here we have corresponding to the Greek *parusia* the Latin word *advent*, which the Latin Christians afterwards simply took over, and which is to-day familiar to every child among us. How graphically it must have appealed to the Christians of Thessalonica, with their living conception of the parusiae of the rulers of this world, when they read in St. Paul's second letter[6] of the Satanic "parusia"

[1] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 328$_{21, 30}$, *ν[ῦν] τε τὴ[ν ἐμὴ]ν παρουσίαν ἐπιγνούς* (or *πυθόμενος*), "and now, having learnt of my parusia."

[2] This is Theodor Mommsen's explanation of the expression, Athenische Mitteilungen, 16 (1891) p. 101 f.

[3] Paton and Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, No. 391 [*ἐ*]*νιαυτοῦ πρώτου τᾶς* [*Γαΐ*]*ου Καίσαρος ἐπιφανείας*, "in the first year of the epiphany [synonymous with parusia, cf. p. 378 below] of Gaius Caesar." This prince enjoyed a regular cult in Cos, cf. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, p. 145.

[4] For this visit cf. the inscription of Acraephiae, p. 358 above.

[5] Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, p. 93, cites the two coins (=Cohen I. 307, No. 403/4).

[6] 2 Thess. ii. 8, 9, *ὁ ἄνομος, ὃν ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς . . . καταργήσει τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας* [cf. the inscription of Epidaurus, p. 374, n. 4 above] *αὐτοῦ, οὗ ἐστὶν ἡ παρουσία κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ*, "the lawless one, whom the Lord

of Antichrist, who was to be destroyed by "the manifestation of the parusia" of the Lord Jesus! A whole host of advent-coins resulted from the numerous journeyings of the Emperor Hadrian; we have specimens,[1] I suppose, from most of the Imperial provinces, and these, it may be remarked, were official coinages of the Empire.[2] The arrival of Hadrian at Rome on 9 July, 118, was even celebrated by the Arval brothers with solemn sacrifices in the Emperor's presence, to which the inscriptions containing the Acts of their college bear record.[3] The parallelism between the Hellenistic and the Imperial period is seen also in the fact that the expenses attending a parusia of the sovereign were considerable.[4] How deeply a parusia stamped itself on the memory is shown by the eras that were reckoned from parusiae. We have heard already of an era at Cos dating from the epiphany of G. Caesar,[5] and we find that in Greece a new era was begun[6] with the first visit of the Emperor Hadrian in the year 124;—the magnificent monuments in memory of that parusia still meet the eye at Athens[7] and Eleusis. There is something peculiarly touching in the fact that towards the end of the 2nd century, at the very time when the Christians were beginning

Jesus . . . shall destroy by the manifestation of His parusia, whose parusia is according to the workings of Satan."

[1] Examples in Weber, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 81 (Rome), 109 (Britain), 115 (Spain), 125 (Bithynia), 130 (Asia), 150 (Moesia), 155 (Macedonia), 197 (Sicily), 198 (Italy), 201 (Mauretania), 227 (Phrygia), 247 (Alexandria).

[2] I have this on the (unwritten) authority of Wilhelm Weber.

[3] Weber, *Untersuchungen*, p. 81 ff. The Acts read *ob adventum I*[*mp*(*eratoris*) etc.] and *ob adven*[*tum faustum eiusdem*].

[4] Weber, *Untersuchungen*, p. 183$_{655}$.

[5] Page 375, n. 3 above.

[6] Weber, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 158 ff., 183, 186.

[7] The gate of Hadrian and the Olympieum, which was then begun (Weber, *Untersuchungen*, p. 164).

to distinguish the "first parusia" of Christ from the "second,"[1] an inscription at Tegea[2] was dated:—

ἔτους ξθ' ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρουσίας.	in the year 69 of the first parusia of the god Hadrian in Greece.

To make the circle of Hellenism complete once more, this inscription from Arcadia gives us again the word *parusia*, which we found in Egypt, Asia Minor, and the New Testament. In Greece, however, a synonym is more usual.[3]

Even in early Christian times the parallelism between the parusia of the representative of the State and the parusia of Christ was clearly felt by the Christians themselves. This is shown by a newly discovered[4] petition of the small proprietors of the village of Aphrodite in Egypt to the Dux of the Thebaid in the year 537–538 A.D.,[5] a papyrus which at the same time is an interesting memorial of Christian popular religion in the age of Justinian.

> "It is a subject of prayer with us night and day, to be held worthy of your welcome parusia."[6]

The peasants, whom a wicked Pagarch has been oppressing, write thus to the high official, after

[1] Cf. for instance Justin Martyr, Dialogue with the Jew Trypho, c. 14 (Otto, p. 54) τὴν πρώτην παρουσίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, and similarly in c. 52 (p. 174). The Christian era was afterwards reckoned from the first parusia.

[2] Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 25 (1901) p. 275. Quite similar formulae occur in Attic inscriptions of earlier date, but with another substantive: "in the year *x* of the first epidemia of the God Hadrian," cf. Weber, *Untersuchungen*, p. 159.

[3] ἐπιδημία. Examples are quoted from inscriptions by Weber, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 159, 183, 188.

[4] I owe this excellent example to Ulrich Wilcken (letter, Leipzig, 6 February, 1909); cf. Archiv, 5, p. 284.

[5] Published by Jean Maspéro, Études sur les papyrus d'Aphrodité, Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, t. VI., Le Caire, 1908.

[6] II. 16, καὶ εὐχῆς ἔργον ἡμῖν ἐστιν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἀξιωθῆναι τῆς κεχαρισμένης ὑμῶν παρουσίας.

assuring him with a pious sigh at the beginning that they awaited him

> "as they watch eagerly from Hades for the future parusia of Christ the everlasting God."[1]

Quite closely related to parusia is another cult-word, ἐπιφάνεια, "epiphany," "appearing." How closely the two ideas were connected in the age of the New Testament is shown by the passage in 2 Thess. ii. 8, already quoted, and by the associated usage of the Pastoral Epistles, in which "epiphany" or "appearing" nearly always means the future parusia of Christ,[2] though once[3] it is the parusia which patristic writers afterwards called "the first." Equally clear, however, is the witness of an advent-coin struck by Actium-Nicopolis for Hadrian, with the legend "Epiphany of Augustus"[4]; the Greek word coincides with the Latin word "advent" generally used on coins. The history of this word "epiphany" goes back into the Hellenistic period, but I will merely point out the fact, without illustration: the observation is not new, but the new proofs available are very abundant.[5]

The same parallelism that we have hitherto been observing is found again in the names applied to persons standing in the relation of servants to Christ and the Caesars, and in other similar points. The

[1] I. 2, ἐκδέχομεν . . . οἷον οἱ ἐξ Ἅιδου καραδοκοῦντες τὴν τότε τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἀενάου θ(εο)ῦ παρουσίαν. For the Greek text cf. Rom. viii. 19, and p. 374, n. 5 above.

[2] 1 Tim. vi. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 1, 8; Titus ii. 13.

[3] 2 Tim. i. 10.

[4] Weber, *Untersuchungen*, p. 196, ἐπιφάνια Αὐγούστου.

[5] Cf. [Sir] W. M. Ramsay, "The Manifest God," The Expository Times, Vol. 10 (1899, February) p. 208; Thieme, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander und das Neue Testament*, p. 34 ff.; Weinel, *Die Stellung des Urchristentums zum Staat*, pp. 20, 50.—Parallels are traceable also in the Christian and secular use of the adjectives ἐπιφανής and ἐμφανής. There is much material relating to the Christian use in Hermann Usener, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Erster Theil, Das Weihnachtsfest, Kapitel I.–III., Bonn, 1889.

proud words of St. Paul, "We are ambassadors for Christ" (2 Cor. v. 20; cf. Eph. vi. 20), stand out in quite different relief when we know that πρεσβεύω, "I am an ambassador," and the corresponding substantive πρεσβευτής, "ambassador," were the proper terms in the Greek East for the Emperor's Legate.[1]

In the same way πεπίστευμαι, "I am entrusted (with an office, with the gospel)," which is repeatedly[2] used by St. Paul, recalls the Greek name (known from literary sources) of the Imperial secretary for Greek correspondence,[3] especially when we remember the beautiful figure in 2 Cor. iii. 3, according to which St. Paul has a letter to write for Christ.[4] This characteristic expression includes a parallel to the technical term "letter of Augustus," *i.e.* Imperial letter, which is found in an inscription of the Imperial period at Ancyra.[5] The seven letters of Christ in the Revelation to Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, which as regards their form must be reckoned with the letters from heaven,[6] find a background in the social history of the time in the numerous Imperial letters to cities of Asia Minor or to corporations in those cities, which were immediately published in the form of inscriptions, and so became known to everybody. To mention only addresses that occur in the Apocalypse, we possess at the present day in inscriptions

[1] Examples of the verb from inscriptions, etc., Magie, p. 89; innumerable examples of the substantive, *ibid.* p. 86 ff.

[2] Gal. ii. 7; 1 Cor. ix. 17; cf. 1 Thess. ii. 4; 1 Tim. i. 11; Titus i. 3.

[3] In Latin *ab epistulis Graecis*; in Greek ὁ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἐπιστολὰς πράττειν πεπιστευμένος, and τάξιν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος; examples from Galen and Josephus, Magie, p. 71

[4] ὅτι ἐστὲ ἐπιστολὴ Χριστοῦ διακονηθεῖσα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, "that ye are a letter of Christ, ministered by us."

[5] Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, III. No. 188, ἐπιστολῶν Ἑλληνικῶν [Σε]βαστοῦ), "of the Greek letters of Augustus."

[6] Cf. p. 238 above.

larger or smaller fragments of at least six Ephesus letters,[1] three Smyrna letters,[2] at least seven Pergamum letters,[3] and perhaps one Sardis letter,[4] from Roman Emperors. The introductory formula in those letters of Christ—the solemn "Thus saith"[5]—comes most assuredly from an Oriental (Old Testament) usage, but it is certainly not without interest to find at least "Saith"[6] as the formula at the beginning of Imperial letters already of the first century.

Philo, Josephus,[7] and 2 Tim. iii. 15 have made us familiar with the name ἱερὰ γράμματα, "sacred writings," "holy scripture," as a title of dignity for the Old Testament. The parallelism between letters of Christ and letters of the Emperor becomes still clearer when we find the same term in technical use in the East[8] for Imperial letters and decrees. In pre-Christian inscriptions it often[9] means the "hieroglyphs." But an inscription from Nysa in Caria of the time of Augustus[10] uses it probably of an Imperial[11]

[1] References in Léon Lafoscade, *De epistulis* (*aliisque titulis*) *imperatorum* [p. 147, n. 2 above], pp. 12, 14 f. (Hadrian), 23, 24, 25 (Antoninus Pius), 34 (Septimius Severus and Caracalla).

[2] Lafoscade, pp. 29 (Marcus Aurelius), 28 (Antoninus Pius), 29 f. (Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus); all three are addressed to religious associations (σύνοδοι) at Smyrna.

[3] Lafoscade, pp. 7 f. (Nerva or Trajan), 9 (Trajan), 10, 17 (Hadrian), 23 (Antoninus Pius), 35 (Caracalla), 58 (various emperors).

[4] Lafoscade, p. 59 (uncertain).

[5] τάδε λέγει.

[6] *dicit* and λέγει. References to inscriptions in Lafoscade, p. 63.

[7] References to both authors in Cremer,[9] p. 275 f.

[8] Cf. A. Wilhelm, Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, 3 (1900) p. 77.

[9] Examples in Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, II. p. 642.

[10] *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 2943_{10}. I think it also possible that τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα here means old temple documents.

[11] Ample illustration of the use of the word "holy" or "sacred" (*sacer*, *sanctus*, *sanctissimus*, *sacratissimus*) as a designation of the Emperor and Imperial institutions in pagan and Christian times is given by W. Sickel, Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1901, p. 387 ff.

decree; and this is certainly the case with an inscription from Aezani in Phrygia of the time of Hadrian,[1] an unpublished inscription of the Imperial period at Athens,[2] and a bilingual inscription at Paros,[3] 204 A.D., which translates the Greek term in Latin as *sacra[e litt]erae.* The Latin Vulgate employs exactly the same phrase in rendering 2 Tim. iii. 15! The phrase θεῖα γράμματα, "divine writings" (used of the Bible by patristic writers), is applied quite synonymously to letters of the Emperor in an inscription from Tyras on the Dniester, 17 February 201 A.D.,[4] and an inscription from Scaptopare in Bulgaria, 238 A.D.[5] The latter refers to Imperial ordinances as "divine commandments,"[6] which resembles the New Testament term "God's commandments."[7]

In this connexion attention may once more be called to the Primitive Christian's designation of himself as δοῦλος Χριστοῦ, "slave of Christ," which we have already[8] looked at against another background. Though not designed originally as a formula of contrast to the cult of the Caesar, it certainly aroused sensations of contrast when heard beside the frequent title of "slave of the Emperor":—there were Imperial slaves all over the world. One example out of many is an inscription[9] from Dorylaeum in Phrygia,

[1] Le Bas-Waddington, No. 860_{13}, τῶν ἱερῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος γραμμάτω[ν].

[2] Cf. A. Wilhelm, *loc. cit.*

[3] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 415 = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XII., V. 1, No. 132.

[4] *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*, ed. Latyschev, I. No. 3_3, ἀντίγραφον τῶν θείων γραμμάτων, "copy of the divine writings."

[5] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,[2] No. 418_{95}, τὰ θεῖά σου γράμματα, "thy divine writings."

[6] Line 51, ταῖς θείαις ἐντολαῖς.

[7] ἐντολαὶ θεοῦ, 1 Cor. vii. 19; Rev. xii. 17, xiv. 12.

[8] Page 324 ff.

[9] Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 28 (1904) p. 195, Ἀγαθόποδι δούλῳ τοῦ κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος.

Imperial period, which mentions "Agathopus, slave of the lord Emperor."

The same order of parallelism obtains between the genitive Χριστοῦ, "belonging to Christ" (Gal. iii. 29, v. 24; 1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 23, xv. 23; 2 Cor. x. 7), and the simple genitive Καίσαρος, "belonging to the Emperor." The latter, first revealed by the new texts, goes back to the Latin elliptic *Caesaris*, and can be established for Egypt by several papyri of the reign of Augustus and by inscriptions of the reign of Hadrian.[1] The analogy which has been already[2] claimed on linguistic grounds between the oldest name for the followers of Christ, Χριστιανός, "Christian," and Καισαριανός, "Caesarian," "Imperial (slave),"[3] receives in this connexion new and remarkable illustration.

Characteristic too is the parallel between St. Paul's phrase ἀπελεύθερος κυρίου, "freedman of the Lord" (1 Cor. vii. 22), and the frequent title "freedman of the Emperor." It appears, for instance, in a Latin inscription of the 2nd century at Cos[4] (Figure 61), on the tombstone of the Imperial freedman Hermes, who had been an official of the inheritance-duties department. In the third and fourth lines he is called *Augustor(um) n(ostrorum) lib(erto)*, "freedman of our Augusti." In Greek the title is also of

[1] The first examples were given by Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I. p. 661 f. (the London Papyrus No. 256 is now accessible, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, Vol. II. p. 95 ff.); cf. also Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 1, p. 145. New examples are given by W. Schubart, Archiv, 5, p. 116 ff., who thinks they refer to freedmen.

[2] Winer-Schmiedel, § 16, 2c, note 18 (p. 135).

[3] References for *Caesarianus* in Theodor Mommsen, Hermes, 34 (1899) p. 151 f., and Magie, p. 73.

[4] Rudolf Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, p. 106 f., No. 165. The facsimile there given (plate V. 4) is here reproduced (Fig. 61) by kind permission of the editor and his publisher. The *terminus post quem* for the inscription is 161 A.D.

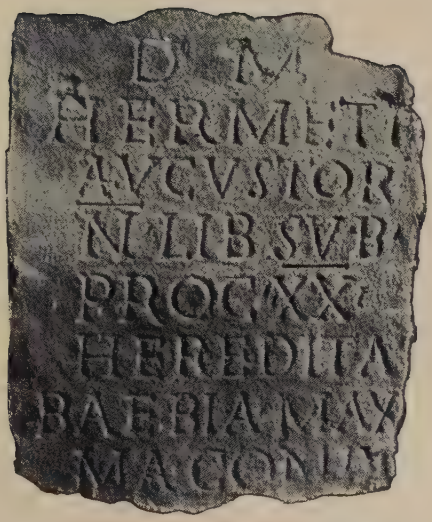

FIG. 61.—Marble Stele from Cos, Tombstone of Hermes, an Imperial Freedman, after 161 A.D. Now in the house of Said Ali in the town of Cos. By permission of Rudolf Herzog and the publishing house of Theodor Weicher (Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung).

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frequent occurrence, with many variations,[1] from the first century A.D. onwards.

Finally, when Christ says in St. John's Gospel[2] (xv. 14 f.) :—

"Ye are My friends. . . . Henceforth I call you not slaves"—

the collocation of "slave" and φίλος, "friend," reminds us that the Emperor also had "friends," as well as "slaves." "Friend of the Emperor" is an official title,[3] going back probably to the language of the court under the successors of Alexander,[4] and found, for instance, in two inscriptions of the Imperial period at Thyatira.[5] The parallelism becomes still clearer afterwards if we compare the adjectives φιλοκαῖσαρ and φιλοσέβαστος, "friend of the Emperor," which are frequent[6] in inscriptions, with the similarly formed word φιλόχριστος, "friend of Christ," which is a favourite with patristic writers,[7] or if we compare the extraordinary word σεβαστόγνωστος,[8]

[1] Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος or ἀπελεύθερος Καίσαρος. Many examples in Magie, p. 70.

[2] ὑμεῖς φίλοι μου ἐστέ . . .

[3] Latin *amicus Caesaris*, Greek φίλος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ (cf. the two inscriptions from Thyatira), or φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος, John xix. 12.

[4] Cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 160; *Bible Studies*, p. 167 ff. (The note in *Bibelstudien*, p. 161, *Bible Studies*, p. 168 f., about John xv. 15 should be cancelled.) J. Leipoldt, Theologisches Literaturblatt, 29 (1908) col. 561, shows that the title is an ancient Egyptian one.

[5] *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* Nos. $3499_{ff.}$ and 3500_{i}.

[6] Many examples in Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, II. Index, p. 719.

[7] φιλόχριστος also made its way among the people, as shown by Christian inscriptions, *e.g.* one from Zorava in Syria, 22 March, 515 A.D. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 610_{5}.

[8] Inscriptions from Olbia *c.* 200 A.D., Latyschev I. No. 24_{6}; from Panticapaeum 249 A.D., Latyschev II. No. 46_{5}; from Prusias on the Hypius in Bithynia *c.* 215 A.D., Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 25 (1901) p. 62 ff. The word receives some explanation from a decree of the Byzantines, 1st cent. A.D., Latyschev I. No. $47_{6f.}$, which boasts of a citizen of Olbia that μέχρι τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν γνώσεως προκό[ψ]αντος, "he had advanced to personal acquaintance with the Augusti (Augustus and Tiberius)." This inscription helps us moreover to understand some γνῶσις-passages in the N.T. In Phil. iii. 8, for instance, the word does not denote speculative *knowledge* of Christ, but personal and pneumatic *acquaintance* with Christ.

"acquainted with the Emperor," with the Christian θεόγνωστος,[1] "acquainted with God."

10. Have the gold coins regained somewhat of their old clearness of definition? Looking back on the parallelism between the cult of Christ and the cult of Caesar, the lines of which might be yet further prolonged, we may say this: it is one of the historical characteristics of Primitive Christianity that it made *religion* a serious business. Its uncompromisingly *religious*[2] character, tolerating no concessions to irreligion, is never seen more clearly than when we try to realise the oppressive sensations of contrast that tortured the saints in Christ even in the days of Nero when confronted with the glittering formulae of the cult of the sovereign.

In fact one abiding result of every really close study of the religious records of the world contemporary with the New Testament is this: they quicken our sense of religion, especially of the simple, vigorous, popular forms of the religion which is seen at work in the gospel and in the earliest cult of Christ, and which is still a living force in the New Testament to-day. Our learned forefathers used most commonly to pursue a retrospective method in their study of the sacred volume, looking backward into the earliest ages of Christianity from the point of view of churchmen and theologians of their own day. They judged the primitive age accordingly; and the New Testament, containing the relics of that age, they conceived and made use of as the classical textbook of dogma and ethics. But if we approach our sacred Book from

[1] References in *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* and Sophocles' *Greek Lexicon*.

[2] This side is rightly emphasised by Franz Cumont and Albrecht Dieterich; cf. Bonner Jahrbücher, Heft 108, p. 41.

the very world that surrounded the New Testament, *i.e.* from the Imperial age and from the middle and lower classes of society, then with the same eyes that modern theological prejudices had previously blinded to religion, we shall see that the New Testament, really a sacred Book, is not a creature of theology, but of religion. The written memorials of the New Testament age quickened our sense of the characteristics of the popular language, and of the nature of things non-literary, and now they make clear to us the nature of things non-theological.

I speak of course of theology and things theological in the sense that we connect with the words nowadays. If we still felt and appreciated the ancient meaning of the word "theologus,"[1] we might unhesitatingly call the New Testament a theological book; for that would mean practically nothing more than that it was a prophetic and religious book. But that was certainly not the meaning of those scholars who laid stress on the theological character of the New Testament. They wanted to display its (in the main) didactic, considered, systematic contents. If religion is to us an inner life in God, theology is scientific consideration about religion and its historical effects. But the considered element in the New Testament falls very much behind the unconsidered naïveté of the purely religious, the prophetic, and the devotional. And though we may be inclined, in the atmosphere of our Western doctrinairism, to spread the grey nimbus of system over the New Testament, the sun of its Anatolian home affords us joyful glimpses of the breadth and depth of that divine strength grown human which streams immeasurable from the confessions in this Anatolian book. The mere paragraphs

[1] Cf. p. 352 f. above.

vanish; personalities rise before us, heroes from the multitude of despised and forgotten ones: Elias is come again to prepare the way, then the Anointed of the Lord in His first parusia, and lastly His world-evangelist, St. Paul, and our other Apostolic Fathers.

Like John the Baptist, Jesus of Nazareth is altogether non-theological.[1] He is not a speculative doctrinaire. He is altogether religion, spirit, fire. It would be a mistake to speak of a theological system in the case of Jesus. He never thought out a paragraph, never penned a single tractate. He is so simple that the children cry out with joy at His approach, and the very poorest understand Him. Insignificant persons, unknown by name, who had no idea of the value of literal accuracy, handed on His "doctrine" in the homely garb of the popular language. Jesus thought nothing of the theology of His age: He even thanks His Father for having hidden His profoundest revelations from the wise and prudent. The lightnings of His prophetic scorn descend upon the theological authorities who paid tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, but omitted mercy and faith. Contemplative theology, the offspring of doubt, was completely outside the sphere of His nature, because He was in daily personal intercourse with the higher world, and the living God was in Him. To this latter fact His confessions, His words of controversy, consolation, and reproof bear witness. It is impossible to unite all these sayings into the artistic mosaic of an evangelical system: they are the reflection of an inner life full of unbroken strength, full of purity, full of devotion to God and His human family.

[1] For what follows cf. my sketch entitled *Theologie und Kirche*, Tübingen und Leipzig, 1901, p. 6.

Again Paul the Apostle, the other great figure that stands sharply outlined historically at the beginning of our religion, belongs, best part of him, to the age before theology.[1] It is true he is the disciple of a theological school, and as a Christian missionary he not unfrequently makes use of the traditional theological methods. But the tent-weaver of Tarsus must not for that reason be numbered with Origen, Thomas Aquinas, and Schleiermacher, but with the herdman of Tekoa, the shoemaker of Görlitz, and the ribbon-weaver of Mülheim.[2] Are we really listening to the pulsations of his heart when we hear him interpret allegorically the story of Hagar and Sarah? Are we not infinitely nearer to his soul, his personality, the best that is in him, when we behold him on his knees, crushed, annihilated, and new-created by the grace of His God? His sentences concerning the Law—are they calm, pointed theses from a theological debate, or are they not rather confessions of a tortured and liberated soul? Is Paul the inventor of a dogma of Christ, or is he not rather the witness of the Christ experienced by him? Is to him the glory of the Living One a theory thought out in the study, or was it not rather flashed upon him in a sacred hour of revelation? Paul the theologian belongs to the history of Rabbinism: his interpretation of Scripture, in which his theology for the most part concentrates, is in no way original or historically distinctive. Paul the theologian vanishes beside Rabban Gamaliel and the other Tanaitic

[1] *Ibid.* p. 6 ff.

[2] [The prophet Amos is fairly recognisable, but English readers may be reminded that Jakob Böhme, the mystic, 1575–1624, lived and died at Görlitz, Gerhard Tersteegen, the devotional writer, 1697–1769, at Mülheim. The hymn "Thou hidden love of God, whose height," was translated by John Wesley from Tersteegen. TR.]

fathers.[1] It is not in the history of theology that Paul is a characteristic figure, but in the history of religion. And there his importance lies essentially in the fact that, being wholly un-rabbinic and wholly pre-dogmatic, he planted the living roots of religion in the spiritually present Person of the living Lord Jesus Christ. This he did, not by any new artifices of speculative theology, but by the power of his experience of Christ, from which faith streamed forth with triumphant strength of attraction. From the time of St. Paul there is, not Christology, but Christolatry, a Christianity of Christ. Paul is not like the many Christological speculators among us, who attain to the worship of Christ on a Sunday only if they have somehow during the week assured themselves of a Christology.

Primary with St. Paul are his mystic appreciation of Christ, based on his experience at Damascus, and the cult of Christ which was kindled at that flame. Out of the mysticism and the cult there springs his contemplation of Christ, which, though occasionally employing the forms of older Messianic dogmatic, is in its whole tone different from later Christological speculation. The subject upon which Christological speculation exercises itself so painfully is Christ as experienced by other people in the past; St. Paul's contemplation of Christ proceeds from his own experience of Christ and is nourished by the spiritual strength of the present Christ. Doctrinaire Christology looks backward into history as if under some spell; St. Paul's contemplation of Christ gazes clear-eyed into the future. Christology stands brooding beside

[1] The Tanaim, so called from *tana*, "to repeat," were the scholars, over 100 in number, who *c.* 10–210 A.D. helped to make the tradition which was finally embodied in the Mishna ("repetition," from *shana*, "to repeat"). [TR.]

an empty grave; St. Paul sees piercingly into a heaven full of the Living Presence. Even the cross, as viewed by the apostle, is not a bald, lifeless "fact" in the past, but a portion of the living present. To him there is no such thing as a completed "work" of Christ: Christ is working still perpetually, and in fact the best is yet to come, for Christ Himself shall come.

Ultimately, therefore, it is the religious content[1] that gives its stamp to Primitive Christianity. The Epistle to the Hebrews, being marked by a strongly theological character, with artistic literary form to match,[2] cannot be assigned to the classical age of Primitive Christianity. Modern scholasticism has turned confessions of the inspired into chapters of the learned, and in so doing has worked the same change on the subject-matter of the New Testament as was produced in its form when its non-literary letters were treated as works of literature and its popular language as a sacral variety of Greek. If, however, we approach the sacred Book by way of the ancient world contemporary with it, our preconceptions vanish.

Far away in the East there rises up before us, higher and higher above the thronging crowd of poor and lowly, a Sacred Form. To His own He is already the Saviour and giver of light; to the great world He is invisible as yet in the morning twilight, but it too shall one day bow before Him. In His profound intimacy with God and in manly strength

[1] It was significant in the history of New Testament scholarship that the venerable Nestor of the subject, Bernhard Weiss, should crown his life-work on the New Testament with a book (1903) entitled *Die Religion des Neuen Testaments*. To investigate the religion of the New Testament remains the last and highest task of every specialist in these studies.

[2] Cf. pp. 64 f., 243, 245, above.

of consciousness of His Messianic mission Jesus of Nazareth is the sheer incarnation of religious inwardness fixed solely on the Kingdom of God, and therefore He is strong to fight and worthy of the highest grace in store for Him—that of being allowed to lay down His life for the salvation of the many.

Not as second beside Him, but as first after Him and first in Him, stands the great convert in whose ardent soul all the Paschal experiences of the first disciples, with their insistent trend towards a cult of Christ, were focussed. Paul of Tarsus, having experienced in his own person more than any other man the mysteries of the cult of Christ, creates classical forms for their expression, and goes out to the Mediterranean world from which he sprung to gain adherents for the gospel that is being so gloriously extended.

11. What were the forces enabling this infant cult of Christ to gain its converts? Let us attempt to view the new propagandist religion as it presented itself characteristically to the men of the Hellenistic Mediterranean world.

Our survey of Primitive Christianity on its way from the East can of course take account only of the most strongly marked lines. Microscopic examination is as impossible as when we view some great antique sculpture in relief. We have to step backward; then, and not till then, we see what gave to the propagandist religion of Primitive Christianity its historic character. And so we will not make ten, a dozen, or maybe scores of longitudinal sections through Primitive Christianity, legitimate as such work is in itself, but we will take one single

transverse section through Primitive Christianity conceived as a whole and a unity. For even though the religion of the apostles does display an abundance of different personal types, the men of antiquity were influenced first of all not by the abundance of individual elements, but by the style and spirit of the common element.

I have a lively sense of the difficulty we encounter, as men of another epoch, in taking this rapid survey of Primitive Christianity from the point of view of an ancient, and I shall be glad to receive instruction if I have seen wrongly. But to prove that the main result of my inspection is not altogether wrong I may mention an observation of mine made after I had myself ventured on that rapid survey. I found that the greatest missionary document in the New Testament, St. Paul's speech on the Areopagus at Athens,[1] which aimed at exhibiting to pagans of a great city in the Mediterranean world what was characteristic of the new religion as concisely as possible, has selected as characteristic just the very things which seem to us by the aid of recent discoveries to be so. The speech is not a verbatim report, but it is no less certain that it reveals the spirit of St. Paul, and that it is a manifesto of worldwide importance in the history of religions and of religion. For the sake of this speech the philologists ought to forgive cheerfully all the sins subsequently committed by theological fanatics against the ancient world, especially if they are themselves preparing to atone for their own shortcomings, at least for their indifference towards the greatest book of the Imperial age.

Before pointing out positive characteristics of the

[1] Acts xvii. 22–31.

ethical and religious order certain preliminary questions must be touched upon.

In the first place we must refer once again to the great fact of social history which has so often engaged our attention in these pages—the popular character of Primitive Christianity. Unless this fact is known and well emphasised it is impossible to explain historically the success of the attractive power of the gospel. St. Paul's mission was the mission of an artisan, not the mission of a scholar. The gospel call, intelligible to the many because uttered in the popular colloquial language of the world, never implied the social uprooting[1] of anybody by renunciation of his native stratum and elevation to the regions of anaemic theory. On the contrary, we shall see that it only strengthened and ennobled the feeling of solidarity among the humbly situated.

There is one other fact closely connected with this. The characteristic features of the propagandist religion were not contained in separate novel "ideas." The book which has most strongly insisted on the supposed novelty of countless "ideas" and "meanings" in the New Testament—I mean Cremer's Lexicon—is by reason of this dogmatic tendency one of the greatest hindrances to an historical grasp of the real expansive force of Primitive Christianity. In all that relates to the forms and meanings of words Primitive Christianity is more in contact than in contrast with the surrounding world:

> "Christians are distinguished from other men neither by country, nor by language, nor by customs. For nowhere do they inhabit cities of their own, nor do they make use

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 20.

of any exceptional dialect, nor do they practise a conspicuous mode of life."

In these words a Christian writer[1] of a very early period, almost contemporary with the new Testament, has sketched for us the outward contact between his co-religionists and the surrounding world.

Nor to the men of antiquity did those features appear characteristically Christian which the common sense of a modern agitator generally seizes upon as the really remarkable thing about the New Testament, and which, modestly content to annihilate Christianity by means of common sense alone, he cheerfully proceeds to refute while their no better equipped apologist as excitedly defends them—I mean the miracles. As a matter of fact the miracles gave to the New Testament a singularly popular position in the world around it. The whole ancient world is full of miracles; definite types of miracle become fixed by the tradition of thousands of years and occur again and again in all sorts of places.[2] Viewed amid the surroundings of its own age and social stratum the New Testament is seen to be shy, rather than otherwise, of narrating miracles.[3] With Jesus, St. Paul, and St. John we even find occasionally an ironical attitude towards the popular taste for miracles,[4] and it is highly significant that the great mass of the sayings of Jesus

[1] Epistle to Diognetus, 5: Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ οὔτε γῇ οὔτε φωνῇ οὔτε ἔθεσι διακεκριμένοι τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων. οὔτε γάρ που πόλεις ἰδίας κατοικοῦσιν οὔτε διαλέκτῳ τινὶ παρηλλαγμένῃ χρῶνται οὔτε βίον παράσημον ἀσκοῦσιν.

[2] Much material will be found in Th. Trede, *Wunderglaube im Heidentum und in der alten Kirche*, Gotha, 1901 (cf. my remarks in Die Christliche Welt, 20 [1906] col. 291 f.); R. Lembert, *Der Wunderglaube bei Römern und Griechen*, I. Teil: Das Wunder bei den römischen Historikern, Augsburg, 1905; R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, Leipzig, 1906 (on aretalogy cf. also my *Bibelstudien*, p. 88 ff.; *Bible Studies*, p. 93 ff.).

[3] This point is very properly emphasised by G. Heinrici, *Der litterarische Charakter der neutestamentlichen Schriften*, p. 41 f.

[4] Luke xi. 29 with parallels; Matt. xvi. 1 ff.; 1 Cor. i. 22; 2 Cor. xii. 8 f.; John iv. 48, xx. 29.

in the synoptic tradition are not brought into any organic connexion with miracles. Nevertheless the New Testament, as it was bound to be, *is* a book of miracles. If, however, we have once grasped historically the nature and necessity of the miracles in the New Testament, we realise also how dear they are to the heart of the people, how childlike in their piety, how sincerely beautiful, and what high value they can even possess as revelation. But the miracles, as such, have nothing to do with the historical peculiarity of Primitive Christianity.

First and foremost among the historical characteristics of Primitive Christianity we should rather place that which the journalism of our day, as ignorant as it is impious, often dares to represent as a perfectly obvious triviality, viz. the One living God. The solemn and impressive presence of the One God pervades the lines of that powerful manifesto on the Areopagus. Not that the world was unprepared for the One God: the Greek thinkers, Plato especially, had prepared the way for Him, and the Christian orator speaks thankfully of certain among their poets who had had knowledge of God.[1] These had been helped by the propaganda of the Greek Jews of the Dispersion with their cosmopolitan Bible.[2] And now He came, the One and Eternal, on the way prepared by Greeks and Jews, came to souls drawn hither and thither by the worship of many gods; to souls restlessly seeking and feeling after Him;[3] and came as a God who, though Creator and Lord of Heaven and of earth,[4] is yet worshipped without image and

[1] Acts xvii. 28.

[2] Cf. my sketch *Die Hellen sierung des semitischen Monotheismus*, Leipzig, 1903.

[3] Acts xvii. 27.

[4] xvii. 24.

without temple,[1] and is always accessible even to the poorest, in a spiritual presence,[2]

> "For in Him we live, and move, and have our being."[3]

But the new cult took this One God seriously. No compromises detracted from the Christians' faith in God, and in their protest against the deification of the Sovereign they were ready before long to face even martyrdom.

And second we should place the object of the cult in the narrower sense, Jesus Christ, who did not displace the One, but was in the eyes of the worshippers His incarnation. All the preaching of the missionaries was, like the speech on Mars' Hill,[4] a preaching of Christ; and every hearer of the missionaries felt that they were introducing the cult of Christ. Of course it was the cult of a Living Person.[5] The cult of Christ is no feeble meditation upon "historical" facts, but pneumatic communion with One Present. The facts of the past first receive illumination from the heavenly transfiguration of the Present One. But thus illumined they appeal to the souls of those who are touched, thrilling, comforting, transforming, edifying them. The eternal glory of the Divine Child with His Father, His coming down to earth in voluntary self-abnegation and servitude, His life of poverty with the poor, His compassion, His temptations and His mighty works, the inexhaustible riches of His words, His prayers, His bitter suffering and death, and after the cross His glorious Resurrection and return to the Father—all these episodes in the great divine drama, whose peripeteia lay not in hoary antiquity, but had been witnessed a score or so of years ago, were intelligible to every soul, even

[1] xvii. 24 f., 29. [2] xvii. 27. [3] xvii. 28.
[4] xvii. 31. [5] xvii. 31.

to the poorest, and particularly to the poorest. And the titles with which the devotee decked the beloved object of his cult could, many of them, claim domicile in the souls of the poor and the simple: titles such as Lamb of God, the Crucified, Shepherd and Chief Shepherd,[1] Corner Stone, Door and Way, the Corn of Wheat, Bread and Vine, Light and Life, Head and Body, Alpha and Omega, Witness, Mediator and Judge, Brother, Son of Man, Son of God, Word of God and Image of God, Saviour, High Priest, Lord, King. Unfathomable in intellectual content, giving scope to every variety of personal Christian experience and every motive of self-sacrificing obedience, this series contains not a single title that was likely to impress by mere sacerdotal associations or unintelligibleness. In the same way the gospel tradition of worship, with its sturdy, popular tone, was far superior to the fantastic, hysterical mythologies of the other cults, which piled one stimulant on another. So too the celebration of the mysteries of Christ required no magnificent temple or awe-inspiring cavern: it could take place wherever two or three were gathered together in His name. All great movements in the history of our race have been determined by conditions of the heart of the people, not by intellect. The triumph of the cult of Christ over all other cults—the point must here be once more emphasised—is in no remote degree explainable by the fact that from the first Christianity took deep root in the heart of the many, in the hearts of men and women, old and young, bond and free, Jews, Greeks, and Barbarians.[2] In its early days Christianity

[1] Cf. pp. 97 ff. above.

[2] The popular universality of the cult of Christ is reflected by such passages of St. Paul's writings as Gal. iii. 28, Col. iii. 11, 1 Cor. xii. 13.

made conquest of hearts not because it was a "religion of redemption," as people are fond of saying nowadays, substituting the impersonal for the personal, —but because it was the cult of a *Redeemer*.

The Primitive Christian cult of Christ was preserved from doctrinaire congelation not only by the tendency to realise daily the presence of the living Master, but —and this is the third characteristic feature—by the expectation of His second parusia and the hope of Eternity that grew therefrom. The climax of the speech on the Areopagus was a proclamation of the approaching Last Judgment.[1] This is not the simple extension of the belief in immortality which had long been quickening here and there in men's hearts; it is a clamping together of the fortunes of this world with the future of the Kingdom of God such as probably no other religion could show. Not only were souls upheaved and brought to a state of tense excitement, but consciences were filled with profound earnestness.

And that is the last feature: the moral earnestness of Christianity. The moral element is not a foreign body within the cult, still less is it external to the sacred precinct; it is indivisibly united with the religion and the cult. No artist versed in things of the soul, whether of the earlier or of the subsequent period,— not Sophocles, nor Augustine, nor Dante, nor Goethe has succeeded in disclosing deeper depths of guilty consciousness than the apostolic pastors found in themselves. No one has borne more convincing testimony concerning personal responsibility, the necessity of inward regeneration and reconciliation with God, than the missionaries whom the Spirit of Jesus Christ impelled through the

[1] Acts xvii. 31.

world. The organic connexion of religion with morality, which from the first formed part of the essence of Christianity, and might be experienced anew daily in the realisation of the presence of God and of Christ, was intelligible even to a plain man when next to love of God love of one's neighbour was demanded, and next to fellowship with Christ the following after Him. Moreover, the organisations of the earliest churches were visible embodiments of such social ethics as fairly filled the soul of ancient man with enthusiasm. The idea of the unity of the human race, classically expressed in the speech on the Areopagus,[1] united with St. Paul's preaching of the Body of Christ to strengthen and ennoble the feeling of solidarity which then, as the inscriptions have shown, pervaded the lower orders of society like a healthy arterial current and had led to the formation of numerous guilds[2] among the common people. In the "assemblies" of the Christians, which were doubtless looked upon as guilds of Christ[3] by the men of the time, that brotherhood which proved itself effectual by charitable gifts dispatched over land and sea took shape. Considered even from the general point of view of social history they were probably the most vigorous organisations, and the richest in inspiration, of the whole Imperial period. We must never forget that for them those pages were penned whose remains were afterwards saved from destruction in the New Testament. A cult in whose conventicles a prayer like the Lord's Prayer could be offered and an ethical text be read

[1] Acts xvii. 26.

[2] The literature relating to ancient guilds (including religious guilds) is well summarised in Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, III.[3] p. 62 ff.

[3] Cf. the works (quoted by Schürer, *op. cit.*, p. 62) of Georg Heinrici, who was the first to point out this analogy with proper emphasis.

such as the 13th chapter of 1 Corinthians, simple in form as it is mighty in ethos, possessed powers of gaining converts which were irresistible.

12. The paean of love chanted at Ephesus under Nero for the poor saints of Corinth, has not perished with Corinth. Annihilated for ever, the magnificence of Nero's Corinth lies buried to-day beneath silent rubbish-mounds and green vineyards on the terraces between the mass of the Acrocorinthus and the shore of the Gulf: nothing but ruins, ghastly remnants, destruction. The words of that paean, however, have outlasted the marble and the bronzes of the Empire, because they had an unassailable refuge in the secret depths of the soul of the people. The Corinthian Christians, who suffered other writings of St. Paul to be lost, preserved these ; copies were taken and circulated ; at the turning-point of the first and second century 1 Corinthians was already known at Rome, and probably St. Paul's other letters were also in circulation then in the Christian assemblies of the great Mediterranean coast-cities, guarded with the gospels and other texts of the fathers as an heirloom and treasure, separated from the false texts, becoming more and more identified with the books, and finally incorporated in the Book of the sacred writings of the New Testament.

Without shutting our eyes to the dangers that lay in the Book when it came to be judged as a *book*, we may nevertheless confess that this Book of the New Testament has remained the most valuable visible possession of Christendom, down to the present day.

A book from the ancient East, and lit up by the light of the dawn,—a book breathing the fragrance

of the Galilean spring, and anon swept by the shipwrecking north-east tempest from the Mediterranean,—a book of peasants, fishermen, artisans, travellers by land and sea, fighters and martyrs,—a book in cosmopolitan Greek with marks of Semitic origin,—a book of the Imperial age, written at Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Rome,—a book of pictures, miracles, and visions, book of the village and the town, book of the people and the peoples,—the New Testament, if regard be had to the inward side of things, is the great book, chief and singular, of human souls.

Because of its psychic depth and breadth this book of the East is a book for both East and West, a book for humanity: a book ancient but eternal.

And because of the figure that emerges from the book—the Redeemer, accompanied by the multitude of the redeemed, blessing and consoling, exhorting and renewing, revealing Himself anew to every generation of the weary and heavy-laden, and growing from century to century more great—the New Testament is the Book of Life.

CHAPTER V

RETROSPECT—FUTURE WORK OF RESEARCH

1. About mid-day on Easter Sunday, 1906, at Ephesus, I was crossing in company with Friedrich von Duhn and other friends a wildly luxuriant field of acanthus on our way from the Library of Celsus to the luncheon tent hospitably erected for us by the Austrians, when my eye fell on an antique marble acanthus capital that lay to the left of the path completely embedded in the thick, exuberant greenery of living acanthus leaves.

That little episode kept recurring to my mind, and its symbolism revealed itself afterwards when, as we sailed the waters of Crete and the Cyclades, we found leisure to meditate upon what we had seen.

The contrast between the conventionalised marble acanthus leaves and their verdant wild originals seemed to me an image of the contrast between the methods of research characteristic of my own special studies.

On the one hand the method which conventionalises the New Testament by isolating and canonising its language, by turning its non-literary texts into literature and its religious confessions into hard and stony dogma ;—on the other hand the method which takes possession in the work-room of every one who studies the New Testament historically and psychologically as the ancient East at large can and must be studied at the present day.

This method does not look upon the New Testa-

ment as a museum of statues in marble and bronze, but as a spacious garden, God's garden, thriving in luxurious growth under the spring sunshine of the East. No painter can reproduce the pale green of its young fig-leaves and the blood-red of its Easter anemones; the sombre melancholy of its olive groves, the gentle tremor of its vine tendrils cannot be described; and in the sacred precinct, where for the pure a fountain of living water springs beneath primeval cedars, the solemn silence bids the surveyor avaunt who had approached with line and measuring staff.

Some day, when yet stronger waves of light come flooding over to us from the East, it will be recognised that the restoration of the New Testament to its native home, its own age and social level, means something more than the mere repatriation of our sacred Book. It brings with it new life and depth to all our conceptions of Primitive Christianity. But already perhaps we may say that when theologians engage in the study of inscriptions, papyri, and ostraca of the Imperial period, their work is not the pastime of cranks, but is justified by the imperious demands of the present state of scholarship. For a long time the theologians were content to don the cast-off garments of the philologists, and to drag with them through the New Testament critical methods that had long been given up by the masters of the scientific study of antiquities, until they fairly dropped to pieces. Are we now to wait another twenty years, and then go limping after the philologists, who by that time will have struck still better sources? Or shall we not rather, undeterred by the absurd and depreciatory remark about being "mere" philologists, ourselves lay hands on the mighty mass of material for research that a bountiful Providence has bestowed

on our unworthiness? In particular, the one great historical fact which must be recognised if a man is to be either a good exegetist and systematist or a good preacher and pastor—the fact of the close inward connexion between the gospel and the lower classes—cannot be realised by visionary speculation, however ingenious, working solely upon the commonplaces of obsolete monographs. Such knowledge must be deciphered and painfully deduced from the thousands and tens of thousands of lines of torn and mangled writing newly recovered from the age of the New Testament. Albert Kalthoff[1] was certainly a gifted writer, and he certainly had a heart for the lower orders of the people, but he was not fitted to be the historian or even the historical philosopher of the origins of our faith, and his attempt to democratise Primitive Christianity was doomed to failure because he had not by the tedious process of detailed work made himself at home among the mass of humanity in the Imperial period. Instead of investigating the real psyche of the masses and ultimately discovering within the masses the leading personalities who made the individual to be an individual indeed and raised him out of the masses, Kalthoff and his works ended like an unhappy "stickit minister"[2]—with a witches' sabbath of homeless ideas.[3]

[1] [The Bremen pastor (1850–1906), author of *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, Jena, 1904, translated by Joseph McCabe under the title, *The Rise of Christianity*, London (Watts), 1907. Tr.]

[2] [German, *wie ein missratener Stiftler*, "like an unsuccessful alumnus of the (Tübingen) Seminary." The Protestant Seminary or "Stift" at Tübingen, founded in 1537, has a very high reputation and is recruited from the pick of the schools of Württemberg. F. C. Baur and D. F. Strauss (the theologians) F. T. Vischer (writer on aesthetic), Eduard Zeller (the philosopher), and Mörike (the poet) were among its distinguished pupils. But of course there are also failures. Tr.]

[3] Karl Kautsky's theory must be similarly criticised; cf. his book, *Der Ursprung des Christentums*. Eine historische Untersuchung, Stuttgart, 1908. In contrast therewith, because springing from real familiarity with the

2. The method of research suggested by the new texts is valuable also in tracing the later history of Christianity. I merely mention the fact, and may be allowed to refer to the hints given in Chapter III., in the course of interpreting certain early Christian letters emanating from the lower classes. Even when Christianity had risen from the workshop and the cottage to the palace and the schools of learning, it did not desert the workshop and the cottage. The living roots of Christianity remained in their native soil—the lower ranks of society—and regularly in the cycle of the years, when autumn had gathered the topmost leaves and the dry boughs had snapped beneath the storms of winter, the sap rose upward and woke the buds from slumber, with promise of blossom and rich days of fruitage.[1] Jesus the carpenter and Paul the weaver of tent-cloth mark the beginnings, and again at the most momentous crisis in the history of later Christianity there comes another *homo novus* in the person of Luther, the miner's son and peasant's grandson.

The history of Christianity, with all its wealth of incident, has been treated much too often as the history of the Christian literary upper class, the history of theologians and ecclesiastics, schools, councils, and parties, whereas Christianity itself has

modern scientific study of antiquity, cf. Ernst Troeltsch, Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen, Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, 26, p. 1 ff.

[1] Since writing the above I have come across the following beautiful quotation from Raabe's *Hungerpastor* in a review by Wilhelm Kosch (Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 29 [1908] col. 2826) of August Sauer's *Literaturgeschichte und Volkskunde*, Prag, 1907, a book with an important bearing on our subject, as regards the methods to be employed. Raabe says: "The deliverers of humanity rise from the depths, and as the springs of water come from the depths to make the land fruitful, so the field of humanity is perpetually being refreshed from the depths." [Wilhelm Raabe, *b.* 1831, published his most characteristic novel, *Der Hungerpastor*, in 1864. TR.]

often been most truly alive in quarters remote from councils and outside the polemical tractates of Protestant zealots. One great merit of the book on German Church History in the nineteenth century by Christian Tischhauser,[1] lecturer at the Bâle Missionary College,[2] is that it takes account of undercurrents which are usually ignored either because they erect themselves no literary monuments, or because the humble literature produced by them is overwhelmed, if it ever survives the day for which it was written, and crowded out into the worst-lighted rooms of the *bibliotheca christiana* by the collected works of writers on academic Christianity and church politics.

From gospel times down to our own day Christian piety, simple and vigorous, has been a living force in the middle and lower classes. There its own popular forms of expression were created and its own popular types of personality were experienced. To investigate the laws determining the formation of these expressions, to study the psychology of the inner life of spontaneous Christian piety, is a task of great charm and value to the scholar and an absolutely indispensable pre-requisite in the training of a popular pastorate. The training of our candidates for the ministry is as a rule far too scholastic for the actual work they are called upon to do in practice. Most of us criticise the forms of expression chosen by popular Christianity in the past and in the present, much as Blass did the letter written by the bad boy Theon[3]—as if it were a case of degeneration.

[1] *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands in der ersten Hälfte des 19 Jahrhunderts*, Basel, 1900. See the important review of the book by W. Walther, Theologisches Literaturblatt, 21 (1900) col. 282.

[2] It is no mere accident that this task should have been taken up by one connected with missionary work.

[3] Cf. p. 187, above.

There are very few people, for instance, who can enter into sympathetic relation with the popular art of the Catacombs and with the naïveté, true-hearted as it often is, of the early Christian popular literature that has come down to us in the remains of "apocryphal" gospels and acts of apostles. Deluded by the belief that there is no value except in things hat have really happened and can be proved to have happened, we cast out the miracles in these popular books, and with them the books themselves, upon the dust-heap.

As a matter of fact, however, the child Jesus healing the woodman who had been injured by the falling axe,[1] and the Jesus who restores the withered hand of a stonemason,[2] are striking proofs of the intenseness of the confidence with which the various handicrafts did homage to the carpenter's Son, each in its own place of work. We know how it will be: to shepherds He will become the Chief Shepherd, to sailors the steersman, to travellers the guide, to soldiers the commander He will bless the seed for the peasants, and He will sit at table with us, a daily invited guest, in the breaking of bread.

3. Thus I have already been led to speak of the work in store for research.[3] Further to speak on this subject is at the same time easy and yet difficult for me. It is easy because I believe I can discern problems in plenty, because I am convinced that

[1] Cf. p. 33, n. 3 above.

[2] Special addition in the Gospel according to the Hebrews to Matt. xii. 10 and parallels.

[3] Of course I speak here only of problems connected with the subject of this book. For other New Testament problems see the programme suggested in an important work by Johannes Weiss, *Die Aufgaben der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft in der Gegenwart*, Göttingen, 1908; and Paul Fiebig, *Die Aufgaben der neutestamentlichen Forschung in der Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1909.

they must be solved, and because I would fain regard a humble fraction of them as filling a part of my own life. On the other hand I find it difficult to speak of problems, because to do so is to speak of things unfinished. It raises a vision of books by the dozen lying open upon one another, of hundreds of written slips and sheets of MS., of library dust and work done by artificial light on dull days, of hopes raised only to be dashed, and of the investigator's sorry bartering day after day a single problem solved for ten others unsolved. This last part of my book is difficult more especially because I know that what the student strives to attain is something great, whereas what he actually does attain will be but the poor work of man after all, and by speaking of the great thing too soon he awakens expectations which he cannot fulfil. But this, I take it, is the fate, and I do not hesitate to say the happy fate, of all real research, showing how closely akin it is to the work of the artist: its powers must be strengthened by struggling towards an ideal which is unattainable, because ideal, but which nevertheless always remains the goal to be attained.

The most obvious task has reference to the written records themselves. As many new texts as possible must be discovered and published with all care.

The period of excavations for papyri in Egypt is by no means ended, and many workers are still required for the systematic collection and preservation of the despised ostraca.

New editions of the inscriptions on stone, metal, etc. are, as was shown in the first chapter, in active preparation at the present time on a large scale. But the amount of inscriptions still lying underground or built into the walls of mediaeval and

modern edifices is beyond computation; the lime-kilns fortunately have not swallowed up everything. The remark may be added that, whereas the acquisition of new texts, especially where excavations have to be made, is largely a question of funds, it is still possible at the present day to accomplish much with a comparatively small outlay if the money is entrusted to the right people. In Germany our gratitude is especially due to the wealthy private individuals who of late years have shown their interest in the cause of learning by supplying the means for excavations and purchases, England and America having long ago set us an admirable example in this direction.

The next duty of scholars is to discuss the texts scientifically in their bearings on language, literature, religious and general social history. Editors ought to facilitate this discussion by making the arrangement of the printed texts as convenient and clear as possible. There should be no false shame about providing (always, if possible) translations of the texts; many hidden difficulties first show themselves, even to the specialist, when he really begins to translate sentence by sentence.

Of the many individual problems which the new texts can help to solve there are some to which I would call special attention. The types of popular narrative style must be traced throughout the extent of the ancient civilisations, particularly the following: narratives of miracles,[1] accounts of healing and deliverance from danger, narratives of expiation,[2] dreams, visions, travellers' tales of adventure, and stories of martyrdom. The history of ancient letter-

[1] Cf. the works of Reitzenstein and others mentioned at p. 393 above.
[2] Hints in Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 111 ff.

writing, accompanied by careful reconstruction of autograph letters and fragments, must be continued further with special attention to the formal phraseology which is of such importance in problems of chronology. The letters and allied texts must moreover be interpreted as reflections of the family life and soul-life of antiquity, particularly with the object of investigating the emotions at work among the lower classes. All the resources of ancient folklore are to be pressed into the service of this research: it is not to be a mere collection of curiosities enabling us to feel the contrast between ourselves and antiquity; it must be reconstitutive psychology of the people, enlightening us as to our permanent contact with antiquity.

4. Most of these problems, no doubt, will find their solution beyond the pale of the Faculties of Theology, although the hard-and-fast divisions between the guilds of learning have vanished here and there, and are still vanishing, greatly to the advantage of research. But there will be quite enough for the theologians to do. The tasks presented to us may be summed up in a single sentence: We have to establish, with the aid of the authentic records of the ancient world,[1] the positive position, based on social history and psychology, on which scholarship may take its stand for the study of the New Testament. The one-sided method of retrospection, which has too often blinded us to religion by its insistence on dogma, must give way to inquiries concerning the history of religion and the

[1] Including, of course, the authentic records of ancient Judaism and the other Semitic religions, of which we had not to speak in the present context.

psychology of religion. That is the motto, as it were, and in it more stress is to be laid than usual upon the word *religion*. The study of purely religious texts—manifestations of piety that certainly did not proceed from learned meditation—must inevitably open our eyes to the living piety with which the New Testament is instinct.

These historical and psychological inquiries will lead on to a new problem, the solution of which has an equally important bearing on the detailed exegesis and on the collective criticism of the classical texts of Christianity, viz. the problem of defining the various types of religious production within the New Testament. What many have taken to be one vast expanse of neutral tint will be seen to be a harmonious succession of the most varied shades of colour. What injustice, for instance, has been done to the great Evangelist, St. John, by demanding from him a "progress of thought" in the speeches in his gospel, and a "consecutive plan" in his epistle,[1] as if his were a systematic nature. St. John has no liking for progress along an unending straight road; he loves a circling flight, like his symbol, the eagle. There is something hovering and brooding about his production; repetitions are in no wise abnormal with him, but the marks of a contemplation which he cherishes as a precious inheritance from St. Paul and further intensifies. The other types of religious production may be worked out with the same clearness of definition—Jesus most certainly, Paul also, and the rest of the seers, consolers, and evangelists.

In far higher degree than is possible to any kind of dogmatist exegesis, the historical and psychological exegesis will help us to understand why the cult

[1] [*I.e.*, 1 John. TR.]

of Christ was destined to mark the turning-point in the world's religion. And the forces of inward life which this exegetical method sets free once more in the New Testament will bring forth fruit in quite another manner in our own generation, bestowing refreshment on the weary and heavy-laden (not on the well-filled and the bored) to-day as on the first day.

5. Finally, among the multitude of particular problems there is one which may be specially selected as probably the most important task of New Testament research at the present time, viz. the preparation of a new Lexicon to the New Testament.

A lexicon is only another name for a dictionary. A dictionary, most people would say, is a very simple thing—a book containing foreign words in alphabetical order, with their English meanings. So there is nothing remarkable about it, nothing remarkably learned or scientific; it is in the first place a business enterprise, a book to meet the requirements of practical life, ranking with Bradshaw and the Post Office Directory: a portly volume perhaps, but its inside merits more dependent on the printer than on the author; the chief thing is to find a publisher, and all the rest will follow. Memory reverts, perhaps, to our schooldays. That awful passage in Caesar, where he describes how he bridged the Rhine—how unintelligible it all was, until we looked up the hard words in the dictionary and saw in an instant what each one of them "meant." Nothing could have been simpler for a boy who knew his A B C and had the gumption to look for *trabs* under the letter T.

If there is a tendency in some quarters to despise dictionaries as "unscientific," there exists a no less widespread tendency to bow slavishly to their pronouncements. "It is in the dictionary, so it must be right"—that is the spoken or unspoken thought in innumerable cases where a person hurriedly consults the dictionary to settle the meaning of a foreign word.

The scientific attitude towards lexicography begins the minute we learn that the meaning of a given word cannot always be got straight from the dictionary, that every word presents a problem in itself, and that we have no right to speak scientifically about a word until we know its history, *i.e.* its origin, its meaning, and how meanings have been multiplied by division or modification.

Scientific lexicography undertakes, therefore, to reconstruct the history of words from the earliest times to which our sources go back, in fact from the primitive prehistoric period of the language which comparative philology establishes theoretically, down to the time when we find the words spoken or written by a given individual.

Hence it follows that lexicography, in spite of many technical appendages, in spite of the fact that the customary alphabetical arrangement of words is dictated by practical and technical, and not by scientific considerations, is after all one of the historical sciences. It compiles the historical statistics of the language.

Lexicography in this sense is still a young science. Lexicons were first made thousands of years ago, dictionaries on historical principles not until the nineteenth century. As examples I may mention two of the latest big dictionaries, which are still incomplete:

the Egyptian Dictionary prepared by the Berlin Academy of Sciences, and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*,[1] a great Latin Dictionary which has the joint support of a number of associated Academies.

A *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* also exists, and has often been cited in this book. It is a costly work in nine huge folios, but it by no means fulfils the requirements of scientific lexicography,[2] and it is altogether out of date. The same may be said of all Greek dictionaries whatever, even of the "Great Lexicon"[3] now in course of publication at Athens, which is only great, and not a lexicon at all. There is probably no department of classical philology in so backward a state at the present day as this of Greek lexicography. There is not a single manual Greek lexicon which takes adequate account of the great advances that have been made in etymology,[4] or of semasiological problems, or of the enormous additions to our statistical materials furnished by the new texts,[5] though it is to be hoped the new edition of Franz Passow's old Lexicon undertaken by Wilhelm Crönert will mark the beginning of an improvement. The fact that our present lexicons hardly ever

[1] Cf. the Hamburg address by Hermann Diels quoted below, p. 414, n. 2.

[2] Information on the history and requirements of Greek lexicography will be found most conveniently in Leopold Cohn's appendix on the subject contributed to Karl Brugmann's *Griechische Grammatik*,[3] München, 1900.—A very useful book is Hermann Schöne, *Repertorium griechischer Wörterverzeichisse und Speziallexika*, Leipzig, 1907.

[3] Μεγα Λεξικον της Ελληνικης Γλωσσης Ανεστη Κωνσταντινιδου, εν Αθηναις, 1901 ff. (3 volumes so far).

[4] A good beginning among lexicons for school use has been made by Hermann Menge, *Griechisch-Deutsches Schulwörterbuch*, Berlin, 1903.—For the scientific lexicographer the most important work is Walther Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache*,[2] Göttingen, 1905.

[5] In recent years H. van Herwerden, following an example set by others, has done most towards collecting the new details (*Lexicon Graecum Suppletorium et Dialecticum*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1902; *Appendix Lexici Graeci . . .*, Lugd. Bat., 1904; *Nova Addenda . . .* in the *Mélanges Nicole*, Genève, 1905, p. 241 ff.

suggest an opening for learned discussion, and hardly ever hint at the existence of open questions, gives them a more dogmatic than scientific character.

The problems that modern lexicography is called upon to solve have been illustrated in a masterly manner by Hermann Diels in the case of a single word,[1] and the same authority has elsewhere shown how impossible it would be to carry out the gigantic proposals for a new Greek Thesaurus.[2] The preliminary work would cost £500,000, there would be 120 volumes, and the probable selling price of this monster would be £300. Instead of one single comprehensive lexicon it would be more advisable to compile about ten separate lexicons.

One of these great lexicons would have to deal with the whole of the Biblical and early ecclesiastical writings, both literary and non-literary, beginning with the Septuagint Bible and extending over the New Testament to the Greek Fathers—not in order to isolate these texts linguistically once again, but for the sake of their inner relationship and congruity.

First, however, there is much preliminary work to be done for this Thesaurus of Biblical and Christian Greek. The chief thing is to place the lexicography of the Septuagint and of the New Testament on the new foundations afforded by the vocabulary of the contemporary world as we have

[1] *Elementum :* Eine Vorarbeit zum griechischen und lateinischen Thesaurus, Leipzig, 1899. Cf. Theologische Literaturzeitung, 26 (1901) col. 1 ff.

[2] Der lateinische, griechische und deutsche Thesaurus, Bericht, erstattet auf der Hamburger Philologenversammlung [1905], Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum etc. 1905, I. p. 689 ff. The question of the Greek Thesaurus is further discussed by Paul Kretschmer, Der Plan eines Thesaurus der griechischen Sprache, Glotta, Vol. I. pp. 339–348.—A plan has recently been set on foot in Greece for celebrating the centenary of the War of Liberation, in 1921, by the publication of a great historical lexicon of the Greek language from the earliest times down to the present day; cf. Karl Krumbacher, Internationale Wochenschrift, 2 (1908) 19 December.

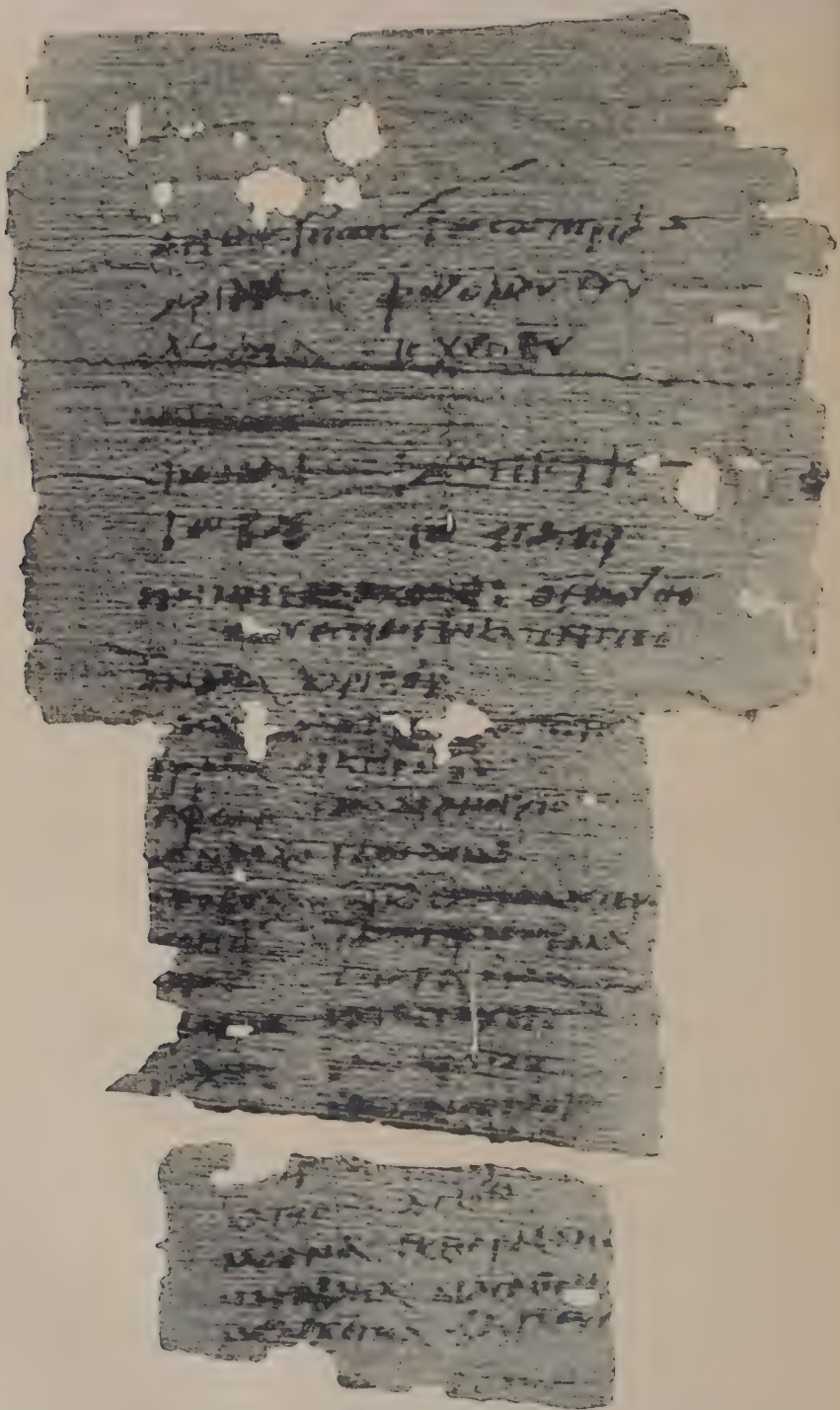

FIG. 62.—*Onomasticon sacrum.* Papyrus from Egypt, 3rd or 4th cent. A.D. Now in the University Library, Heidelberg.

[p. 415

it in the inscriptions, papyri, etc.; and the practical needs of Biblical students suggest that at the present time the more necessary of these two special tasks is the production of a revised New Testament Lexicon which shall promote the work of research without ceasing to be valuable for purposes of study.

The lexicography of the Greek Bible can look back upon a venerable history. Philo of Alexandria, the contemporary of Jesus and St. Paul, was in all probability the author of a work explaining the Hebrew names in the Septuagint, which was afterwards used by Origen and St. Jerome. Portions of this earliest lexical tradition made their way among the Christian common people at an early date, as is shown by a precious papyrus fragment[1] of the 3rd or 4th century A.D. (Figure 62) from Egypt, now in the Heidelberg University Library. This fragment—one of the few quite early Christian relics extant—is inscribed, probably for use as an amulet, with powerful and comforting Biblical names and phrases, accompanied by a Greek translation which is dependent on the learned lexical tradition.[2] The text, exactly transliterated, is as follows:—

Αριμ̣α Ἰησους Ἰωσωτηρια	Arima. Jesus: Jō[3] salvation
Αριηλ φωσμουθ̄υ	Ariēl: my light of God.
Αζαηλ ισχυσθ̄υ	Azaēl: strength of God.
. . . . . (a word crossed out)	. . . . . (a word crossed out)
5 *Ιωμαν Ιαωπιστις*	5 Jōman: Jaō[3] faith.
Ἰωβαβ Ιω πατηρ	Jōbab: Jō father.
Ηλι Ηλι ς̄αζαχθανι: θ̄εμουθ̄ε	Ēli Ēli sazachthani: my God,
μουεστιμεεγκατελιπες	my God, to what purpose hast Thou forsaken me?

[1] Published by me in the *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung* I. No. 5 (p. 86 ff.). [2] Cf. my detailed commentary, *ibid.*

[3] *Jo* and *Jao* are divine names, derived ultimately from Jahveh.

	Αναηλ	χαρισθυ		Anaēl:	grace of God.
10	Ἰουδα[ς]	Ἰαωεξο[μο]λογησις	10	Juda[s]:	Jaō confession.
	[Ἰ]εραηλ	οικτιρμου		[J]eraēl:	of mercy.
	[Ἰ]εφθαε	Ἰαωδιανοιξις		[J]ephthae:	Jaō opening.
	[Ἰ]ωναθαν	Ιαωδομα		[J]ōnathan:	Jaō gift.
	[Ἰ]εροβοαλ	δικασμοσανωτερο[ς]		[J]eroboal:	higher giving of judgment.
15	[Ἰ]ωσηφ	Ἰαωπροσθεμα	15	[J]ōsēph:	Jaō addition.
	[Ησ]αιου	ερ ρσισιαω		[Ēs]aiu:	rising of Jaō.
	[. . .] λαμ	καταπαυσις		[. . .] lam:	rest.
	Ἰαχαζ	Ιαωκρατος		Jachaz:	Jaō might.
	[Ἰ]ακιν	Ἰαωαναστασις		[J]akin:	Jaō resurrection.
20		Ιαω	20		Jaō.
	[. . .] ρ.	[. . .] ι. .		[. . .] r.:	[. . .] i. .
	Κατης	αγιον		Katēs:	holy.
	Μαανα	εκπαρακλησ[εως]		Maana:	from consolation.
	Μαγαβαηλ	διαγαθονθ[ς]		Magabaēl:	how[1] good God!
25	Μελεχειηλ	βασιλευσ[μουθς]	25	Melecheiēl:	my King God.
	Ηλ[ι]	θσμου		Ēl[i]:	my God.

In spite of the great age of the Biblical lexical fragments that have come down to us, the scientific lexicography of the Greek New Testament is still young. Its founder was Georg Pasor,[2] a theologian of Nassau, who printed the first special lexicon to the New Testament at Herborn in 1619 (Figure 63), and by means of this book exerted a powerful influence on New Testament studies in all Protestant countries down to the end of the eighteenth century. It appeared in a constant succession of new editions, pirated editions, and adaptations, and was the parent

[1] [δι is a phonetic spelling for τί, and the translation is confirmed by Jerome, *quam bonus Deus.* See the author's commentary, *Veröffentlichungen*, I. p. 93. TR.]

[2] A biographical study of Pasor, who also did eminent service in other branches of Biblical philology, is much to be desired. Some details will be found in my little work, "Briefe eines Herborner Classicus aus den Jahren 1605 und 1606," published as a "programm" in the Denkschrift des Kgl. Preuss. ev.-theologischen Seminars zu Herborn für die Jahre 1893–1897, Herborn, 1898.

LEXICON GRÆCO-
LATINUM,
IN
NOVUM DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI TESTAMENTUM,

Ubi omnium vocabulorum Græcorum themata indicantur, & utraque tam themata quàm derivata Grammaticè resolvuntur.

CUM INDICE COPIOSISSIMO;

In quo omnes N. T. voces Græcæ ordine alphabetico percensentur, singularumq; loci indicantur:

In gratiam sacr. litt. & linguæ Græcæ studiosorum:

Authore

GEORGIO PASORE.

Herbornæ Nassoviorum, 1619.

FIG. 63.—Title-page of the first New Testament Lexicon, by Georg Pasor, Herborn, 1619. From a copy in the University Library, Heidelberg. (Actual size.)

of two abridgments, one (*Manuale*) of medium and the other (*Syllabus*) of quite small size.[1]

The greatest additions to New Testament lexicography were made by the eighteenth-century compilers of "Observations," the most remarkable of whom, Walch, has been already mentioned above.[2] It was chiefly their material that supplied the later lexicographers, including those whose books we still use to-day: Wilke and Grimm, Cremer, Joseph Henry Thayer, etc. Of these Thayer, working upon the solid foundation of Wilke and Grimm, produced the best and maturest results.[3] But even Thayer is now out of date. In the second and fourth chapters of this book I have shown, I think, what an abundance of material is now waiting to be worked up systematically. For no other book of the ancient world are the new texts of the Graeco-Roman period lexically so productive as for the New Testament.

The first main task of the future lexicon will be to place the New Testament vocabulary in living linguistic connexion with the contemporary world. Only in this way can the right place be found for every word, the place to which it belongs in the complete history of the Greek language, and only in this way can the points of contact and of contrast be established between the contemporary world and the cult-words used in the gospels and apostolic writings. An author who undertook a New Testament Lexicon at the present day without sketching in each article the history and statistics of words and meanings, would banish the apostle of the world from his own world, banish the gospel from

[1] I myself possess altogether 29 different editions of the Lexicon, Manuale, and Syllabus, and should be very grateful for information about any copies of the three works.

[2] Page 10, n. 4.

[3] Cf. my review in the Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1898, p. 920 ff.

history, shut off the New Testament from the light of research, and take up his own position far behind Thayer and Grimm, even far behind Cremer, along with Stellhorn and Schirlitz, *i.e.* outside the pale of scientific lexicography altogether. The second main task is to ascertain carefully the phases in the changes of meaning. It will first be necessary, it is true, to bestow some more reflection on the nature and laws of the changes to which religious concepts are liable—this being perhaps the most interesting branch of the whole subject of semasiology.[1] The third main task is to simplify once more and put warmth again into the popular concepts of Primitive Christianity, which have been artificially complicated and deprived of life by scholastic prejudice and a too anxious process of isolation. The new Lexicon will bring out once more the simplicity, inwardness, and force of the utterances of evangelists and apostles. And as in the days long gone an Egyptian Christian wrote down on the papyrus the interpretation of powerful and comforting holy names to be his shield and buckler against all evils, so perhaps the new Lexicon will meet with that best of all rewards, far exceeding all scholarly recognition, the reward of exerting an influence in real life. It may be that in a lonely parsonage in the Westerwald,[2] or in the hired lodgings of the city preacher, it will help on Saturday mornings to unfold the thought in the sacred text to the benefit of the Sabbath congregation.

[1] Detached problems of religious semasiology are touched on in my lexical studies on "Elements" (*στοιχεῖα*) in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* II., London, 1901, col. 1258 ff., and on "*ἱλαστήριος* und *ἱλαστήριον*," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 4 (1903) p. 193 ff. Cf. also p. 208 n., etc. above.

[2] [A rather bleak hilly district of Nassau, north-west of Coblenz, bounded by the Dill (p. 113, n. 1 above) and the Lahn. The author was born at a village on the Lahn, and Herborn, where he and Pasor worked (pp. 229 n., 416 above), is on the Dill. TR.]

Inspired by such objects to work for, the New Testament researcher hears with composure and without lasting disgust the unbrotherly insults of excited ignoramuses who, agitating for the quiet Kingdom of God with the paltry means of this world, and imitating in their dwarfishness the intolerance of the heroes, think themselves able to break the bonds that connect him with his fathers and forefathers—bonds that he would fain cherish with reverence and gratitude.

Such noise from the street disturbs him less, perhaps, than a feeling that comes over him at times in his own study. He feels there is a painful side to the learned work of the scholar—a risk that amid the chaos of paper-slips he may lose his own self, while the age he lives in calls for men who can do more than decipher old handwriting, excerpt words on paper-slips, and read proof-sheets. In the midst of his learned labours comes the question: Is not more accomplished by the men who hoe the vineyard, who descend the mine, repair the steamer's screw, help a degenerate back to the right path, exhaust themselves as teachers, leaders, and evangelists among the masses—do they not all do more work for God's cause than the man who proposes to write a new book, thus adding to the hundredweights which already bind our generation in slavery to the past? . . .

It is always the New Testament itself that calls the man of research back from his wandering thoughts to work on the New Testament again. Daily it bears witness to him of its own veriest nature: the little Book is not one of the paralysing and enslaving forces of the past, but it is full of eternal strength to make strong and to make free.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

JEWISH PRAYERS FOR VENGEANCE FOUND AT RHENEIA

(Reprinted with slight alterations and with the illustrations now first added, from Philologus 61 [1902] *pp.* 253–265)

THE "prayers for vengeance" from Rheneia (Rhenea), though published long ago and several times discussed, at least in part, were first made really accessible in 1901, by Adolf Wilhelm.[1] He not only reproduced them in facsimile, but also for the first time settled with certainty the questions of their connexion, their provenance, and their age. They are inscribed on two gravestones, one of which is now in the Museum at Bucharest, and the other in the National Museum at Athens.[2] That the stele at Athens originally came from Rheneia (Magna Delos), the burial-place of the inhabitants of ancient Delos, Wilhelm was able to show from a note which he re-discovered in the first publication[3]; and he proved clearly that the stone at Bucharest was of the same origin. Wilhelm also recognised that the inscriptions were Jewish and closely connected with the text of the Septuagint, yet even after his fundamental labours the texts still require to be interpreted, and their high value for the history of the Jewish religion in the Hellenistic world still stands in need of appreciation.

[1] Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, 4 (1901) Supplement, cols. 9–18. The whole previous literature is there referred to. In col. 9, n. 1, read LXXVII instead of XXXVII.

[2] Even Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*,[2] II. (1900) p. 676 f., considered the Bucharest stone as identical with the Athenian, and said it came from Aegina to Athens, and from there to Bucharest. This seems, however, to have put Wilhelm upon the right track.

[3] *Expédition scientifique de Morée* . . . Architecture, Sculptures, Inscriptions et Vues . . . publiées par Abel Blouet, III., Paris, 1836, plate xiii., cf. p. 7; and especially the exhaustive commentary by Le Bas in the separately paged supplement to this work: Inscriptions copiées dans les îles de la mer Égée, p. 41 ff.

I will first describe the stones and reproduce the texts according to Wilhelm, checking his statements by my own observations of the originals. The Bucharest stele, being the less damaged of the two, had better be described first. I saw it on 5 April, 1906. It is made of white marble, broken at the top, provided with a tenon underneath, and now still 16½ inches high, 12 inches broad, and 2½ inches thick. Both sides of the stone have the same inscription, but with a different division into lines and other trifling variations (Figures 64 and 65). Above the written words on both sides there is a pair of uplifted hands, with the palms turned outwards. The text of the side A (Figure 64), which still shows traces of having been originally picked out in red, runs as follows (the words have been separated; accents and punctuation are supplied, and the variant readings of the side B are noted below; no attempt has been made to exhibit the differences in the division into lines):—

Ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ ἀξιῶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν
ὕψιστον, τὸν κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων
καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ἐπὶ τοὺς δόλωι φονεύ-
σαντας ἢ φαρμακεύσαντας τὴν τα-
λαίπωρον ἄωρον Ἡράκλεαν ἐχχέαν-
τας αὐτῆς τὸ ἀναίτιον αἷμα ἀδί-
κως, ἵνα οὕτως γένηται τοῖς φονευ-
σασιν αὐτὴν ἢ φαρμακεύσασιν καὶ
τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν, κύριε ὁ πάντα ἐ-
φορῶν καὶ οἱ ἄνγελοι θεοῦ, ὧ πᾶσα ψυ-
χὴ ἐν τῆ σήμερον ἡμέραι ταπεινοῦται
μεθ' ἱκετείας, ἵνα ἐγδικήσης τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀ-
ναίτιον ζητήσεις καὶ τὴν ταχίστην.

3 δολωι: B δολω | 6 αναιτιον: B αν[. .]τιον | 7 ουτως: B ο[.]τως | 10 ὧ: Wilhelm ᾧ | 11 τῆ: Wilhelm τῇ | ημεραι: B ημερα | 12 ἐγδικήσης: Wilhelm ἐγδικήσῃς | αιμα: B α[. .]α

The Athenian stele, which I saw on 8 May, 1906, is also of white marble, adorned with a pediment above, and provided with a tenon below; it is much damaged above and on the left side, but still 22 inches high, 13 inches broad, and 3½ inches thick. It is inscribed only upon one side, and there is not the slightest doubt, judging from the general structure

A

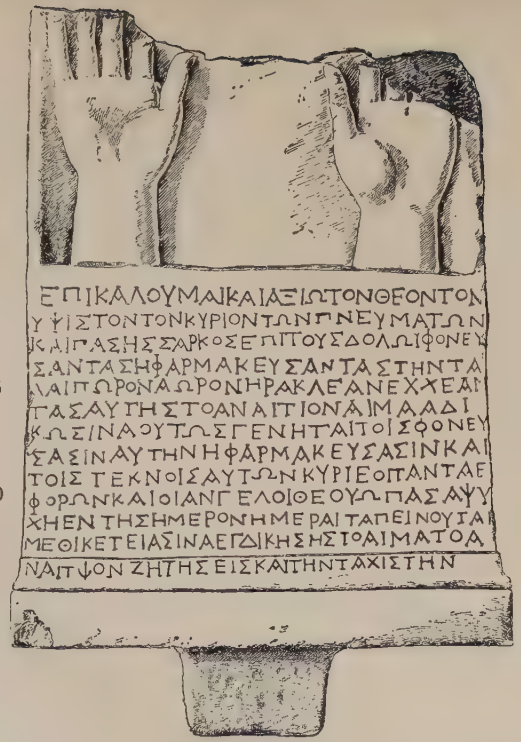

FIG. 64.

B

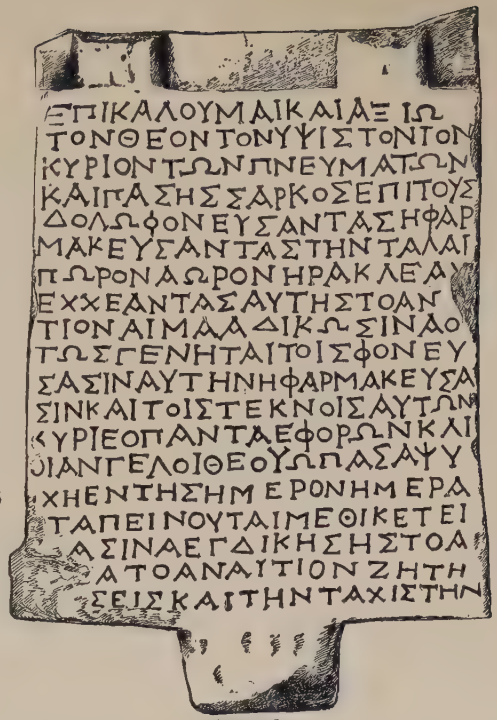

FIG. 65.

Marble Stele from Rheneia, inscribed with a Prayer for Vengeance on the Murderers of Heraclea, a Jewess of Delos, *circa* 100 B.C., front view (A, Fig. 64) and back view (B, Fig. 65). Now in the Museum at Bucharest. By permission of the Imperial Austrian Archaeological Institute.

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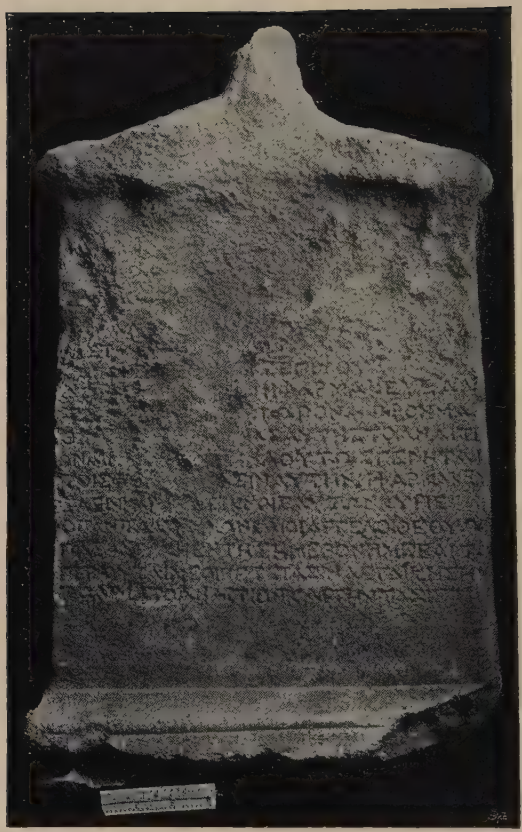

FIG. 66.—Marble Stele from Rheneia, inscribed with a Prayer for Vengeance on the Murderers of Marthina, a Jewess of Delos, *circa* 100 B.C. Now in the National Museum, Athens. By permission of the Imperial Austrian Archaeological Institute.

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of the mutilated upper portion, and from certain remaining traces, that above the inscription there was engraved a pair of hands similar to those on the Bucharest stele[1] (Figure 66). The text, which may be confidently restored with the help of the Bucharest inscription, runs as follows:—

['Επικ]αλο[ῦμαι καὶ ἀξιῶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὕ-]
[ψι]στο[ν, τὸν κύριον] τῶ[ν πνευμάτων]
[κ]αὶ π[ά]σ[ης σαρκό]ς, ἐπὶ τοὺς [δόλωι]
φο[νεύσαντας] ἢ φαρμακεύσαν-
τα[ς τὴν ταλαί]πωρον ἄωρον Μαρ-
[θ]ίν[ην ἐχχέαν]τας αὐτῆς τὸ ἀναίτι-
ον αἷμ[α ἀδίκω]ς, ἵνα οὕτως γένηται
τοῖς φον[εύσα]σιν αὐτὴν ἢ φαρμακεύ-
σασιν καὶ [τοῖς τ]έκνοις αὐτῶν, κύριε
ὁ πάντα ἐ[φ]ορῶν καὶ οἱ ἄνγελοι θεοῦ, ὧι
πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐν τῆ σήμερον ἡμέραι τα-
πεινοῦται μεθ' ἱκετείας, ἵνα ἐγδικήση[ς]
τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον καὶ τὴν ταχίστη[ν].

11 τῆ: Wilhelm τῇ | 12 ἐγδικήση[ς]: Wilhelm ἐκδικήση[ς].

The question of the age of these texts at Athens and Bucharest shall be postponed until after their interpretation; but we may remark here that according to Wilhelm they both originated not only at the same spot, Rheneia, but also at the same time. There is such close agreement between the two inscriptions throughout that we are entitled to interpret them as two texts of the same original.

It is evident at the first glance that the texts are either of Jewish or of Christian origin, for they are a mosaic from the Septuagint Bible which was common to the Greek Jews and the Greek Christians. The echoes of the New Testament observed by Otto Hirschfeld[2] are in fact, as closer comparison shows, echoes of the Septuagint. The texts contain nothing specifically and exclusively Christian either in formula or in symbol; nevertheless decisive judgment must be suspended until the interpretation has been attempted.

[1] Wilhelm, col. 12.

[2] Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften [zu Wien], 77 (1874, Parts IV.–VI.) p. 404 f.

The pair of hands above the writing is, as Wilhelm[1] has already shown, a by no means uncommon symbol of the invocation of divine help on pagan stones. It might very easily pass over into the usage of Jews and Christians, since they too lifted up their hands in praying.[2] In this case, moreover, a prayer is being uttered—a prayer for vengeance on the unknown miscreants by whom two murders had been committed. The rites prescribed by Old Testament law for atonement in the case of murder by an unknown hand facilitated the borrowing of the symbolic pair of hands in this case.[3] Though this ritual, as shown by our texts, was not observed in the present case, we may nevertheless suppose that here and there a devout person, who knew his Bible, at sight of the uplifted hands would think not only of hands in prayer, but also of hands free from blood.[4]

The prayer begins with the verb *ἐπικαλοῦμαι*, which occurs in the same way very commonly in the LXX and in early Christian texts,[5] and often in the forms of prayer found in magical texts.[6] The combination *ἐπικαλοῦμαι . . . τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὕψιστον* has good analogies, *e.g.* in Ecclus. xlvi. 5, *ἐπεκαλέσατο τὸν ὕψιστον δυνάστην*; xlvii. 5, *ἐπεκαλέσατο γὰρ κύριον τὸν ὕψιστον*; 2 Macc. iii. 31, *ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὸν ὕψιστον*. We also find *ἀξιῶ* used of prayer, *e.g.* LXX Jer. vii. 16, xi. 14 (synonymous with *προσεύχομαι*), Ecclus. li. 14, and frequently in the second book of Maccabees. It is still more significant that both verbs are found together in the same sentence in Jer. xi. 14, though not in the same combination as in our text. On the

[1] Col. 16 f. There also will be found the full literature on this symbol. See also Rudolf Pagenstecher, Die Auferweckung des Lazarus auf einer römischen Lampe, Extrait du Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie, No. 11, Alexandrie, 1908, p. 6 f.

[2] Besides the Old Testament passages cf. for example 1 Tim. ii. 8.

[3] Deut. xxi. 6, 7, *καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γερουσία τῆς πολέως ἐκείνης οἱ ἐγγίζοντες τῷ τραυματίᾳ νίψονται τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς δαμάλεως τῆς νενευροκοπημένης ἐν τῇ φάραγγι. καὶ ἀποκριθέντες ἐροῦσιν· αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐξέχεαν τὸ αἷμα τοῦτο κτλ.*

[4] The *kohanim* hands represented on late gravestones of the descendants of Aaron (Immanuel Löw, *Der Finger in Litteratur und Folklore der Juden*, Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann, Breslau, 1900, p. 68) are of course not to be thought o ïin this connexion.

[5] Separate quotations are unnecessary.

[6] Often, for example, in the texts edited by Wessely.

expression *τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὕψιστον* Wilhelm[1] refers to E. Schürer's and F. Cumont's well-known researches on the cult of the "Most High God," but what we have here is not a divine name in use among monotheistic worshippers who derived it only indirectly from the Bible: it is in fact the direct equivalent of the Biblical אֵל עֶלְיוֹן.

Very remarkable too is the next divine name, *τὸν κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός*, which is obviously (as also in Clem. Rom. 1 Cor. lxiv., *δεσπότης τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ κύριος πάσης σαρκός*) based upon the formulae, LXX Numbers xvi. 22, xxvii. 16, *θεὸς* or *κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός*. The first part of the formula, "Lord of the spirits," is especially characteristic. Already in the Septuagint formula the *πνέυματα* are the ministering spirits, the angels, who in Hebrews i. 14 are expressly so called. In the second part of the Book of Enoch "Lord of the spirits" is an almost constant appellation of the Deity. Elsewhere the form is not to my knowledge a common one, apart from the Greek liturgies and magical texts; of earlier date may be mentioned 2 Macc. iii. 24, on good authority, and the above-cited passage from the first Epistle of Clement.

For the construction of *ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ ἀξιῶ* with *ἐπί*, I have no Septuagint example to offer. But the sense of "against," rightly advocated also in 2 Cor. i. 23 (*μάρτυρα τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχήν*) by Heinrici and others,[2] is quite certain. The phrase *δόλωι φονεύσαντας* at once reminds us of the old Biblical law, which distinguishes between accidental homicide (Deut. xix. 4, *ὃς ἂν πατάξῃ τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ οὐκ εἰδώς*, cf. verse 5, *τύχῃ*) and deliberate murder (Exodus xxi. 14, *ἐὰν δέ τις ἐπιθῆται τῷ πλησίον ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν δόλῳ*). The word *δόλῳ* is also used in Deuteronomy xxvii. 24 (*ὁ τύπτων τὸν πλησίον δόλῳ*) in the forensic sense.

The words immediately following are all found in the LXX (*φονεύω* very often; *φαρμακεύω*, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6, Psalm lvii. [lviii.] 6, 2 Macc. x. 13; *ταλαίπωρος* frequently, *e.g.* of a woman Psalm cxxxvi. [cxxxvii.] 8; *ἄωρος* frequently, *e.g.*, with nothing to correspond in the Hebrew, Proverbs x. 6, xi. 30,

[1] Col. 16.

[2] Cf. p. 306, n. 1 above.

xiii. 2); but none of them is specially characteristic; the same is the case with the common word *ἀδίκως*.

On the names of the two murdered girls, Heraclea and Marthina, Wilhelm,[1] who correctly explains the latter as formed from *Μάρθα*, has already made all necessary remarks. He conjectures that two other gravestones discovered in Rheneia with the inscriptions *Ἡράκλεια χρηστὴ χαῖρε* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* II, add. No. 2322 b. 69; Le Bas, *Îles*, 2039) and *Μαρθείνη Εὐτάκτου χρηστὴ χαῖρε* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* II, add. No. 2322 b. 78; Le Bas, *Îles*, 2041) relate to the same two murdered victims, but concerning this I do not venture to pronounce. But I would at least raise the question whether we are to suppose two separate murders at different times, or whether Heraclea and Marthina met their death at the murderer's hand simultaneously. Seeing that the two inscriptions agree even in the decisive passage, ll. 10 ff., I take the latter assumption to be more probable, though the other is of course not altogether excluded.

Very familiar to the reader of the Septuagint is *ἐχχέαντας αὐτῆς τὸ ἀναίτιον αἷμα* (A 5 f., B 6 f.). *αἷμα ἐκχέω* is a phrase, not indeed specifically "Biblical,"[2] but very common in the Greek Bible. *αἷμα ἀναίτιον* occurs five times, and in Deuteronomy xix. 10 we have the whole phrase, *καὶ οὐκ ἐκχυθήσεται αἷμα ἀναίτιον*. After the two verbs of asking *ἵνα* (line 7) is used instead of *ὅπως*, as often in the Bible and other Hellenistic texts.[3] The sense of the petition *ἵνα οὕτως γένηται κτλ.*, which has a formal ring, is: "May the guilty murderers be overtaken by a violent death like that of their innocent victims"; *οὕτως* is strongly accentuated and seems really to mean "in the same way," a use which we may understand as an abridgment of expressions like LXX Judges i. 7, *καθὼς οὖν ἐποίησα, οὕτως ἀνταπέδωκέ μοι ὁ θεός*. On the subject of retaliation the prayer takes exactly the view of Genesis ix. 6, *ὁ ἐκχέων αἷμα ἀνθρώπου ἀντὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ ἐκχυθήσεται, ὅτι ἐν εἰκόνι θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον*, and Deuteronomy xix. 10–13. The addition of the phrase *καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν* is thoroughly Biblical, as in Exodus xx. 5, *ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεός σου, θεὸς ζηλωτὴς ἀποδιδοὺς ἁμαρτίας*

[1] Col. 14 ff.

[2] The dictionaries quote it from Aeschylus.

[3] *E.g.* Epistle of Aristeas (ed. Wendland) 17, 193, 226, *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ἵνα*.

πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα ἕως τρίτης καὶ τετάρτης γενεᾶς τοῖς μισοῦσί με, cf. Exodus xxxiv. 7, Numbers xiv. 18.

"The all-seeing Lord" is also a not uncommon formula[1] in the Bible: LXX Job xxxiv. 23, ὁ γὰρ κύριος πάντας (Cod. A τὰ πάντα)[2] ἐφορᾷ; similarly 2 Macc. xii. 22, xv. 2: cf. Additions to Esther v. 1 (xv. 2), τὸν πάντων ἐπόπτην θεόν; 3 Macc. ii. 21, ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης θεός; 2 Macc. vii. 35 (cf. iii. 39), τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἐπόπτου θεοῦ. Later echoes of this formula are very marked: *e.g.* Epistle of Aristeas (ed. Wendland) 16, τὸν γὰρ πάντων ἐπόπτην καὶ κτίστην θεόν; Clem. Rom. 1 Cor. lxiv., ὁ παντεπόπτης θεός, cf. lv. 6, lix. 3, τὸν ἐπόπτην ἀνθρωπίνων ἔργων; Hadrumetum lead tablet,[3] 36, παντεφόπτου; a prayer in the Great Magical Papyrus (Paris) calls the holy πάρεδροι of the Great God (the angels) παντεπόπτας (l. 1369) and ἐφόπτας[4] (l. 1353); in the same papyrus God is called ὁ δύσιν καὶ ἀνατολὴν ἐφορῶν καὶ μεσημβρίαν καὶ ἄρκτον ἀποβλέπων[5] (l. 2195 f.).

The invocation of the ἀνγελοι θεοῦ (line 10) does not warrant us in assuming a special cult of the angels. The prayer, in fact, keeps well within the bounds of the Biblical creed. An invocation of the angels, and the assurance that the angels carry out God's will, are both found in LXX Psalm cii. (ciii.) 20, εὐλογεῖτε τὸν κύριον πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ, δυνατοὶ ἰσχύϊ ποιοῦντες τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ. The corresponding ideas on this subject in later Jewish belief have already been pointed out by Wilhelm.[6]

The most important and, for the general criticism of the texts, decisive passage is undoubtedly line 10 ff.: ὧι πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐν τῆ σήμερον ἡμέραι ταπεινοῦται μεθ' ἱκετείας. The phrases πᾶσα ψυχή, ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ, ταπεινόω, ἱκετεία, are all more or less common in the Greek Old Testament. The whole sentence has the sound of LXX Leviticus xxiii. 29, πᾶσα ψυχή, ἥτις μὴ ταπεινωθήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ, which passage Wilhelm[7] probably had in mind. But we should

[1] Cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 47; *Bible Studies*, p. 293; and p. 351, n. 1 above.

[2] Codex A, therefore, as Wilhelm pointed out (col. 15 f.), has the same reading as our inscriptions imply, but with the article added. The article, however, is wanting in 2 Macc. xii. 22, xv. 2.

[3] *Bibelstudien*, pp. 30, 47; *Bible Studies*, pp. 276, 293.

[4] Wessely, pp. 79, 78.

[5] Wessely, p. 99 f.

[6] Col. 18.

[7] Col. 16.

explain little by the bare reference to this formal dependence on the Greek Bible. The question is: What is to be understood by "this same day, on which every soul is humbled with supplication"? It must refer to some day of celebration—as remarked by Dittenberger,[1] though he gives no further explanation. From the text itself it seems only to follow that a general day of prayer is meant. But we find more than this. The expression ψυχὴν ταπεινοῦν is obviously used, not in the general ethical sense of "humbling one's self" (as in LXX Isaiah ii. 17; Psalm xliii. [xliv.] 26; Ecclus. ii. 17, vii. 17; cf. the use of ταπεινοῦν in the Gospels and other early Christian texts), but, as the context surely shows, in the technical sense of "mortifying the flesh" = "*fasting*." The Greek expression is an exact imitation of the Hebrew ענה נפש and is used thus in LXX Leviticus xvi. 29, 31; xxiii. 27, 29, 32; Isaiah lviii. 3, 5 (in verse 10 it means "to hunger," probably by an extension of this sense); Judith iv. 9 (cf. verse 13). In Psalm xxxiv. [xxxv.] 13 it is expressly explained: καὶ ἐταπείνουν ἐν νηστείᾳ τὴν ψυχήν μου. Thus our text speaks not only of a day of prayer, but of a day of prayer and fasting. Are we then to imagine a day of prayer and fasting specially appointed on account of the murder of the two girls? The authorities frequently mention[2] public days of fasting on the occasion of some great public danger or heavy visitation; especially instructive, for instance, is the statement in the Mishna (Taanith III. 6) that the elders of Jerusalem once proclaimed a fast because the wolves had devoured two little children. We might assume from the nature of things that these days of fasting were also days of prayer, but the fact is expressly confirmed by the account in Judith iv. 9–13.

On the other hand, against the assumption that the fellow-believers of the two murdered maidens in Delos observed an *extraordinary* day of prayer and fasting whilst the awful shock of the dark deed was still upon them,[3] we must set the words

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 677, "Quinam potissimum dies festus intelligendus sit, . . . diiudicandum relinquo."

[2] The best collection of the evidence is still that in Winer's old *Bibl. Realwörterbuch* I.[2] (1847) p. 364 f.

[3] M. Meinertz, of Braunsberg, writing from Berlin, 5 September, 1908, advocates this assumption, connects the ἵνα-clause with ἱκετείας, and takes πᾶσα ψυχή to mean the whole Jewish community of Delos.

πᾶσα ψυχή, which point rather to a *general* day of prayer and fasting. The word πᾶσα must of course not be pressed; it does not mean every person whatever, but every one that raises his hands in prayer to the "Most High God, the Lord of the spirits and of all flesh," in other words, every Jew.

Thus we have already taken sides on the question whether the text is Christian or Jewish. The fast day on which all fast and pray is evidently the *jōm hakkippurīm*, the great Day of Atonement, to which the above-mentioned provisions of the law concerning ψυχὴν ταπεινοῦν relate. All the other expressions in the texts might be either Jewish or Christian; the really characteristic sentence, however, fairly provokes reference to the Jewish Day of Atonement, whilst there is scarcely an early Christian festival to which it could be made to apply without forcing the meaning. Wilhelm's conjecture that the texts are Jewish is admirably confirmed by this explanation.

On this point a further remark must be made. That a prayer for vengeance should be offered on the Day of Atonement is not remarkable, when we find that later prayers for use on that day also ask for vengeance for blood that has been shed.[1] I cannot refrain from remarking that, while prayers such as these are certainly below the level of the prayer in Luke xxiii. 34, the prayer in Revelation vi. 10 is not a whit above them.

The last two lines also are in agreement with the whole tenor of the rest. I suppose that the copy given to the stone-cutter ran: ἵνα ἐγδικήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον καὶ ζητήσῃς τὴν ταχίστην, and can see no necessity for Dittenberger's transposition (adopted by Wilhelm[2]) ἵνα ζητήσῃς τὸ ἀναίτιον αἷμα καὶ ἐγδικήσῃς τὴν ταχίστην. The two verbs are synonymous, so that in LXX Joel iii. [iv.] 21, for instance, Cod. A writes ἐκδικήσω τὸ αἷμα instead of ἐκζητήσω τὸ αἷμα. αἷμα ἐκδικεῖν

[1] A specialist would have more quotations to offer than I can command. But I think a single quotation at second hand sufficient in this case. J. A. Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, 1700, II. p. 101, quotes from the *Dicke Thephilla*, Frankfurt a. M., 1688, fol. 50, col. 2, a prayer for the Day of Atonement: "Make me also worthy to behold the coming of Thine Anointed, and avenge Thy people, the House of Israel; and avenge the blood of Thy servants that has been shed, swiftly and in our days."

[2] Col. 13.

occurs elsewhere in LXX Deuteronomy xxxii. 43, 2 Kings ix. 7; *αἷμα ζητεῖν* is used like *αἷμα ἐκζητεῖν*, which is very common in the LXX (cf. also Luke xi. 50).

The ending *τὴν ταχίστην*, a formula found also in 1 Macc. xi. 22, reminds one of the very common *ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ* of many prayers of conjuration.[1] But similar formulae can be cited from prayers in official use among the Jews: the twelfth Berakah of the Shemoneh Esreh, to mention but one example,[2] runs: ". . . May all they that do evil perish *quickly*, and may they all *right soon* be rooted out; and do Thou cripple and break in pieces and overthrow and bend the haughty, *soon*, *with speed*, in our days."[3] We are also reminded of the early Christian *ἐν τάχει*, Luke xviii. 8, Romans xvi. 20, Revelation i. 1, xxii. 6, and *ταχύ* (frequent in Revelation). The observation of L. Blau,[4] that in Jewish texts of conjuration (as might be expected) echoes of the prayer-book are not wanting, receives new confirmation from this little touch.

The interpreter has yet another question to answer. Why is the text repeated in duplicate on the Bucharest stone? We must conjecture that the prayer was to be made more insistent by this means. Repetition makes an incantation "more powerful,"[5] so we may suppose the same to hold good here.

The question as to the age of our text was answered by Le Bas, the first editor, on the supposition that he was dealing with a Christian epitaph. From its similarity to certain cursing formulae in Christian epitaphs, or at the end of Christian manuscripts, or in the ritual of the Church, he felt obliged to conclude, although the shape of the letters did not seem to suit the assumption, that the inscription belonged to the 11th or 12th century A.D.! A reflecting reader of his investigations might easily, without recourse to other works,

[1] Cf., for example, *Bibelstudien*, p. 43; *Bible Studies*, p. 289.

[2] The later prayer-books furnish many instances; cf. "swiftly and in our days" in the prayer already quoted from the *Dicke Thephilla*.

[3] The translation by Schürer, *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, II.[3] p. 461, has been followed.

[4] *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, p. 110.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 86 with reference to Jewish conjurations. Eduard Norden (postcard, Gross-Lichterfelde W., 4 September, 1908) confirms this conjecture, and refers to his commentary on Vergil, *Aeneid* VI. 45 (p. 136).

have observed two things. The characteristic Christian phrases in the late cursing formulae quoted by Le Bas were wanting in the text of the inscription, and the actual resemblances between the inscription and the late formulae occurred only in the gaps of the text which Le Bas had filled up conjecturally.[1] It was therefore quite right of Wilhelm not to beg the question by assuming the Christian origin of the text, but to start from the form of the letters and the outward appearance of the stone. He arrived at the result that the writing was that of the second century B.C.! This great difference in the opinions of two epigraphists might well make us diffident, were it not that between 1836 and 1901 there lies more than half a century of epigraphical research, which brought an enormous increase of data and steady progress in method. The history of the exposition of our texts is the history of that progress. In 1874 Otto Hirschfeld[2] declared that "to judge from the writing" the Bucharest text (the chronology of which does not differ from that of the Athenian) could scarcely be later than the second century A.D. In 1900 W. Dittenberger[3] from the style of the writing placed it in the first century A.D. Wilhelm has now set the date of the Athenian text still further back, and three specialists, after inspecting the stone, have corroborated his opinion. At his request, Th. Homolle, P. Wolters, and Baron F. Hiller von Gaertringen examined the writing, without regard to the subject-matter, and assigned it to the second century B.C., "without of course excluding the possibility that it was written in the early decades of the following century, but in any case before the pillage in the year 88 B.C. and the fall of Delos."[4]

In this judgment we may have full confidence. The probability of a Christian origin has been already disproved by interpretative criticism. The simplicity of the texts bespeaks a high antiquity; the intricate confusion of the later incanta-

[1] Le Bas restores lines 2 and 3 thus: [αἱ] ἀραὶ [τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων]; and line 7, αἱμ[α· καὶ ἀνάθεμ]α οὕτως γένηται. Out of all Le Bas' material there only remains the combination "God and the angels" common to the inscription and a 10th-century formula of excommunication. But it is self-evident that this combination is extremely ancient.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 404 f. [3] *Loc. cit.* p. 677. [4] Wilhelm, col. 11.

tions is altogether wanting in these formulae. The contents afford not the smallest inducement to dispute the date established by the specialists in epigraphy. The prayers are Jewish inscriptions of the end of the second or beginning of the first century B.C.

What is the importance of this fact? Jewish inscriptions of the pre-Christian period are very rare, and merely on that account every increase of material is of interest. But even in details the texts yield a respectable harvest. They afford confirmatory proofs of the existence of a Jewish community at Delos in the time of the successors of Alexander[1]; they moreover render it probable that the Jews of Delos also buried their dead at Rheneia. That must have been in compulsory conformity with the customs of the place. But the name *Heraclea*, the ending of the name *Marthina*, the shape of the gravestones, the symbol of the two hands on the stones, and notably the whole style of the prayer[2]—these are all adaptations to the Hellenic surroundings. Hellenism is already at work on the great task of peacefully secularising the Jewish faith, and this at a time when in the old home of that faith men were still living who had witnessed the great days when the Maccabean martyrs poured out their blood for the law of their fathers.

This Hellenisation from outside was assisted from another direction by the Hellenisation of the Bible which originated with the cosmopolitan Jews of Alexandria. The Septuagint was already in use among the Jews of the Diaspora when the inscriptions at Rheneia were composed. This is a very important fact. Our inscriptions add to the literary evidence[3] of the existence and use of the Septuagint in early times an original document that is only a few decades later than the celebrated testimony of the prologue to Ecclesiasticus. In this respect they are more valuable than the tablet of Hadrumetum.

They show further that the great Day of Atonement was

[1] Other evidence in Schürer III.[3] p. 27.

[2] The old rite (Deuteronomy xxi.) referred to above (p. 426, n. 3) could not be carried out amid foreign surroundings. Ancient analogies can easily be found from the references in Wilhelm, col. 16 f.

[3] Schürer III.[3] p. 310 f.

actually celebrated by the Jews of Delos in the period about 100 B.C. We are not particularly well informed about worship in the Diaspora, and we therefore welcome the evidence that our stones give as to the celebration of the Feast of Feasts one hundred and fifty years before the time when the apostle Paul sailed in an Alexandrian ship on Cretan waters, shortly after *the Fast*[1] (*i.e.* the Day of Atonement).

Finally the inscriptions from Rheneia afford us a glimpse of the inner life of the Jewish community at Delos. Two girls, Heraclea and Marthina, have been murdered; the murderers, to whose guile or magic the poor things have fallen victims, are unknown. The blood of the innocent cries aloud to Heaven, for it is written, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." So vengeance is left to Him who visits the sins of the fathers upon the children. On the most solemn festival of the year, when all Israel afflict themselves and the prayers of the scattered children of Abraham rise everywhere on the four winds of heaven to the throne of the Eternal, whilst at Jerusalem the high priest enters the "Holy of Holies,"—the mourners bring their grim petition before God; in fervent prayer on the Day of Atonement they consign the murderers to the vengeance of the Omniscient and His angels:—

> "I call upon and pray the Most High God, the Lord of the spirits and of all flesh, against those who with guile murdered or poisoned the wretched, untimely lost Heraclea, shedding her innocent blood wickedly: that it may be so with them that murdered or poisoned her, and with their children; O Lord that seeth all things, and ye angels of God, Thou before whom every soul is afflicted this same day with supplication: that Thou mayst avenge the innocent blood and require it again right speedily!"

And the same prayer is recited for Marthina, and immortalised in marble above the graves of the murdered maidens yonder in the island of the dead; daily shall the words of the prayer, dumb lines on the marble to the passer-by, but loud groans to the living God, tell of the unexpiated blood of Heraclea and Marthina; and even the Greek, to whom the formulae of the prayer seem strange, observes the uplifted hands, and perceives with a shudder the meaning of the writing on the Jewish graves.

[1] Acts xxvii. 9.

APPENDIX II

ON THE TEXT OF THE SECOND LOGIA FRAGMENT FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

(First published in the Supplement to the Allgemeine Zeitung [Munich] No. 162, 18 July, 1904, and now adapted.)

THE fourth volume of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri[1] offers, in addition to other theological texts, a new fragment with sayings of Jesus, which is assigned to the third century.

The most important task in connexion with the venerable document is the reconstruction of the text. Although more easy to read for a non-expert than the first fragment with sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus, published in 1897, the new papyrus presents harder riddles, because the number of missing letters, and in consequence the number of possible restorations, is far greater. Altogether there are five or perhaps six longer or shorter sayings, which are said to be by Jesus. It is a fortunate circumstance that one of them was already known as an Agraphon (from the Gospel according to the Hebrews as quoted by Clement of Alexandria). Thus the approximate number of letters to be restored was ascertained, and this part[2] of the fragment could be completed with tolerable certainty:—

I

[λέγει Ἰη̄ς̄·]
μὴ παυσάσθω ὁ ζη[τῶν . . . . . ἕως ἂν]
εὕρῃ καὶ ὅταν εὕρῃ [θαμβηθήσεται καὶ θαμ-]
βηθεὶς βασιλεύσει κα[ὶ βασιλεύσας ἀναπα-]
ήσεται.

[1] *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part IV., edited with translations and notes by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, London, 1904, No. 654, p. 1 ff.

[2] I pass over the first lines; they contain a "Saying of Jesus" that is by no means so interesting as the rest.

Jesus saith: Let him that seeketh . . . not cease . . . until he findeth, and when he findeth he shall be amazed, and having been amazed he shall reign, and having reigned he shall rest.[1]

Far less certain than this[2] is the restoration of the two following "Sayings." The editors read and conjecture as follows:—

II

λέγει Ἰ[ησ· . . . . . τίνες]
οἱ ἕλκοντες ἡμᾶς [εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰ]
ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρα[νῷ ἐστιν; . . . . . .]
τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρ[ανοῦ καὶ τῶν θηρίων ὅ-]
τι ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστ[ιν ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ]
οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλά[σσης οὗτοι οἱ ἕλκον-]
τες ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἡ βασ[ιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν]
ἐντὸς ὑμῶν [ἐ]στι [καὶ ὅστις ἂν ἑαυτὸν]
γνῶ ταύτην εὑρή[σει . . . . . .]
ἑαυτοὺς γνώσεσθε[3] [καὶ εἰδήσετε ὅτι υἱοὶ]
ἔστε ὑμεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ τ [. . . . . .]
γνώσ⟨εσ⟩θε[4] ἑαυτοὺς ἐν [. . . . . .]
καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ ηπτ[. . .]

Jesus saith: . . . who are they that draw us into the Kingdom if the Kingdom is in Heaven? . . . the fowls of the air, and of beasts whatsoever is under the earth or upon the earth, and the fishes of the sea, these are they that draw you, and the Kingdom of Heaven is within you, and whosoever knoweth himself shall find it. . . . Know yourselves, and ye shall perceive that ye are sons of the Father of . . . Know yourselves . . . and ye are . . .

The whole restoration is ultimately dependent on the interpretation given to the word ἕλκοντες, which the editors understand in a good sense, and at the same time ethical sense, on the analogy of ἑλκύω in John vi. 44 and xii. 32. I must confess that this meaning was clear to me neither at first reading nor after considerable reflection, and that in the whole passage as

[1] [In the English renderings of these "Sayings" it has not been considered necessary to adhere to the translations given by Grenfell and Hunt. An attempt has been made, as in dealing with the documents in the text of the book, to harmonise the language of the translations with that of the English Bible as far as possible. Tr.]

[2] The meaning of the "Saying" may be disputed; cf. A. Harnack's new discussion in the Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie, 1904, p. 175 ff.

[3] Papyrus: γνωσεσθαι.

[4] Papyrus: γνωσθε.

restored by the editors I find much that to me seems unintelligible, extraordinary in itself and doubtful linguistically. My first impression of the word ἕλκοντες was that its meaning is the same as in James ii. 6, etc., "to drag," "to hale." I thus agree as regards the sense rather with Bartlet, who proposed another restoration to the editors, taking ἕλκω in the sense of "to persecute."[1] But I cannot bring myself to adopt Bartlet's restoration. With the same reservation that I expressed in restoring the supposed Gospel-Fragment from Cairo[2] (a reservation that will seem perfectly natural to every one conversant with the subject), I venture to submit the following attempted restoration, which is to be judged, of course, not by the details (which are capable of manifold and obvious variations), but by the idea underlying it. The parallels of words and subjects, which furnish at least hypothetical justification for my attempt, are noted below.

λέγει Ἰ[η̄ς· πῶς λέγουσιν[3]]
οἱ ἕλκοντες ἡμᾶς[4] [εἰς τὰ κριτήρια,[5] ὅτι]
ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρα[νῷ ἐστιν; μήτι δύνα(ν)ται[6]]
τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρ[ανοῦ ἐπιγινώσκειν,]
τί ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστ[ιν; καὶ τί ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ]
οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλά[σσης[7]; οὕτως οἱ[8] ἕλκον-]
τες ὑμᾶς. καὶ ἡ βασ[ιλεία ὅμως μέντοι[9]]
ἐντὸς ὑμῶν [ἐ]στι[ν. καὶ ὃς ἐὰν τὰ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν]
γνῷ, ταύτην εὑρή[σει[10] . . . . . .]
ἑαυτοὺς γνώσεσθε[11] [ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ,[12] καὶ υἱοί]

[1] George Wilkins (letter, Dublin, 24 October, 1908) takes the word in the sense of "carping at" (Latin *vellicare*) and refers to Pindar, *Nem.* 7, 152.

[2] See Appendix No. III. p. 445 below.

[3] Mark xii. 35; Luke xx. 41.

[4] ημας might stand for υμας, as Grenfell and Hunt observed.

[5] James ii. 6; συνέδρια of course would suit just as well, Matt. x. 17, Mark xiii. 9.

[6] Luke vi. 39.

[7] For the chiasmus in the arrangement of the clauses cf. Ed. König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in bezug auf die biblische Literatur*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 146 f.

[8] Luke xii. 21, etc.

[9] John xii. 42; for the thought Luke x. 11, xvii. 21.

[10] For the thought cf. M tt. x. 40.

[11] The future is hortative; the following καί introduces the consequence: "Know yourselves . . . , and ye are . . . "

[12] Luke xvi 15.

ἐστε ὑμεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ τ[ελείου ἐν οὐρανῷ.[1]]
γνώσ<εσ>θε ἑαυτοὺς ἐν[ώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων,[2]]
καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐστε, ἣ πτο[εῖσθε.[3]]

Jesus saith: How say they that draw us before the judgment seats that the Kingdom is in Heaven? Can the fowls of the air know what is under the earth? and the fishes of the sea what is in the heaven? So are they that draw you. And the Kingdom nevertheless is within you. And whosoever knoweth your inward parts shall find it . . . Know yourselves in the sight of God, and ye are sons of your Father which is perfect in Heaven. Know yourselves in the sight of men, and ye are there where ye are terrified.

I regard the whole as being spoken to the apostles in the same tone as the well-known words at the sending forth. As a mocking objection to the message of the apostles, "The Kingdom is at hand," a sentence like "The Kingdom is in Heaven" is well conceivable in the mouth of opponents. The comparison with the birds and fishes illustrates the opponents' want of apprehension.

The next "Saying" may be restored more simply and, in my opinion, with much greater certainty as regards the underlying principle. The editors print it thus:—

III

[λέγει Ἰη̄ς·]
οὐκ ἀποκνήσει ἄνθ[ρωπος . . . . . .]
ρων ἐπερωτῆσαι[4] πα[. . . . . .]
ρων περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆ[ς . . . . . .]
σετε ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται π[ρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ]
οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι καὶ [. . . . . .]
σιν.

In line 24 they incline to propose τῆ[ς βασιλείας], and in lines 26 f. [ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἕξου]σιν.

[1] Matt. v. 48. [2] Luke xvi. 15.

[3] *I.e.* "ye are there where ye must be terrified" (Luke xxi. 9, xxiv. 37). For the thought cf. Luke xvi. 15: "Know yourselves before men" is the preliminary step to "justify yourselves before men." Closely akin to this, only from a different point of view, is 1 John iii. 1: ἴδετε ποταπὴν ἀγάπην δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ πατήρ, ἵνα τέκνα θεοῦ κληθῶμεν καὶ ἐσμέν. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ κόσμος [in meaning identical with οἱ ἄνθρωποι] οὐ γινώσκει ἡμᾶς.—The enigmatical ηπτο in line 21 might in itself be restored as ἡ πτοή ("the terror," 1 Macc. iii. 25, 3 Macc. vi. 17 Cod. A) or ἡ πτόησις ("the terror," LXX, 1 Peter iii. 6). But "ye are the terror" would be too extraordinary.

[4] Papyrus: επερωτησε.

Jesus saith: A man . . . will not delay to ask . . . concerning his place in the Kingdom. . . . [Know ye] that many that are first shall be last, and the last first, and shall have eternal life.

Here too I feel bound to take quite another course; Luke xiv. 7 ff. gives me the hint:—

[λέγει Ἰη̄ς·]
οὐκ ἀποκνήσει ἄνθ[ρωπος κληθεὶς σώφ-]
ρων ἐπερωτῆσαι πά[ντως ἕνα τῶν κλητό-]
ρων[1] περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆ[ς δοχῆς ποῦ ἀνακλιθή-]
σεται.[2] ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται π[ρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ]
οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι καὶ [δόξαν[3] εὑρήσου-]
σιν.

Jesus saith: A man that is bidden will not delay, if he is prudent, by all means to ask one of them that did the bidding, concerning his place at the feast, where he shall sit. For many that are first shall be last, and the last first, and shall find worship.

Thus we have a variation of the words concerning those who chose out the chief rooms, and in this (new) context the saying about the first and the last! The restoration that I have made in line 26 f., [*εὑρήσου*]*σιν*, is of course quite uncertain. I may refer, however, to an observation that, so far as I know, has not yet been made. In the Logia of 1897 there was frequent mention of "finding," as now also in the two new "Sayings" I. and II. The same applies to "seeing" (and its synonyms). Is it possible that we have here a hint of the method on which these collections of apophthegms were arranged?

"Saying" No. IV. is an interesting variant and enlargement of Matthew x. 26 and its parallels. Here too the last word has yet to be spoken concerning the text, but for the present I have no independent proposals to make. "Saying" No. V. is so greatly mutilated that the combined work of many students is necessary, before attempts at reconstruction can be made.

[1] Cf. *δειπνοκλήτωρ*, Matt. xx. 28 Cod. D. For the plural number of slaves who carry the invitations cf. Matt. xxii. 3 ff. The guest on entering asks one of the house-slaves standing ready to wait (*e.g.*, the one known to him already as the bringer of the invitation) where he is to sit, or he inquires directly he receives the invitation.

[2] *-σετε* in the papyrus may easily be meant for *-σεται*; cf. *επερωτησε* instead of *επερωτησαι* above.

[3] Luke xiv. 10.

APPENDIX III

THE SUPPOSED FRAGMENT OF A GOSPEL AT CAIRO

(Reprinted with slight alterations from the Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, 7, pp. 387–392.)

In the Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Vol. X. (Nos. 10001–10869 Greek Papyri), Oxford, 1903, B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt publish a papyrus fragment (No. 10735) with the following text written in a small uncial hand of the 6th or 7th century. I print it with the editors' restorations.

Recto	Verso
αγγελος κῡ ελαλησεν Ἰω[σηφ	.....
παραλαβε Μαριαν την γ[υ-	] . ερμηνευετω σοι ο̣ [
ναικα σου και	] φησι τη παρθενω ἰδου
φευγε εις Αιγυπτον κο̣ι̣[	ο συγ]γενης σου κς αυτη συν
[.....]. α̣ ..... [. .]. . [	]ς̣ εστι μην αυτη τη κα̣ [
τ̣ . ιβ̣ι̣ο̣ [. . .] . ρ . . [	]τω εκτω ο εστιν [
παν δωρον κς ε̣αν[	Ἰω]αννην συνελαβε
φιλους αυτου καθ̣ [	]σ̣ειν τον αρχισ̣τρα
βασιλεως λ̣ [	]ν οικετην προβαδι
ειο̣ . . ν̣ [	] παρουσιάς
.....	] τ̣α̣
	.....

The editors see in the sheet the remains of a book "containing apparently an uncanonical gospel. The verso (10 incomplete lines) is concerned with the Annunciation (?); the recto (9 incomplete lines) with the flight to Egypt."

Regarding the opinion here expressed, that the fragment before us is part of an uncanonical gospel, certain doubts suggest themselves.

In the first place the order in which the two pages stand is against it. If the fragment is a leaf from a book containing a gospel, it was no doubt one of the first leaves in the book, as we may conclude from the contents (flight to Egypt and annunciation of the birth of the Baptist to Mary); and in that case it would belong to that half of the first quire in which verso follows recto.[1] We should thus have a gospel in which the annunciation of the birth [of Jesus and] the Baptist to Mary followed after the flight into Egypt, and that is very improbable.

Then the contents of the text, so far as they can be made out, are not reconcilable with the assumption of Grenfell and Hunt. If the fragment is part of a gospel, then the recto-text requires us, after the words of the angel to Joseph, "Flee into Egypt," to reconstruct lines in which there is mention of a "gift," "his friends," and a "king." Though we might imagine Herod as the king, the other two legible fragments of lines hardly suit the context in a *narrative* of the flight into Egypt. The verso-text, on the other hand, requires after the words of the angel Gabriel announcing the birth of the Baptist to Mary, a sentence or sentences with the words *archistra*[*tegus*],[2] "servant," "arrival." These also are elements which one would hardly expect to find in this place in a gospel.

The doubts vanish if we assume that the fragment contains some kind of *reflections* on the flight into Egypt and the words of Gabriel, reflections either of an exegetical or edifying nature, and that instead of coming from a gospel it comes from a commentary or a book of sermons.

On this supposition the verso-text may really be in great part recovered. The problem of finding a text logically coherent with the words of the angel and containing the above-named elements became easier when προβαδι was recognised as the remains of some part of the verb προβαδίζω; after words referring to the conception of the Baptist it was quite appropriate to find a sentence describing John as the "servant" who "goeth before" the "coming" of the Master. Then when I had found that in Byzantine writers the archangels Michael and *Gabriel* are

[1] [In the *second* half of a quire recto follows verso. See the explanation of these terms, p. 26 above. TR.]

[2] This restoration of line 8 is perfectly obvious.

sometimes called by the name of *ἀρχιστράτηγος*,[1] which presumably goes back to LXX Joshua v. 14, the last doubtful word in this curious passage was brought into connexion with the rest, and it was possible to attempt restoration, provided that the approximate length of the lines was ascertainable.

The length of the lines, however, followed with some probability from lines 1 and 2 recto, which I thus completed[2] from Matthew ii. 13:—

αγγελος κυ ελαλησεν· Ἰω̣[σηφ εγερθεις]
παραλαβε Μαριαν την γ[υναικα σου κς]
φευγε εις Αιγυπτον, etc.

The lines 4 and 5 verso also gave the length with reasonable probability, after I had thus restored them from Luke i. 36:—

[Ελισαβετ η συγ]γενης σου κς αυτη συν
[ειληφε κς εκτο]ς εστι μην αυτη τη κα[λου]
[μενη στειρα, etc.

There are thus about 30 letters to the line.

The considerations that led to the further experiment of restoring lines 6, 7, and 8 will appear from the little commentary below. I first give the text as restored and punctuated:—

VERSO

. . . . . .

] . *ερμηνευετω σοι.* *ο̣[δε*
αρχιστρατηγος] φ̣ησι τη παρθενω· ἴδου
Ελισαβετ η συγ]γενης σου κς αυτη συν-
ειληφε κς εκτο]ς̣ εστι μην αυτη τη κα[λου-
μενη στειρα. εν] τω εκτω, ο εστιν [θωθ, μη-
νι η μ̄η̄ρ̄ αρα Ιω]αννην συνελαβε.
εδει δε προκηρυσ]σειν τον αρχισ̣τρα-
τηγον Ιωαννην το]ν οικετην προβαδι-
ζοντα της του κ̄ῡ αυτου] παρουσιας.
]τ̣α̣

. . . . . .

A few remarks may be permitted on the above.

[1] E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, New York and Leipzig, 1888, p. 259.

[2] I had to remember that the abbreviation *κς* might be written instead of *και* (as in l. 6 recto and l. 4 verso). *Ιωσηφ* I take as a vocative.

Line 3. The restoration is of course not certain; there are other obvious possibilities.

Line 4. *συγγενης* in Luke i. 36 has the support of not a few authorities; most read *συγγενις*, cf. the apparatus criticus in Tischendorf.

Line 4 f. *συνειληφεν* in Luke i. 36 also has the support of several authorities (partly the same as those for *συγγενης*), the more general reading being *συνειληφυια*, cf. Tischendorf. The shorter word is to be conjectured on account of the limited number of the letters.

Line 5 f. The quotation[1] from Luke i. 36 must certainly have been abridged: there is no room for *υιον εν γηρει αυτης*, nor for *ουτος*.

Line 6 f. *τω εκτω* pretty certainly demands a preposition which governs the dative. The conjectural *εν* would, I think, fix the point of time thus: "in the sixth month (reckoned backwards)." *ο εστιν* seems to be a sort of formula, "that is to say"; the neuter is therefore not surprising. The name of some month is a very obvious thing to supply. When we know that the time of the Baptist's conception was determined by Chrysostom (II. 362 BCD ed. Montfaucon) after laborious calculation to be September, we naturally think of this month, and I have inserted above its Egyptian name. But it is evident that the restoration of the two lines is uncertain.

Line 8 ff. From the supposed infinitive . . .]*σειν* and the accusative *τον αρχιστρα*[. . . I have argued the existence of a governing verb *εδει*. That *οικετην* refers to John, is an obvious deduction from the well-known saying of the Baptist about the "shoe-latchet." An excellent parallel, both real and verbal, to *προβαδι*[*ζοντα*,[2] etc., is the passage quoted by Boissonade in the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, VI. 1647, from an unprinted sermon by Chrysostom,[3] which calls John the Baptist *τὸν τοῦ ἀύλου φωτὸς προβαδίσαντα λύχνον*.

Line 9. Instead of *Ιωαννην* we might have *Γαβριηλ*, and in line 10 instead of *αυτου* we might have *ημων*.

[1] *και ιδου Ελισαβετ η συγγενις σου και αυτη συνειληφυιά υιὸν εν γηρει αυτης και ουτος μην ἕκτος εστιν αυτη τη καλουμενη στειρα.*

[2] The word seems to be rare and to belong to the lofty style; so far it has been found only in Plutarch, *Mor.* II. p. 707 B, Greg. Naz. I. 1248 C (Migne), and the sermon by Chrysostom mentioned in the text.

[3] I do not know whether this sermon has since been printed.

There is little to be said with regard to the recto. What can still be completed has been shown above. Lines 6–8 may have contained a sentence like "*And if* God protecting looks *down upon His friends*, even the anger *of a king* is powerless." The form of the quotation [1] from Matthew ii. 13 is remarkable; the Child is clearly not named, and instead of "His mother" we have "Mary thy wife." I have found the name Mary in this context only in the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew xvii. 2, Tischendorf, p. 84: "tolle Mariam et infantem." [2]

If the interpretation here given of the Cairo fragment is right in principle, it follows that we must be cautious in describing fragments with gospel words as "fragments of a gospel."

I subjoin a translation of the restored verso-text :—

VERSO

. . . let . . . interpret [3] to thee. But the archistrategus saith unto the virgin: "Behold, Elizabeth thy kinswoman, she also hath conceived and the sixth month it is with her that was called barren." In the sixth (month), therefore, that is in the month Thoth, did his mother conceive John. But it behoved the archistrategus to announce beforehand John, the servant who goeth before the coming of His Lord. . . .

It only remains now for somebody to identify the Cairo fragment. I have not succeeded in discovering from what book it comes. Should some one who is wider read succeed in identifying the fragment, and thus perhaps put a speedy end to my restorations, I should be the first to remember that, as St. Paul says, "we know in part."

[1] . . . αγγελος κυριου φαινεται κατ' οναρ τω Ιωσηφ λεγων· εγερθεις παραλαβε το παιδιον και την μητερα αυτου και φευγε εις Αιγυπτον.

[2] Quoted by A. Resch, *Das Kindheitsevangelium*, Texte und Untersuchungen, X. 5, Leipzig, 1897, p. 156. For the form Μαρία cf. above, pp. 123 f. and 309, n. 2.

[3] P. W. Schmiedel pointed out a slip that I made in the translation as printed in the first edition of this book.

APPENDIX IV

A JEWISH INSCRIPTION IN THE THEATRE AT MILETUS

On the 17th April, 1906, Theodor Wiegand showed us a number of inscriptions on the seats of the theatre of Miletus, which dates from the Roman period. Among them was the following Jewish inscription in the fifth row from below in the second block (*κερκίς*) from the west. It is 4 feet broad, and with its letters 1¼ to 2½ inches in height partly reminds one of the Jewish inscription from Corinth.[1] I give it here in facsimile (Figure 67) from a squeeze kindly made for me in 1907 by August Frickenhaus at the instance of Wiegand.

The inscription, doubtless of Imperial age, runs thus :—

ΤΟΠΟΣΕΙΟΥΔΕΩΝΤΩΝΚΑΙΘΕΟΣΕΒΙΟΝ

Τόπος Εἰουδέων[2] *τῶν καὶ Θεοσεβίον.*[3]

Place of the Jews, who are also called God-fearing.

Of Jews at Miletus nothing was previously known except a letter from the proconsul of Asia to the authorities of this town, saying that the Jews are not to be prevented from keeping their Sabbaths, practising their religious customs, and managing their revenues after their own manner.[4] Our inscription is an original document proving the existence of the Jewish colony at Miletus. St. Paul perhaps, when he stayed at Miletus,[5] came into some sort of contact with the Jews living there.[6]

[1] Cf. p. 13, n. 7 and Figure 1 above.

[2] *I.e.* *Ἰουδαίων.*

[3] *I.e.* *Θεοσεβίων.* Ziebarth, *Kulturbilder aus griechischen Städten*, p. 73, cites this inscription erroneously in the form *τόπος Εἰουδαίων φιλοσεβάστων.*

[4] Josephus, *Antt.* XIV. x. 21; cf. Schürer, III.³ p. 68.

[5] Acts xx. 15, 17; and 2 Tim. iv. 20.

[6] It is probable that, wherever there were Jews, Paul first sought to open communications with them.

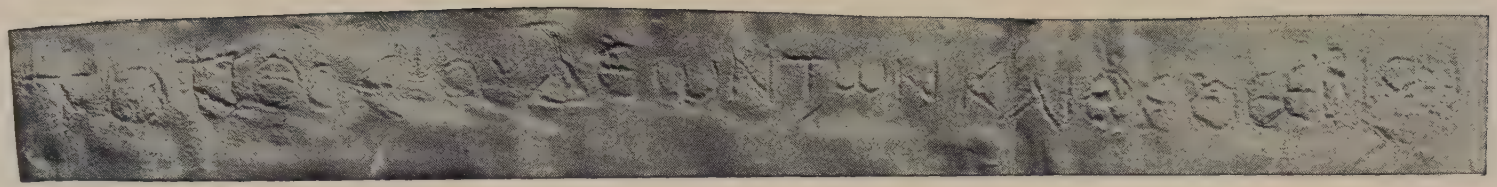

FIG. 67.—Inscription for the Jewish Seats in the Theatre at Miletus. Imperial Period. By permission of Theodor Wiegand.

[p. 446

Very remarkable is the form of the name "God-fearing."[1] The form "they that fear God"[2] is very well known, from the Acts of the Apostles and other sources[3]; it denotes pagans who were in close touch with the Jewish worship, if not officially connected as proselytes. In the Milesian inscription the Jews themselves are similarly styled *Θεοσέβιοι* and the word must have already been felt to be a proper name.[4] So far as I know it occurs elsewhere only as a proper name. As I read the actual inscription there at Miletus I wondered that it did not run "Place of the Jews and of those who are called God-fearing." But there can be no doubt that "God-fearing" is here an appellation of the Jews.[5] The imperfect execution of the inscription allows us, perhaps, to suppose that the Milesian Jewish community, like that of Corinth,[6] was not very wealthy.

The inscription is important in social history chiefly as showing that the Milesian Jews did not share the antipathy of their strict co-religionists to the theatre, of which there are frequent signs elsewhere.[7] The process of Hellenisation or secularisation that we have frequently observed in Jewish inscriptions[8] is reflected also in this one, put up in a pagan theatre by worshippers of the One God, or put up for them by the theatre authorities. We are reminded of the Jew Philo of Alexandria, who relates[9] that he was once present at a performance of a tragedy by Euripides.

[1] *Θεοσέβιοι.*

[2] *φοβούμενοι* or *σεβόμενοι* (*metuentes*) *τὸν θεόν.*

[3] Cf. Schürer, III.[3] p. 123 f.

[4] As shown by the *τῶν καί*, which should be regarded in the same way as the *ὁ καὶ* found as a stereotyped form with double names (*Bibelstudien*, p. 181 ff.; *Bible Studies*, p. 313 ff.).

[5] The nearest parallel would be *Θεοσεβεῖς* used as a proper name for the Hypsistarians (Schürer, III.[3] p. 124).

[6] Page 13, n. 7 above.

[7] Abundant data in Schürer, II.[3] p. 45 f.

[8] Cf. the Jewish records of manumission, p. 325 f. above, and the prayers for vengeance at Rheneia, p. 423 ff. above.

[9] *Opera* (ed. Mangey) II. p. 467; cf. Schürer, II.[3] p. 45.

APPENDIX V

THE SO-CALLED "PLANETARY INSCRIPTION" IN THE THEATRE AT MILETUS A LATE CHRISTIAN PROTECTIVE CHARM

In the north-west corner of the same theatre which has given us the new inscription described in Appendix IV. there is on the outer wall an inscription which has long been known and which has often been discussed under the name of the "planetary inscription" of Miletus. I knew of it from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (No. 2895), and had no doubt met with it occasionally in commentaries on the New Testament, there quoted in proof of the worship of angels [1] in Asia Minor in the time of St. Paul (Colossians ii. 18). When it was shown to us *in situ* by Theodor Wiegand on 17 April, 1906, in the brilliant light of an Ionian sun, I immediately perceived a strong contrast between its real appearance and the picture left upon my memory by the Corpus of Inscriptions. There was quite a late look about the inscription, and its "mistakes" in form reminded me of the early Byzantine papyri.

My impression was confirmed by Wiegand's opinion of the style of the characters, and especially by his accurate reconstruction of the architectural history of the theatre.[2] Wiegand's

[1] The late Christian character of the inscription once established, it follows that it can no longer be thus appealed to. Moreover, the "worshipping of the angels" of which St. Paul speaks is an ironical designation for strict Jewish piety, regulated by the law (which originated with the angels).

[2] Cf. Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1904, p. 91. A fragment of the same text, agreeing with this, has been found meanwhile in another part of the theatre. It is, as Frickenhaus writes to me (letter, Miletus, 28 September, 1907) the left-hand upper corner of a block of grey marble; two mortise-holes to the left on top; greatest height 7¼ inches; greatest breadth 10½ inches; greatest thickness 12½ inches; greatest height of the letters 1 inch. The remaining letters of the inscription are the same as at the beginning of the great inscription: ΙΕΟΥΑΙ (the last letter is no doubt the remains of an Η); beneath this come Α and the remains of an Ε; and, above there is the same monogram as in the great inscription.

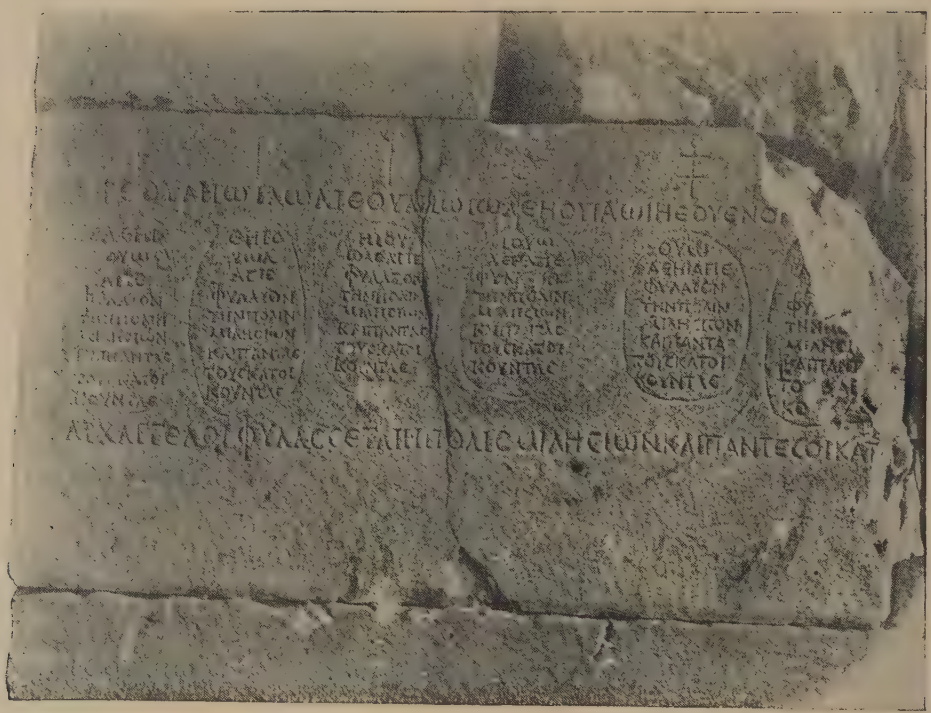

FIG. 68.—Christian Archangel Inscription in the Theatre at Miletus. Early Byzantine Period.
By permission of Theodor Wiegand.

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opinion, shared also by Schürer,[1] agrees with Cumont's theory,[2] but stands in sharp contrast to the traditional view, according to which the text is either pagan or Judaeo-pagan.[3] Rigid examination of this important text, however, completely vindicates Wiegand's judgment.

My readers are indebted to Wiegand for the good facsimile—the first, I believe, to be made from a photograph—here given in Figure 68. The dimensions[4] are as follows: present breadth 41 inches, height 24 inches, height of the largest letters 1 inch, height of the smallest letters ½ inch. The peculiar arrangement of the inscription is clearly seen from the figure. It begins with a line consisting of *symbols*; originally no doubt there were seven, but they are now reduced to five. Then comes a line carved in large letters; it will be seen from the figure to what extent they are separated[5]:—

ΙΕΟΥΑΗΩΙΑΩΑΙΕΟΥΑΗΩΙΩΑΕΗΟΥΙΑΩΙΗΕΟΥΕΝΟΝ
[+ about 14 letters].

It consists, then, of a row of vowels, seemingly without recognisable principle of permutation,[6] but perhaps to be thus divided:—

Ιεουαηω Ιαωαι Εουαηωι Ωαεηουι Αωιηεου ἐν ὀν[όματι[7]
+ about 9 letters],

or thus:—

Ιεουαηωι ΑωΑ Ιεουαηωι, etc.

Under the row of vowels there were originally no doubt seven ovals, of which five and a half now remain. The outlines are rudely drawn and the spacing is irregular, but each oval is

[1] Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 6 (1905) p. 50.

[2] Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, 15 (1895) p. 273.

[3] Cf. for example Ernst Maass, *Die Tagesgötter in Rom und in den Provinzen*, Berlin, 1902, p. 244 f.: "It is no doubt a compromise between Jewish and Hellenic" (p. 245).

[4] Communicated to me by A. Frickenhaus (letter, Miletus, 28 September, 1907).

[5] The text of this line in the Corpus is very faulty, and moreover broken up into single words in a misleading manner.

[6] On such series of vowels in magic cf. *Bibelstudien*, p. 1 ff.; *Bible Studies*, p. 321 ff. No separation of this row of vowels into groups of seven is possible.

[7] This restoration is not certain.

placed exactly below the foot of the corresponding *symbol* in the uppermost line. Each contains an inscription in smaller characters, and each inscription begins with the series of seven vowels arranged in exact alphabetical permutation (*αεηιουω, εηιουωα* etc.), and ends with the prayer :—

ἅγιε,	O Holy One,
φύλαξον[1]	keep
τὴν πόλιν	the city
Μιλησίων	of the Milesians
καὶ πάντας	and all
τοὺς κατοι-	that dwell therein.
κοῦντας.	

At the bottom of all is the following, again in the large letters of the first line :—

Ἀρχάγγελοι, φυλάσσεται[2] *ἡ πόλις Μιλησίων καὶ πάντες οἱ κατ[οικοῦντες.]*

Archangels, keep the city of the Milesians and all that dwell therein.

Boeckh in the Corpus began his commentary with the remark that no doubt the inscription originally had seven compartments for the seven "planets." Since then the name "planetary inscription" has been regularly employed, although Boeckh's assertion was a pure petitio principii. And although Boeckh himself showed that the symbols placed over the compartments were by no means the stereotyped ones for the planets, the descriptions always say that the inscription begins with the "planetary symbols." In order to be sure on this point I submitted the symbols to Franz Boll, who is our best authority on ancient astrology, and received from him the assurance that they are not planetary symbols, or at least that up to the present he had never met with any certain example of their use as such.[3]

[1] This reading is certain; the Corpus gives an erroneous reading.

[2] *I.e. φυλάσσετε.* The incorrect nominative which follows shows that the inscription is vulgar and not official.

[3] Letter, Würzburg, 19 October, 1907. Out of the stores of his learning Boll provided me with abundant data relating to ancient symbols which I unfortunately cannot utilise here.—It seemed to me when I was in Galilee, in April 1909, that some of the ancient magical symbols are still in use among the modern Arab population as tattoo marks.

In interpreting the inscription, therefore, we must not begin with the uncertainties—"planetary symbols" which are really nothing of the kind; we must begin with the certainties, which are the word "archangels"[1] and the series of vowels. Are there any other cases known where the archangels occur in combination with series of vowels?

This question must be answered in the affirmative. Papyrus No. 124 in the British Museum,[2] written in the 4th or 5th century A.D., gives a powerful formula consisting of four parallel columns, each containing seven magic names. In columns 1 and 3 the following series of vowels and names of archangels are found exactly corresponding with one another:—

1 αεηιουω	Μιχαηλ
2 εηιουωα	Ραφαηλ
3 ηιουωαε	Γαβριηλ
4 ιουωαεη	Σουριηλ[3]
5 ουωαεηι	Ζαζιηλ
6 υωαεηιο	Βαδακιηλ[4]
7 ωαεηιου	Συλιηλ

These series of vowels in the Egyptian papyrus are, however, down to the last letter, exactly the same as those carved in regular alphabetic succession on the marble at Miletus in the several (originally seven) compartments. On this account, and more especially since the bottom line of large letters expressly addresses the archangels, we must interpret the symbols over each of the seven compartments as symbols of the archangels. Since the names of the seven archangels vary[5] and they do

[1] I am well aware that elsewhere the archangels are frequently brought into connexion with the planets by the ancients, but that is no reason for identifying archangels and planets without special grounds.

[2] *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, ed. F. G. Kenyon (Vol. I.), p. 123. After completing my manuscript I saw that Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon*, p. 30, also compares this papyrus with the Milesian inscription.

[3] This is perhaps equivalent to the stereotyped form *Uriel*. There are, however, other instances of *Suriel*.

[4] This is of course a clerical error for *Zadakiel* (*Zadakael*, *Zidkiel*), cf. W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1903, p. 319.

[5] Cf. the literature referred to in Schürer's article, p. 21.

not always occur in a stereotyped order, we are not bound to assign the seven compartments of the Milesian inscription precisely to the seven angels mentioned in the papyrus. The only thing necessary is that in the symbols above the several compartments, which have been hitherto regarded as planetary symbols, we should look for monograms or tokens of the seven archangels. Experts in Byzantine monograms and masons' ligatures will do well to take account also of the symbols and ligatures employed in astrological texts,[1] magical papyri,[2] and Christian inscriptions[3] of other periods. We may in any case expect the most popular of the archangels, Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel; Michael, as the most powerful, would perhaps be in the middle,[4] Raphael and Gabriel perhaps at the beginning,[5] and in the fifth place perhaps (as in the papyrus) Zaziel or Zadakiel.[6] The distribution of the single names is, however, for the present not at all certain, and remains of secondary importance.

Further confirmation, importing a new factor into the discussion, is afforded by a Vienna magical papyrus of the 4th century A.D. published by Wessely.[7] It consists of two columns; in the left-hand column is the magic word *αβλαναθαναλβα*, written out so that the letters form a triangle

[1] Franz Boll, as hinted above, has great store of material at his command; cf. his hints in the Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, 21 (1908) pp. 121, 126.

[2] For example in Kenyon, pp. 90–122, there are a number of symbols, some of them resembling the Milesian ones; similarly in the magical papyri edited by Wessely and others.

[3] Some examples in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, IV. pp. 395, 397.

[4] For the position of Michael in the middle cf. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, p. 319; and especially the Jewish identification of Michael with Mercury, over whose day, Wednesday (dies Mercurii), he is placed, U. F. Kopp, *Palaeographia critica*, III., Mannhemii, 1829, p. 334 f.; W. Lueken, *Michael* Göttingen, 1898, p. 56.

[5] The series of archangels begins thus occasionally elsewhere, Ferd. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften*,[2] p. 169. The first symbol in the Milesian inscription seems to contain a P, the second a Γ. With the same serpentine ligature Γ occurs as an abbreviation for part of a word in an inscription (*Inscriptiones Graecae*, IV. No. 205) on a similar subject quoted below, p. 455, n. 1.

[6] There seems to be clearly a Z in the symbol.

[7] Denkschriften der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philos.-histor. Classe, vol. 42 (1893) p. 70 f.

with the apex downwards[1]; in the right-hand column and at the bottom of the left column, a large number of angelic[2] and Divine names promiscuously. The end runs thus:—

Μιχαήλ, Αδηνι Ουσουρ,	Michael, Adeni Usur,
Γαβριήλ, Σουριήλ, Ῥαφαήλ,	Gabriel, Suriel, Raphael
φύλαξον Σοφία(sic) *ἣν ἔτεκεν*	keep Sophia, whom
Θεα[. . . ?] *ἀπὸ παντὸς . . .*	Thea(. . . ?) bore, from all . . .

Here we have still more clearly the plan of the Milesian formula:—

(1) magic letters,
(2) invocation of the archangels,
(3) the prayer "keep . . ."

Those who attach importance to chance circumstances may insist on the incorrect nominative *Σοφία*, which corresponds to the incorrect nominative in the last line of the Milesian inscription.

Thus the inscription at Miletus would seem to be a prayer made *more powerful* by the use of magic symbols, and addressed to the seven archangels, for the preservation of the city and its inhabitants. First of all the angels are indicated severally by their secret symbols; then follows a great line of adjuration applying to them collectively; and the compartments (originally seven in number) contain the adjuration, strengthened by the magic vowels, addressed to each of the Holy Ones in turn:—

"O Holy One, keep the city of Miletus, and all that dwell therein."

Last of all comes the prayer to them collectively:—

"Archangels, keep the city of Miletus, and all that dwell therein."

The question whether this inscription is pagan, Jewish, or Christian has a different meaning, according as we are thinking of the contents, or of the men who had it carved on the wall of

[1] Wessely says "in the form of a wing"; that would be in the technical language of magic *πτερυγοειδῶς*, which, however, surely indicates an arrangement of letters in this shape, ◹. The figure ∇, which we have in the papyrus, is called *βοτρυδόν*, "shaped liked a bunch of grapes" (*Testamentum Salomonis*, ed. Fleck, p. 133.)

[2] In line 4 Wessely reads *μελχιηα*; it is certain to have been originally Μελχιηλ.

the theatre at Miletus. The contents do not in the least point to paganism, and all the externals are against its having originated in pagan times. In itself the inscription might be Jewish: the archangels are Jewish, although not primitive Jewish, and in ancient Miletus, where we even encounter St. Paul at a solemn hour in his life,[1] there certainly were Jews.[2]

Moreover, as regards contents, the prayer has been influenced by the Septuagint.[3] Yet the prominent position of the inscription and its repetition in another place make it very improbable that the text was set up by the doubtless small Jewish minority or even by a single Jew. What sounds Jewish in the contents of the prayer has long become Christian by inheritance and adoption. Prayer "for the city" particularly was an invariable concomitant of Christian worship in Anatolia even in early times,[4] and must therefore have been something quite familiar. Furthermore, the worship of the archangels, especially of Michael, was extremely popular in early Christian Asia Minor.[5] Theodor Wiegand, the explorer of ancient Miletus, found some years ago between Didyma and Miletus an early Byzantine basilica, in which an inscription was discovered, built into the mosaic of the narthex, and containing an invocation of an archangel.[6] To this day throughout Greek Christendom innumerable evening prayers are uttered to the guardian angel: "O holy angel of God, . . . keep me from every assault of the Adversary."[7]

In all probability, therefore, we have here before us a Christian memorial of the period when the theatre was converted into a citadel. Not indeed an official manifesto of the clergy of

[1] Acts xx. 15 ff.

[2] Cf. the remarks above, p. 446, on the Jewish inscription in the theatre at Miletus.

[3] Psalm cxxvi. [cxxvii.] 1, *ἐὰν μὴ κύριος φυλάξῃ πόλιν, εἰς μάτην ἠγρύπνησεν ὁ φυλάσσων*, "except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." Again, *πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες* is a common Septuagint formula, the fixity of which perhaps helped to occasion the error in the last line of the inscription.

[4] *The Greek Liturgies*, ed. by C. A. Swainson, Cambridge, 1884, pp. 84, 92, 110.

[5] Lueken, *Michael*, p. 73 ff.

[6] Sitzungsberichte, 1904, p. 89.

[7] *ἅγιε Ἄγγελε τοῦ Θεοῦ, . . . διαφύλαξόν με ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπηρείας τοῦ ἀντικειμένου* (*Ιερα Συνοψις και τα αγια παθη μετα των κυριακων ευαγγελιων εκδοσις νεωτατη ὁμοία κατὰ πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἐγκεκριμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου τελευταίαν ἔκδοσιν, εν Αθηναις*, 1094 *sic* [1904], p. 90).

Miletus; they would surely not have employed magic symbols thus publicly. It is more likely to have been a private venture, perhaps the work of the guardsmen of the Christian stronghold that was built on the secure and massive foundation of the ancient masonry. The prayer on the stone imploring the princes of the heavenly host to protect the city from all the dangers to which it was exposed in a troublous age seemed to the faith of the soldiers more efficacious in the form of a *protective charm.*

In the reign of Justinian an imperial official named Bictorinus caused two very similar prayers for protection to be carved on stone at Corinth or in the Isthmus, addressed to Christ and the Virgin Mary. There are no magic lines, but there are similar formulae and similar mistakes.[1] These prayers seem to me to be an additional confirmation of the Christian nature of the Milesian inscription. They may even throw light on the exact date of its origin, which will no doubt be more closely determinable as the study of late inscriptions advances. The influence of the Christian liturgy on these Corinthian prayers is likewise unmistakable.[2]

[1] *Inscriptiones Graecae*, IV. No. 204 (discovered in the Isthmus, now lying in front of the Demarchy at New Corinth): † Φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸς ἀληθινὸς ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, φυλάξῃ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἰουστινιανὸν καὶ τὸν πιστὸν αὐτοῦ δοῦλον Βικτωρῖνον ἅμα τοῖς οἰκοῦσειν (*sic*) ἐν Ἑλάδι (*sic*) τοὺς κατὰ θεὼν (*sic*) ζῶντας †, "† Light of Light, very God of very God, keep the Emperor Justinian and his faithful slave Bictorinus, together with them that dwell in Hellas and godly live †." *Ibid.*, No. 205 (discovered at or near Corinth, now in the Museum at Verona): †Ἁγ(ία) Μαρία, θεοτόκε, φύλαξον τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ φιλοχρίστου Ἰουστινιανοῦ καὶ τὸν γνησίως δουλεύοντα αὐτῷ Βικτωρῖνον † σὺν τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Κορίνθῳ κ(ατὰ) θεὼν (*sic*) † ζῶντας †, "† Holy Mary, Mother of God, keep the kingdom of Justinian, the friend of Christ, and Bictorinus †, who served him truly, with them that dwell in Corinth and godly † live †."

[2] Cf. for example the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom (Swainson, p. 92), μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς πόλεως ἐν ᾗ παροικοῦμεν καὶ πάσης πόλεως καὶ χώρας καὶ τῶν πίστει κατοικούντων ἐν αὐταῖς, "Remember, O Lord, the city in which we dwell and every city and district, and them that dwell in them in the faith."

APPENDIX VI

UNRECOGNISED BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS IN SYRIAN AND MESOPOTAMIAN INSCRIPTIONS

(*Reprinted with slight alterations from Philologus* 64 [1905] pp. 475–478.)

In the Byzantinische Zeitschrift 14 (1905) pp. 1–72, Baron Max von Oppenheim and Hans Lucas published "Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Syria, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor."[1] The majority of the Greek inscriptions are of Christian origin, and, as most of them are dated, they are particularly valuable, especially for the palaeography and textual history of the Greek Bible.[2] The importance of inscriptional evidence as to the text of the Bible in general has not yet been sufficiently recognised, but any one familiar with the present position of the problems relating to the recensions by Lucianus and Hesychius will welcome every Greek Biblical quotation that can be certainly located and dated. The above-mentioned inscriptions contain a comparatively large number of Biblical references, and almost all of them can be located and dated. So far as they originate from places in Syria, they arouse our interest on account of the text of Lucianus, the sphere of whose influence is to be looked for especially in those regions. Hans Lucas, the editor of the inscriptions, of course recognised most of the quotations; in the following pages we shall only bring forward a few inscriptions in which he either failed to see, or perhaps intentionally left unnoticed, the Biblical quotations. I content myself with merely pointing them out, without addressing myself to the Lucianus problem or the general question of

[1] Cf. also the notes by Mercati in the same volume of the Byzantinische Zeitschrift, p. 587, and by Clermont-Ganneau, *ibid.*, 15 (1906) p. 279 ff., which did not come to my notice until after my article was printed.

[2] Cf. p. 19 f. above.

the relationships of the text. The numbers are those used by Lucas; the names denote the places where the inscriptions were found; the illustrations referred to for comparison are in Lucas.

No. 15. ʿAlī Kāsūn, 394 A.D., *πάντα ἐκ θεοῦ* comes from 2 Corinthians v. 18.

No. 21. Tamak, 559 A.D., thus read by Lucas:—

]ΟΝΩCΕΙΠΡΟ
]ΝΧΕΡΟΥΒΕΙ

and transcribed:—

. . . . . .
τῶ]*ν χερουβεί*[*μ*],

is a quotation from LXX Psalm lxxix. [lxxx.] 2:—

[*ὁ ποιμαίνων τὸν* $\overline{Ιηλ}$ *πρόσχες, ὁ ὁδηγ*]*ῶν ὡσεὶ πρὸ-*
[*βατα τὸν Ἰωσήφ· ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶ*]*ν χερουβεὶ*[*μ·*
[*ἐμφάνηθι*. . . . . .

No. 23. Ḳaṣr Nawā, undated, facsimile figure 4, is thus read by Lucas:—

]ΛΗCΙΟ
] ΤΙΟΝ
]ΩΡΑΙΑΩC
]ΡΓΟCΔΑΔ
]ΙΚΑΛΗΚΑΙ
]ΝCΟΙ

and transcribed:—

? *π*]*λησίο-*
ν . . . .]*τιον*
. . . . *ὡραία ὡς*
. . . .]*ργος δαδ-*
. . . . *καλὴ καὶ*
. . . .]*ν σοι* .

The editor remarks: "The contents were probably of a religious nature, but my attempts at restoration have not succeeded. One is much reminded of the Song of Solomon, cf. vi. 3: *Καλὴ εἶ πλησίον μου, ὡς εὐδοκία, ὡραία ὡς Ἰερουσαλήμ* (cf. also verses 5, 6). Von Wilamowitz reminds me that *ΔΑΔ* in line 4

might signify *Δαβείδ*." It is a pity that this right clue was not followed up. The inscription is in fact made up of words taken from the Song of Solomon, viz. from chapter iv.; but only a selection, not the full text, is given. This makes it much more difficult to reconstruct the lines correctly. The following restoration on the basis of LXX Song of Solomon iv. 1, 3, 4, 7, makes no claim to have recovered the original arrangement of the lines; it merely tries to hinge the endings of the lines together:—

[(1) *ἰδοὺ εἶ καλὴ ἡ π*]*λησίο*[*ν*]
[*μου. ὀφθαλμοί σου περιστεραί.* (3) *ὡς σπαρ*]*τίον*
[*τὸ κόκκινον χείλη σου, καὶ ἡ λαλιά σου*] *ὡραία. ὡς*
[*λέπυρον τῆς ῥόας μῆλόν σου·* (4) *ὡς πύ*]*ργος* $\overline{\Delta\alpha\delta}$
[*τράχηλός σου.* (7) *ὅλη, ἡ πλησίον μου, ε*]*ἶ καλὴ καὶ*
[*μῶμος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐ*]*ν σοί.* †

With regard to $\overline{\Delta A\Delta} = \Delta\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota\delta$ it is to be noted that the mark of abbreviation seems to be recognisable in the facsimile.

No. 24. Ḳaṣr Nawā, undated, facsimile figure 5, is read by Lucas:—

† ЄΙCЄΛC[
ΜΟΛΟΓΗ[
ЄΞΟΜΟ[
ΜΑΑΥΤ[
. . . . .

and transcribed:—

Εἰσελε[*ύσ . . . . . ἐξο-*
μολογή[*σ . . .*
ἐξομο[*λογ . . .*
μα αὐτ[*. . . .*

It is added that "the contents are at all events of a religious nature"; the editor is reminded of passages such as LXX Psalm xlii. [xliii.] 4 and Revelation iii. 5. The inscription is, however, a quotation from LXX Psalm xcix. (c.) 4:—

Εἰσέλθ[*ατε εἰς τὰς πύλας αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐξο-*]
μολογή[*σει, τὰς αὐλὰς αὐτοῦ ἐν ὕμνοις·*]
ἐξομο[*λογεῖσθε αὐτῷ, αἰνεῖτε τὸ ὄνο-*]
μα αὐτ[*οῦ·*

It is very improbable that there was εἰς before τὰς in line 2 (as there is in Codices ℵ A R T etc.).

No. 25. Ḳaṣr Nawā, undated, is read by Lucas :—

]///ICYMOYKPC[
]MOYΠΛHCIC///[
]IHKΘΦΑΛΗΜ[
] OIMOYϮ [

transcribed :—

. . σύ μου, Κ(ύ)ρ(ιο)ς,
. . . . μου πλησίο[ν]
. . . ἡ κεφαλή μ[ου]
οἴ μου ψ[υχῆς ?]

and translated :—

. . Thou to me, O Lord,
. . . . to me art near,
. . . my head
alas, my soul (?)

The inscription is, however, again a quotation from the Song of Solomon,[1] LXX v. 2 :—

[φωνὴ ἀδελφι]δοῦ μου κρού[ει ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν. ἄνοι-]
[ξόν μοι ἀδελφή] μου, πλησίο[ν μου, περιστερά μου,]
[τελεία μου. ὅτ]ι ἡ κεφαλή μ[ου ἐπλήσθη δρόσου]
[καὶ οἱ βόστρυχ]οί μου ψ[εκάδων νυκτός.]

No. 39. Ḳaṣr el Berūdj, undated, Ἐμανουὴλ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θε[ός]. Cf. Matthew i. 23. For the spelling Ἐμανουήλ see *Onomastica Sacra*, ed. Lagarde,[2] 49_{30} Cod. F.

No. 49. Ḳaṣr ibn Wardān, 564 A.D., πάντα εἰς δόξαν θ(εο)ῦ. Quotation from 1 Corinthians x. 31.

No. 99. Diārbekr, 437 (?) A.D., ὧ[ν] τὰ ὀνόμ(ατα) ἐν β(ί)β(λῳ) [this, and not βιβλίῳ, would be the proper extension] ζω(ῆς). Quotation from Philippians iv. 3.

Apart from their importance as witnesses to the text, Biblical quotations in inscriptions are always full of interest for the history of devotion. They show what books of Holy Scripture

[1] Probably an inscription for a door, with a religious application; the words of the Song of Solomon were probably connected with Rev. iii. 20 and interpreted allegorically of Christ.

were the favourites, and what were the really popular texts. Not infrequently they enable us to see how they were interpreted. But none of this has yet been worked out; people still prefer to cite the Biblical quotations in the Fathers from bad editions of their works. Let us hope that in the Corpus of Christian Inscriptions to which we look forward the Biblical material will be treated in a manner satisfactory alike to the demands of epigraphy and of modern Biblical philology.

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